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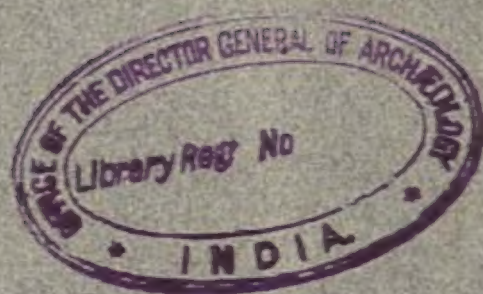
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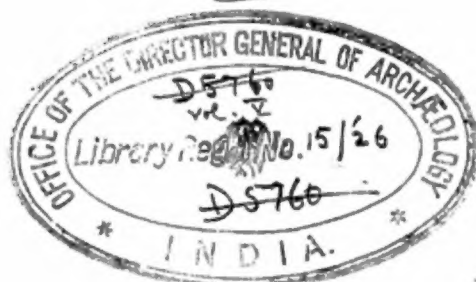
TRANSLATED FROM THE PALL OF  
THE MAJJHIMA-NIKĀYA

BY  
LORD CHALMERS\*  
G.C.B.  
SOMETIME GOVERNOR OF CEYLON

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VOL. I.



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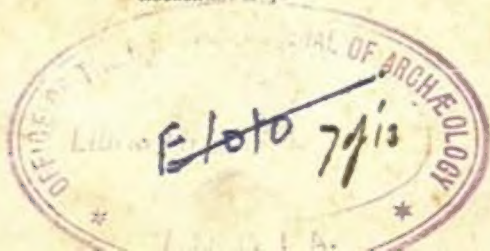
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## Vorwort



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Berlin, Januar 1913.

O. WAND.

## PREFACE.

A QUARTER of a century ago I began a translation of the Majjhima Nikāya after editing the second half of the Pali text. On retirement from the public service, I resumed the task, and spent much time not only on the study of Buddhaghosa's commentary (now happily available in print in the Siamese edition), but also on detailed collation with other books of the Pali canon, till the annotations exceeded in length the translation proper, and four volumes would have been needed instead of two. Very deliberately I have excised practically all the notes and nearly all the copious repetitions,—in the sure belief that what is immediately needed is the presentment in an English dress of the 152 philosophico-psychological chapters of this fundamental (and biographical) Buddhist scripture, without tacking on an exposition of Buddhism.

With the late Professor Rhys Davids, I believe that substantially the Dīgha and the Majjhima Nikāyas form one book, and together present the essentials of early Buddhism in their oldest extant form. I take leave to add that, before the illuminating labours of Mrs. Rhys Davids in interpreting philosophical terms and ideas, no adequate translation of this difficult book was possible.

In my Introduction I have essayed briefly to outline the main ideas of Gotama's forerunners, as a background to the study of Gotama's own teachings in the Dīgha and the Majjhima.

The second volume will conclude with an index to both volumes of this translation.

C.

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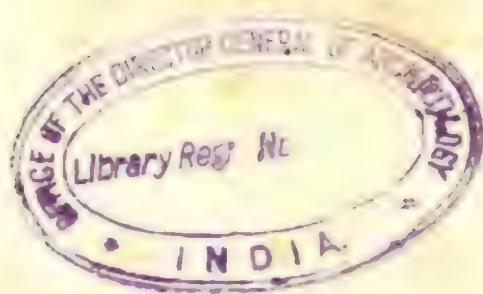
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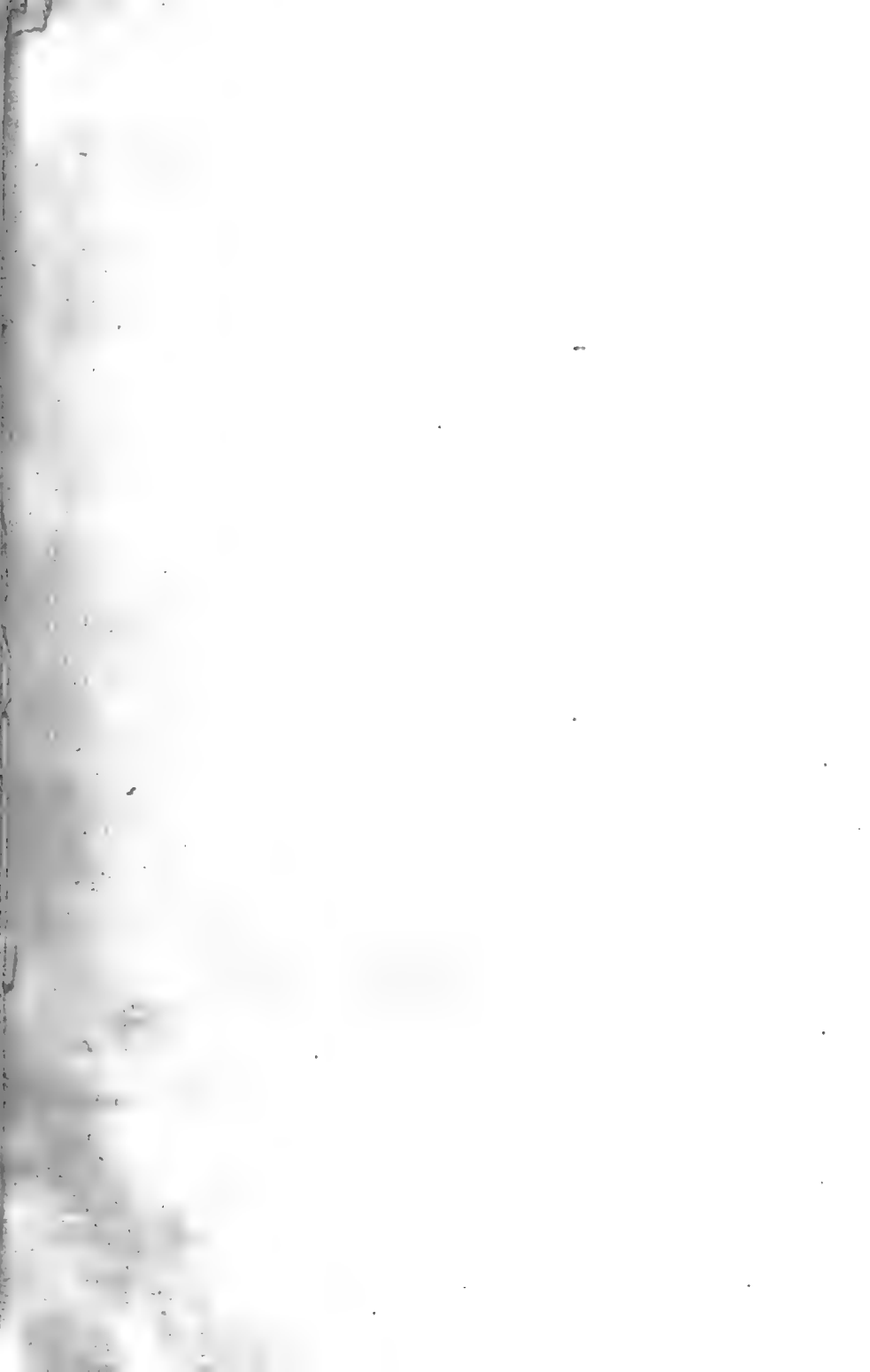
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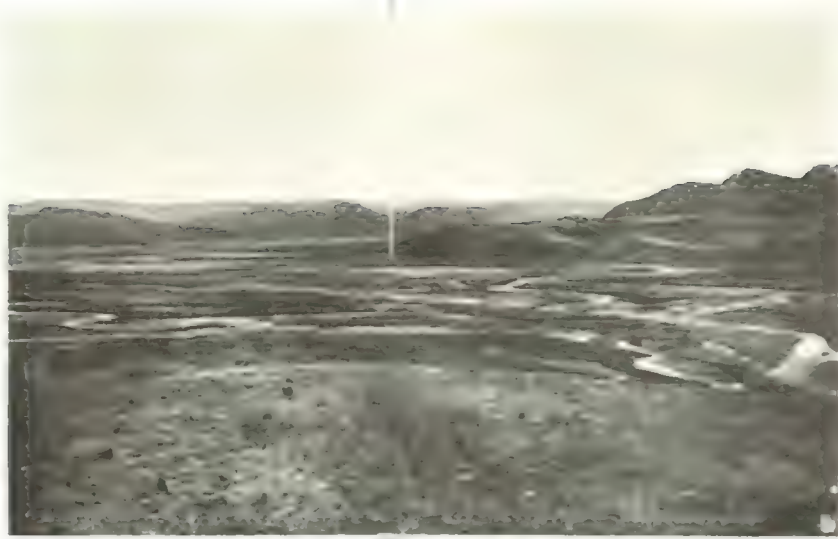
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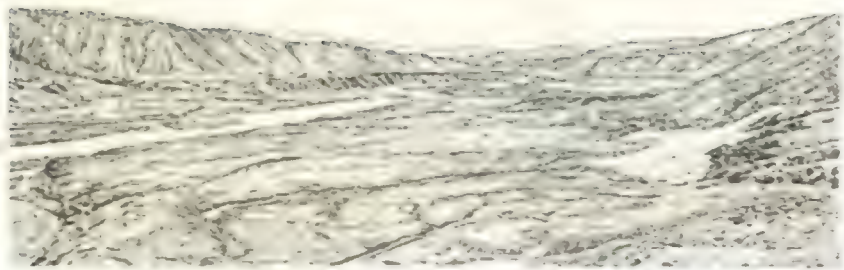


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Aufgenommen v. 9<sup>00</sup>—10<sup>00</sup> Blatt 5

Bild 4

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Lab-tsee

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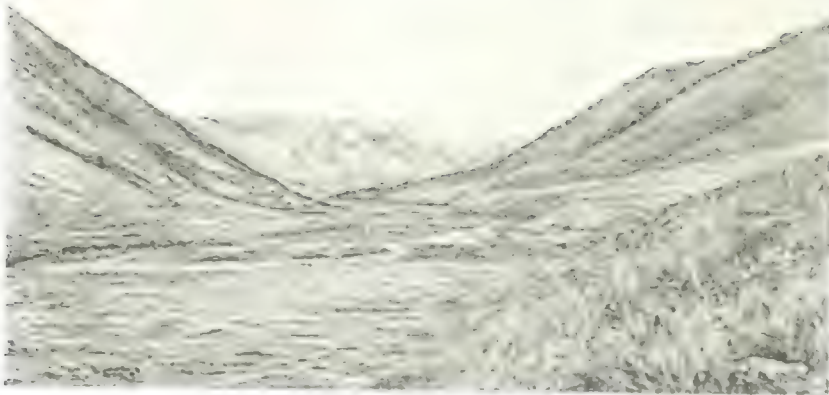


## INTRODUCTION.

A LATE-COMER in the Indian renaissance, Gotama the Buddha restated—and enlarged—the current religious thought of India some six centuries B.C. For the purpose of approaching the Majjhima Nikāya, or indeed any treatise of canonical Buddhism, it is first of all necessary to take cognisance of the main lines on which, in Gotama's day, India's current thought was developing out of early brahminism. It would require at the least a separate volume adequately to trace that development; and for this the full facts are not as yet definitely ascertained. The more restricted aim of this Introduction is to sketch what Gotama found awaiting him; and this may conveniently be considered under the two heads of (i) physical asceticism and (ii) intellectual tenets.

### I. ASCETICISM.

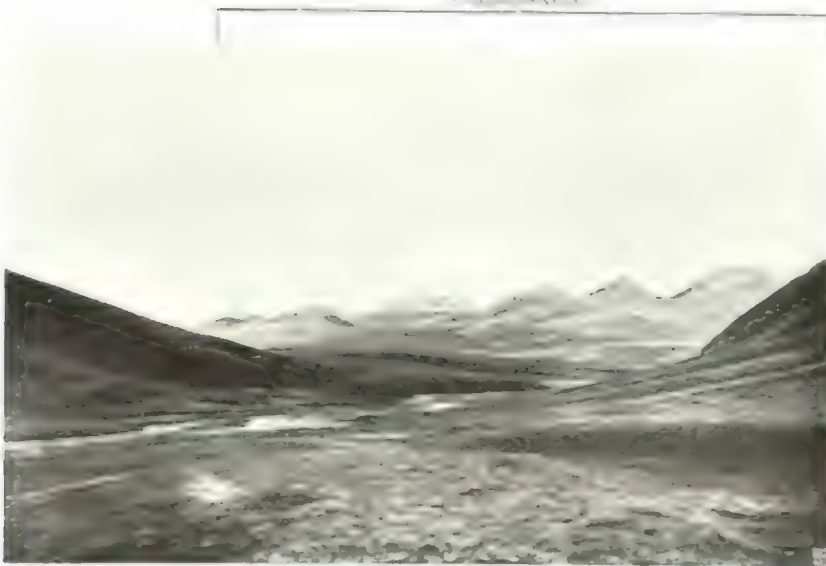
Not long before Gotama's day, the passionate search for something to supplement the *mantras* and sacrificial rites of formal brahminism, had found its primary inspiration in a faith in a Supreme Self—embracing and including all human personality—whereby the road to Deliverance from all mortal ills was opened up to mankind. In India, as elsewhere, the ascetic life made an irresistible appeal to dawning aspiration, and had grown, long before Gotama's day, to be the accepted mode of religious culture. It was thus to a public opinion convinced that present discomfort is the pathway to bliss hereafter, and convinced too that austerities are the outward and visible sign of holiness within, that Indian reformers and teachers had perforce to make their appeal. Without the credentials of asceticism, no new doctrine or speculation could hope to win acceptance or indeed a respectful hearing.



SW

### Tschassora-Tal.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XIII. Blatt 7.



### Tschassora-Tal.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XIII. Blatt 7.



As an ascetic, Gotama always claimed that, though he had been reared in luxury (vide Sutta 75), yet, when the call came to him to go forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim of the Higher Life, he had gone further with austerity than the most fanatical of devotees. The catalogue of his 'fourfold' austerities in our 12th Sutta, even if it be too highly coloured for historic fact, yet presents in 'grisly' synopsis contemporary ideals of mortification of the flesh. In that synopsis there are included, so far as can be judged from the older books of the Buddhist Canon, the salient practices of all schools of recognized austerity, from the orthodox Jāṭila to the Jain. Over and above these, there were the 'freak' practices (Sutta 57) of those naked devotees who, in the words of Gibbon, "aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals" and (e.g.) as 'bovines' anticipated by a thousand years those *βοσκοί* or Christian anchorites who "derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd."

Gotama tried it all and found it wanting. The consecrated life, as he says in our 40th Sutta, is not a matter of raiment, or of going naked, or of dirt, or of bathing, or of living under a tree or in the open, or of never sitting down, or of chanting *mantras* like a brahmin hermit, or of wearing matted hair like the Jāṭila. As the declared enemy of self-torture, no less than of the torture of others, Gotama pronounced bodily austerities as such to be not only futile but positively hurtful. The only sane thing for a man to do was to school the mind to 'live greatly'—with the body as the mind's obedient servant. Gotama's own distinctive contribution to the religious practice of his day was that, in lieu of asceticism, he preached the simple life of studied and purposeful temperance in all mere bodily matters. In the words of his own first sermon (*S.B.E.* xiii, 94): "There are two extremes, O Almsmen, which he who has given up the world



ought to avoid. What are those two extremes?—A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts; this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and profitless. And a life given to mortifications; this is painful, ignoble and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes, the Truth-finder has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to Enlightenment, to Nirvana."

Although Gotama incurred censure from his contemporary *religieux* for dangerous laxity, it would be an anachronism to interpret by modern European ideas Gotama's standard of temperate living for his Confraternity. For, the religious life, as every Almsman was to be told, after his Confirmation (Vin. I, 58), had the following 'Four Endeavours' to inspire it:—

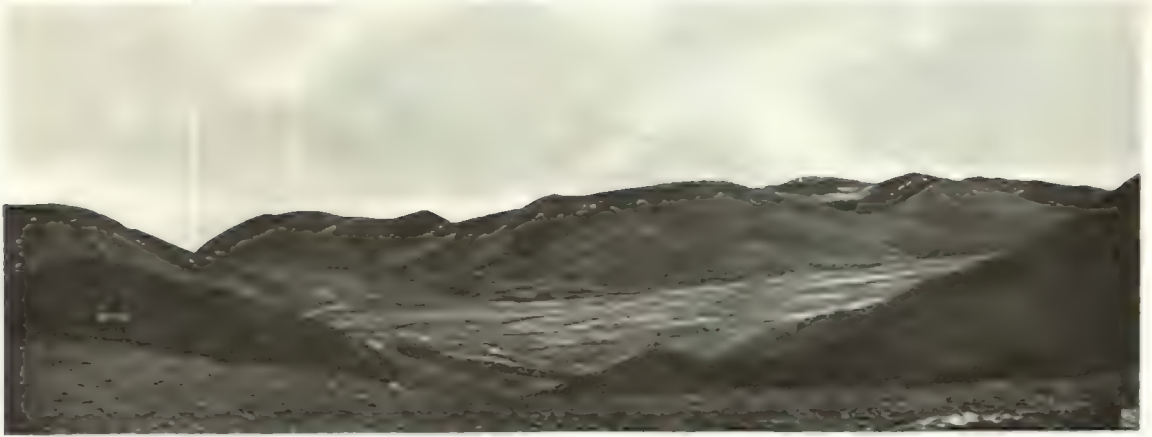
1. "In the matter of food, the Pilgrim's life is based on alms-scrap. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life.—Meals given to the Confraternity, to individuals, invitations, food distributed by ticket, meals given each sabbath . . . are extras."

2. "In the matter of raiment, the Pilgrim's life is based on rags taken from a dustheap. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life.—Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, and cloth are extras."

3. "In the matter of housing, the Pilgrim's life is based on dwelling at the foot of a tree. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life.—Cells, houses, mansions and huts are extras."

4. "In the matter of medicaments, the Pilgrim's life is based on decomposing urine (see *infra*, p. 226). Thus you must endeavour to live all your life.—Ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses are extras."

Clearly, these extra allowances were later concessions. Indeed, the whole Vinaya teems with departures from primitive simplicity—so much so that a perplexed disciple asked (in our 65th Sutta) why it was that, in the beginning, with fewer rules there were more saints, and now fewer saints but more rules! The explanation attributed to Gotama was that rules are not



Blick vom Unglücks-Pafs nach O.  
Aufgenommen v. 11<sup>16</sup>—20. Blatt 7.



Blick vom Unglücks-Pafs nach N-W.  
Aufgenommen v. 11<sup>16</sup>—20. Blatt 7.

prescribed till they prove necessary, and that they become necessary when, *pari passu* with corporate success in the world, later recruits introduce reprehensible tendencies. The Vinaya furnishes abundant evidence of unworthy recruits. Among them was (e.g.) a brahmin who joined because "the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya samanās keep and the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie on beds protected from the wind." But, when it came to going round for alms, he flatly refused. If food was supplied, so well and good; otherwise, he would go back to the world which avowedly he had only renounced for his belly's sake. Others joined (temporarily) to get cured of leprosy, boils, consumption and fits by the honorary physician of the Confraternity; and, to escape active service, "many distinguished warriors" took Orders, as did fugitives from justice, debtors, runaway slaves and impecunious old gentlemen. "This will not do, O Almsmen (said the sagacious Gotama), for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted;—it will result in the unconverted being repelled and in many of the converted being estranged."

Estrangement from within did actually come, and that in the shape of the most serious revolt against his authority which Gotama had to face. For (as is related in detail at *S.B.E.* xx, 252-271), his cousin Devadatta headed a schismatic movement—doubtless stimulated by the austerer practice of the rival Jains, with whom he had relations—to restore pristine simplicity by positive and specific enactment of 'Five Points,'—three of which were identical with the first three of the 'Four Resources' enumerated above.

"No, Devadatta," was Gotama's answer,—

(i) Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the forest;—whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the neighbourhood of a village.

(ii) Whosoever wishes to do so, let him live by alms;—whosoever wishes to do so, let him accept invitations from the laity.





(iii) Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dress in rags ;—whosoever wishes to do so, let him receive gifts of robes from laymen.

(iv) Sleeping under trees has been allowed by me, Devadatta, for eight months in the year, and

(v) the eating of fish that is pure in the three points—to wit, that the eater has not seen, or heard, or suspected that it has been caught for his eating."

As will be seen from (e.g.) the 77th Sutta *infra*, this measure of liberty was retained ; and each individual was left free, within generous limits, to choose the mode of living which suited his own particular needs,—even if it included austerities which Gotama neither recommended to others nor practised in his own person. Thus in Buddhism asceticism was *admissum* but not *permissum*, a domestic settlement of a vexed question which was at once expedient and wise in its broad tolerance,—though it did not silence outside criticism.

## II. TENETS.

For present purposes, and particularly with a view to avoiding as far as possible the anachronism of jumbling together later developments with primitive conceptions, the current thought of Gotama's day is here deduced, for the specific purpose of interpreting the Majjhima Nikāya, from the Majjhima Nikāya itself,—supplemented, where necessary, from the (probably) contemporary Dīgha Nikāya and the Vinaya.

Naturally, current brahmin tenets (their ceremonial and even their arrogant pretensions are not relevant here) are the first matter to set out. The brahmins' fivefold code for achieving the ideal (by brahmins) is formulated in our 99th Sutta as consisting of—

1. The Truth (*sacca*).
2. Austerities (*tapas*).
3. Chastity (*brahmacariya*).
4. Study (of Vedic lore), and
5. Munificence (*cāga*)—i.e., to brahmins.

These five avenues to the higher life, Gotama

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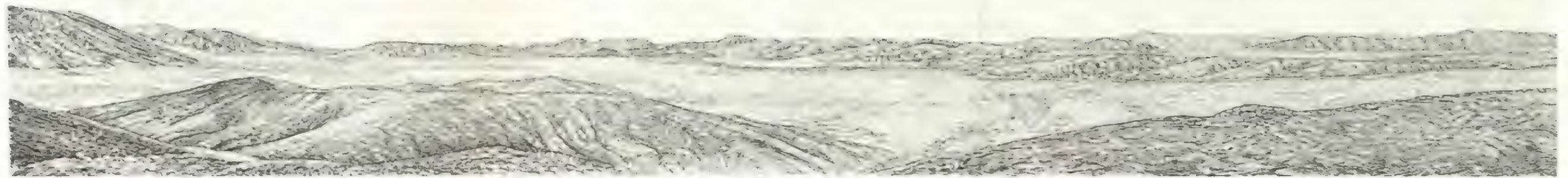
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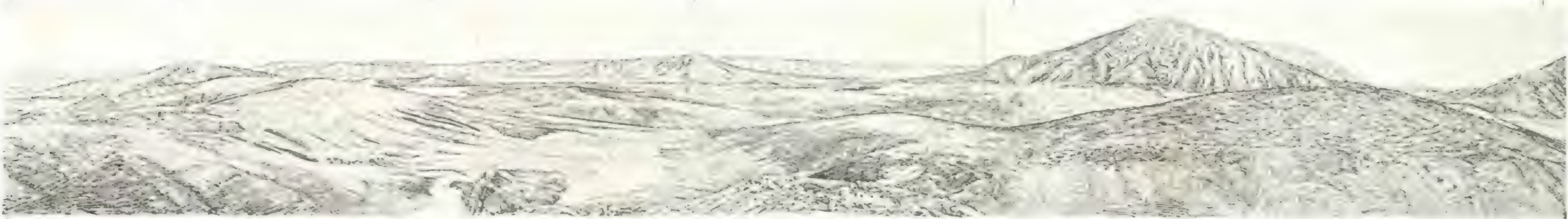
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Rundpanorama im Siang-si-pai.

Aufgenommen von Ett, 9<sup>te</sup> 10<sup>te</sup>. Blatt 9.

Alascha-Berge

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Tosson-nör

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Blick auf die Tosson-nör-Ebene.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XIX. Blatt 11.

scouted as being merely the heart's apprenticeship and propædæutic, serving only to purge men from wrath and malevolence. So, when the conversation turns (as it very often does turn, with brahmin interlocutors) on how to attain 'union with Brahmā,'<sup>1</sup> Gotama affirms that this, rightly understood, is approached not by the foregoing five avenues, but through the moral virtues of universal goodwill and pity, compassion and equanimity. 'Union with Brahmā' is really a poor thing, based on groundless assumptions concerning 'God' and the divine governance of the universe, and wholly unsatisfying to the thinking mind, though helpful possibly as a stepping-stone for weaker brethren (Sutta 97).

The like criticisms apply also to the Jaṭilas, who were orthodox brahmin ascetics, tending the sacred fire and bathing thrice a day in order to wash away the evil within (Vin. I, 31 et seqq).

Among sects not exclusively brahmin the pioneers were the Paribbājakas, or 'Wanderers' (of both sexes), whose creed is formulated—e.g. in the 78th and 79th Suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya—as a belief in perfect bliss hereafter for the purged self, and as a conviction that this bliss can be won in the 'peerless' life, by freedom from all evil in (i) acts, (ii) words, (iii) aims and (iv) mode of livelihood (Majjhima II, 24). All these four standards of conduct were incorporated bodily in Gotama's Noble Eightfold Path; and the last of the four gave to the separate sect of the Ājivakas ('Mendicants') their specific name. As will be seen from (e.g.) our 11th and 13th Suttas, the Wanderers claimed to be identical with Buddhists in tenets and teaching. Gotama's rejection of their claim is indicated at Vin. I, 39, in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> Brahmanam sabavyatāya maggo (Majjhima II. 195), lit. 'path to union with Brahmās.' In contradistinction to the Upanishads, the Buddhist Nikāyas (see *Dialogues* I. 298) ignore the neuter and impersonal *brahman*, here substituting the masculine and personal Brahmā. (Cf. M. III. 101:—Brahmuno sabavyatam uppajjeyyam.)



conversion of the brahmins Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who were Wanderers under Sañjaya and aimed at the goal of Deathlessness (*amata*),—which to them then probably meant the Brahmā heavens. Their conversion followed on the recognition that Gotama dealt not with effects but with causes, and that he went to the root of the matter by teaching how causal states of consciousness arose and could be banished for ever.

Throughout the Nikāyas, Gotama's polemic is focussed (outside Wanderers and brahminism) on six non-orthodox sects,—the heads of which were (i) Pūraṇa Kassapa, (ii) Makkhali Gosāla (the Ajīvaka), (iii) Ajita Kesakambalī, (iv) Pakudha Kaccāyana, (v) Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha or Jain, and (vi) Sañjaya Belatthiputta. Their respective tenets—which are set out, but without names, in (e.g.) our 76th Sutta—are most conveniently studied in detail in the Sāmañña-phala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (*Dial.* I, 66-75). The names are there given in each case with the following (Buddhist) summaries of their views:—

(i) Pūraṇa Kassapa taught that it did not matter whether actions were good or bad.

(ii) Makkhali the Ājīvaka taught “purification through transmigration,” i.e. pain ends only when the allotted term of successive existences has been completed.

(iii) Ajita held the theory of “annihilation” of the individual at his physical death.

(iv) Pakudha held the theory of “seven elementary substances” (earth, water, fire, air, ease, pain, and the soul), which are eternal and aloof, so that “there is neither slayer nor causer of slaying, hearer nor speaker, knower nor explainer.”

(v) Nātaputta the Jain held the theory of “the four-fold bond” of self-restraint whereby evil is washed away and kept at bay. As elaborated in (e.g.) our 101st Sutta, the Jains held that each individual's lot follows from his former *actions*. Hence, by expiation and purge of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future; and as nothing accrues for the future, former misdeeds



## **Bilder Nr. 11—30**

Aufgenommen zwischen dem  
**Tosson-nōr und Oring-nōr**

Zum II. Teil des Kartenwerkes

# **NORDOST-TIBET**

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die away, and so eventually all Ill passes away. (Cf. Sutta 56.)

(vi) Sañjaya showed "his manner of prevarication" by committing himself to nothing, i.e. he was an agnostic pure and simple.

Gotama's attitude to rival creeds is indicated by the rules laid down for admitting converts. The general rule, as enunciated in (e.g.) our 73rd Sutta, was to require a probation of four months before enrolling as a Buddhist bhikkhu or 'Almsman' a proselyte from another sect. But an exception was made (see Vin. I, 71 = S.B.E. xiii, 190) in favour of converted Jāṭilas. These ascetic brahminical 'fire worshippers' were to be enrolled as Almsmen forthwith, without probation,—on the express ground that they "hold the doctrine that actions receive their reward, and that our deeds have their result." This exception was extended—perhaps later—to *all* brahmins, as will be seen from Suttas 7 and 92. Mental, and therefore moral (D. I, 124), responsibility was the keystone to Gotama's position; nor did he ever hold parley with any who denied this fundamental principle of his teaching. Thus, at the end of the 71st Sutta, Gotama, in affirming the spiritual barrenness of the primarily ascetic Ājīvakas (to whom in all probability he had originally attached himself in his early ascetic days), could not 'call to mind' a single Ājīvaka throughout the æons who had risen to Arahatsip, and only one solitary individual who even 'got to heaven,'—that solitary individual being, like the orthodox Jāṭilas, a *kamma-vādin* and *kiriya-vādin*.

For Gotama (p. 304, etc.) teleology and philosophic speculation had no message. On this side, he was avowedly an agnostic, refusing to waste his time on things irrelevant to the "grand business" of right living, based on right thinking; the good life was the only thing that mattered. Mortal Ills were the dominant fact of life; and his claim for himself (infra, p. 99) was that from the outset he had consistently preached his own original doctrine, known as the Four Noble Truths of



(i) Ill, (ii) the uprising of Ill, (iii) the ending of Ill, and (iv) the course by which Ill could be ended here and now. That course was the Noble Eightfold Path,—(i) right outlook, (ii) right aims, (iii) right speech, (iv) right action, (v) right mode of livelihood, (vi) right effort, (vii) right mindfulness, and (viii) right concentration. Of these the second, third, fourth and fifth, as has been seen, were borrowed from the Wanderers *en bloc*. The significant departure is in the first of Gotama's categories—right outlook,—deliberately placed in the forefront in order to affirm the sovereignty of mind and thought. Right thinking was the preface and the key to everything else in the higher life, and ignorance, or lack of understanding, was the root of all evil. The first duty of man was to comprehend and see all phenomena of life as a process of causal law (pp. 187-8):—If *this* is, *that* comes about; if *this* arises—or passes away—so does *that* too. The Deliverance for which men yearned in a hereafter was to be won here and now, through the mind, by right thinking, by 'seeing and knowing' phenomena aright, by those right states of consciousness which are the theme of the first Sutta of this book. And in the forefront here came the extirpation of the *āsavas*, or 'Cankers' (see *infra*, p. 2 note 4 and p. 15, note 1). Originally three in number in early Buddhism, the 'Cankers'—sensuous pleasure, belief in personal immortality, and blank ignorance of the causal truth of things—forbade all possibility of newness of mental life, as being not *οχέσεις* but deadly *ἔξεις*. With their extirpation right conduct followed almost as a corollary, with Arahatsip as the crown of a strenuous life of mental and moral culture.

One other matter requires mention, and it is a matter of significance. While the term *āsava* (but not its connotation) may well have been borrowed from or through the Jains, the inclusion in Buddhism of *mettā* (=caritas, or active goodwill towards mankind and all creation) cannot be assigned with probability to a pre-Buddhist source, but marks an

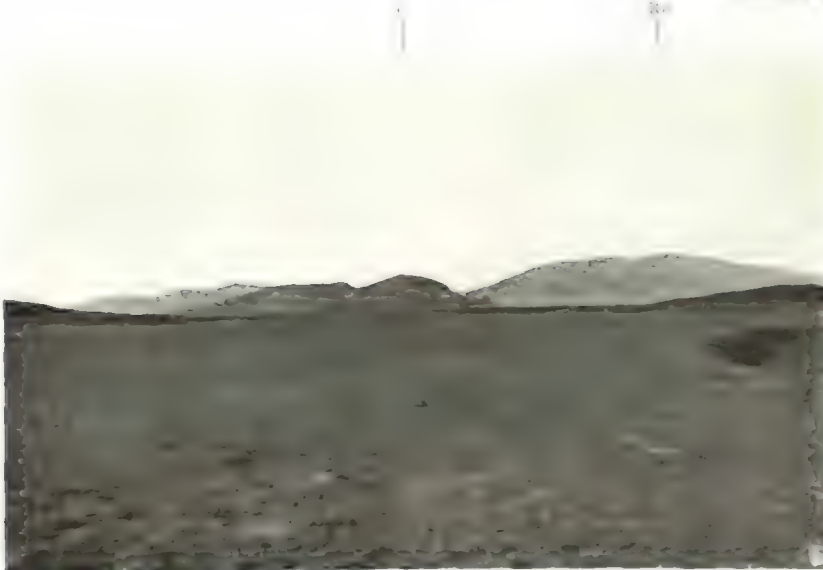
Bild 11



Blick auf die Tosson-nör-Ebene.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XIX. Blatt 11.

Bild 12



Blick auf das Rna-tschu-nargyn-Tal.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XIX. Blatt 10.

original and independent contribution to the evolution of India's religious thought. Unlike the early rishis of Majjhima I. 378 and II. 155, whose psychic powers might be exercised in anger to blast a country-side or to burn to a cinder an unwelcome visitor, the Buddhist Almsman was trained—as a condition precedent to attaining Arahatsip—to embrace the whole universe in radiant thoughts of goodwill and of pity and compassion,—an ideal stedfastly to be maintained even during death by torture, as in the striking 'Parable of the Saw' at p. 90 *infra*. The significance, present and future, of this spirit of altruism in Buddhism has been set forth with much cogency in Dr. K. T. Saunders' *Epochs of Buddhism*.

Remote as is this doctrine from either formal brahminism, with its ritual of worship of Brahmā, or from the Wanderers' passion for union with a Supreme Self in bliss everlasting, Gotama (or his followers for him) did not hesitate to appropriate to his teachings the nomenclature of his forerunners. With practical sagacity, he (or they) appropriated current terms and familiar nomenclature. Thus, while retaining the accepted doctrines of transmigration and of 'gods,' he was the true 'brahmin' and master of the 'threefold lore'; he was the true 'superman' (mahā-purisa), the true victor (jina), the true saint (arahant), and the veritable Truthfinder (tathāgata). He borrowed from brahminism the title of Almsman (bhikkhu) for his enrolled followers, and called their enrolment (pabbajjā) after the paribbājakas (Wanderers). But in each instance he altered the connotation of the familiar terms which he retained from the past, while importing into them his own novel content of meaning. The old labels were reassuring, even though the wine was a new brand.

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## I. MULA-PARIYĀYA-SUTTA.

### HOW STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS ORIGINATE.

[1] Thus have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Ukkatṭhā in the Subhaga grove under the great sāl-tree, he addressed the Almsmen, saying :— Almsmen! Lord, said they in answer. Then said the Lord :—I will expound to you how all states of consciousness originate; listen with attention and I will speak. Yes, sir, said they in response to the Lord, who then spoke as follows :—

Take the case of an uninstructed every-day man, who takes no count of the Noble and is unversed and untrained in Noble Doctrine; who takes no count of the Excellent<sup>1</sup> and is unversed and untrained in Excellent Doctrine. Such a man (simply) perceives earth as earth and, so perceiving it, conceives ideas of earth, ideas of—in earth, from earth, my earth; and is content with 'earth.' And why?—I say it is because he does not comprehend it.

So too he perceives water as water, and, so perceiving it, conceives ideas of water, ideas of—in water, from water, my water;—and is content with 'water.' And why?—I say it is because he does not comprehend it.

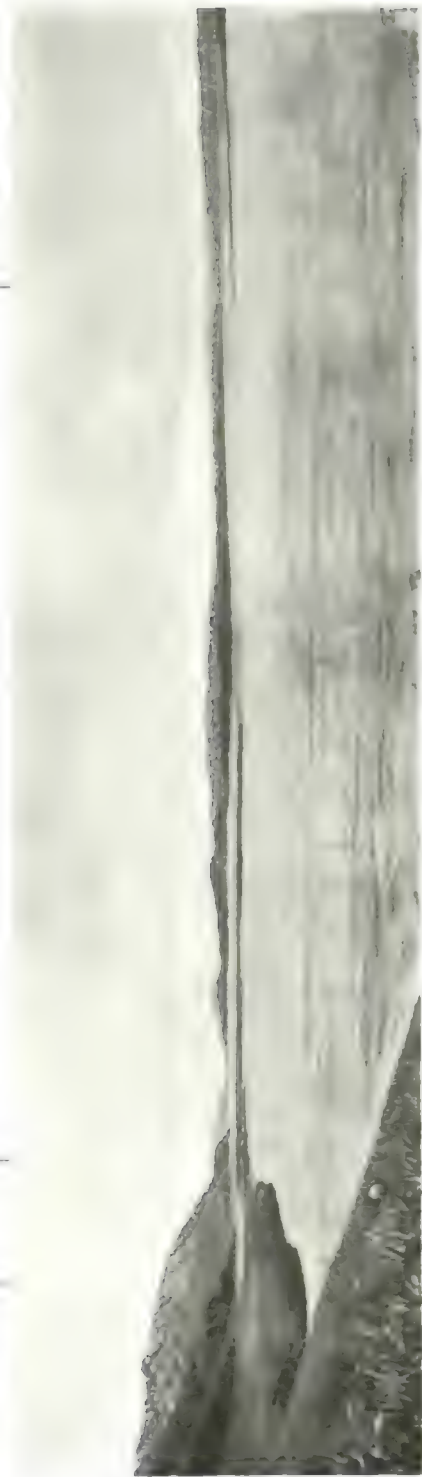
In just the same way originate his ideas about—

(1) fire, (2) air, [2] (3) creatures, (4) gods, (5) Pajāpati,<sup>2</sup> (6) Brahmā, (7) Ābhassara deities, (8) Subhakiṇṇa deities, (9) Vehapphala deities, (10) Abhibhū, [8] (11) the Realm of Infinite Space, (12) the Realm of Infinite

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<sup>1</sup> The Noble and the Excellent (synonymous terms according to Buddhaghosa) are simply Arahats (M. I, 280, 402, etc.), and are not to be restricted (as Bu.) to Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas, and the (chief) disciples of Buddhas.

<sup>2</sup> Identified by Bu. as Māra. For the following classes of beings, see the 33rd Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and cf. Sutta No. 49 infra.



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Dug-ri-Berge. Angenommen v. Lager XXI. Blatt 11

Mind, (13) the Realm of Naught, (14) the Realm of neither perception nor non-perception, (15) what is seen, (16) what is heard, (17) what is sensed,<sup>1</sup> (18) what is discerned,<sup>2</sup> (19) unity, (20) multiplicity, (21) universality, and (22) Nirvana.

[4] Then too there is the Almsman who is still under training and has not yet won Arahatsip, but lives in earnest yearning for utter immunity from the four Attachments. He recognizes earth as earth; but, having so recognized it,—ah! let him not conceive ideas of earth, ideas of—in earth, from earth, my earth; let him not rest content with 'earth.' And why?—I say it is because he must bring himself to comprehend it.

[Here follow similar paragraphs about water, fire, air . . . etc. . . , and (22) Nirvana.]

Then there is the Almsman who is an Arahāt,<sup>3</sup> in whom the Cankers<sup>4</sup> are no more, who has greatly lived, whose task is done, who has shed his burthens and has won his weal, whose bonds to life are now no more, who by utter knowledge has found final Deliverance. He too recognizes earth as earth; but, having so recognized it, he conceives no ideas of earth, in earth, from earth, my earth; nor does he rest content with 'earth.' And why?—I say it is because he has come to comprehend it.

So too he recognizes water and the rest of these

<sup>1</sup> Interpreted as representing the three other senses of smell, taste and touch. Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha III, 127, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., grasped by the mind (mānasa) as a sixth sense.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. worshipful. See Dial. III, 3, et seq., for the history of this word,—used of non-Buddhists in Sutta 84 (II. 86). Cf. *infra* p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> For the *four āsavas* (of pleasure, continuing existence, and ignorance, with error superadded), see e.g. D. II, 84. (In our 2nd Sutta, as at the end of Suttas Nos. 4 and 9, the āsavas are *three* in number, i.e. without the outlook of error superadded.)

The āsavas, so called (says Bu.) because they flow, would seem to be running sores, or neoplasms of character, with their metastases of evil, like physical cancers. I have called them 'cankers,' because of the metaphorical connotation which attaches to this word, though not to 'cancer.'



things; he recognizes Nirvana as Nirvana, but, having so recognized it, he conceives no ideas of Nirvana, no ideas of—in Nirvana, from Nirvana, my Nirvana; nor does he rest content with 'Nirvana.' And why?—I say it is because he has come to comprehend it.

The Almsman who is an Arahāt, in whom . . . (etc., as in preceding paragraph, down to) . . . [5] nor does he rest content with 'earth,' or 'water' and so forth. And why?—Because, say I, by the extirpation of lusts he is freed from lusts; because by the extirpation of hate he is freed from hate; because by the extirpation of delusion he is freed from delusion.

The Truth-finder<sup>1</sup> too, the Arahāt all-enlightened, also recognizes earth as earth; but, having so recognized it, he conceives no ideas of earth, no ideas of—in earth—from earth—my earth; nor is he content with 'earth,' or with 'water' and so forth. [6] And why?—Because, say I, he has comprehended it to the full.<sup>2</sup>

The Truth-finder too . . . (etc., as in preceding paragraph, down to) . . . And why?—Because, having seen pleasure to be the root of Ill, he sees how continuing existence entails rebirths and that whatever has continuing existence is dogged by decay and death. Therefore it is, say I, that by extirpating all cravings, by lusting not after them, but by destroying and abandoning and renouncing them all, the Truth-finder has become all-enlightened, with utter enlightenment.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

<sup>1</sup> For this rendering of *tathāgata* see J.R.A.S., 1898, Buddhist Psychological Ethics (2nd edit., p. 270, n. 6), and Dialogues I, 40, 263, etc. Just as *Jina* is a title of the Buddha, so *tathāgata* is a synonym of the Jain *titthakara*, or ford-maker (S.B.E. XLV, p. 320),—both terms being pre-buddhistic, like *arahant*, *bhagavant*, etc.

At *e.g.* M. I, 140 *tathāgata* is used as a synonym of *arahāt*. Cf. D. I, 27 (*hoti tathāgato param maraṇā*), on which Bu. says: *satto tathāgato ti adhippeto*.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *pariññāt-antam*, with Bu. (M.A. I, 52).





Dug-ri-Berge.

Aufgenommen v. Pat. Iko, 91. 11. 15.

Bild 16



Dug-ri-Berge.

Blick auf das Dug-nam-ser-po-Tal. Aufgenommen v. Pat. Iko, 91. 11. 15.

## II. SABB-ĀSAVA-SUTTA.

## COPING WITH CANKERS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, the Lord addressed the Almsmen, saying—Almsmen! Lord, said they in answer. Then the Lord spoke these words: I will expound to you how to subdue all the Cankers; listen with [7] attention and I will speak. Yes, sir, said they in response to the Lord, who then spoke as follows:—

I say that it is only in him who knows and sees, and not in him who neither knows nor sees, that there is extirpation of the Cankers. Now, what does he know and see whose Cankers are extirpated? Why, he knows and sees what thinking is founded aright and what is wrongly founded. If a man's thinking is wrong, then not only do Cankers arise which had not arisen before, but also those which had already risen now grow apace. If, however, his thinking is right, then not only do those Cankers not arise now which had not arisen before, but also those which had already arisen are now got rid of.

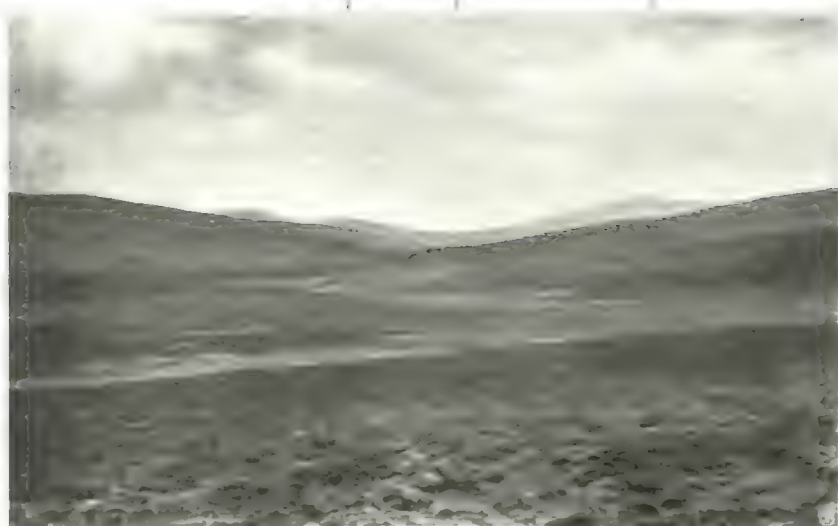
Cankers are to be got rid of (1) some by scrutiny, (2) some by restraint, (3) some by use, (4) some by endurance, (5) some by avoidance, (6) some by removal, and (7) others by culture.

1. What are the Cankers which are to be got rid of by scrutiny?—Take the case of the uninstructed everyday man, who, having no vision of them that are Noble and of them that are Excellent, and being unversed and untrained in their Doctrine, does not understand either what mental states are, or what mental states are not, proper to be entertained. Accordingly, as he does not understand either, he entertains mental states which he should not entertain and fails to entertain those he should. Now, what are the mental states which he entertains though he should not?—Why,



those states by the entertainment of which the Cankers—of sensuous pleasure or of continuing existence or of ignorance—either arise where they had not arisen before or grow apace where they had arisen already. What, now, are the mental states which he does not entertain though he should?—Why, those states by the entertainment of which those three Cankers either arise where they had not arisen before or grow apace where they had arisen already. Thus, [8] by entertaining mental states which he should not entertain and by not entertaining those which he should, not only do fresh Cankers arise but also the old ones grow apace. In his wrong-headedness, he asks himself—(i.) Was I in ages past? (ii.) Was I not in ages past? (iii.) What was I then? (iv.) How was I then? (v.) From what did I pass to what? (vi.) Shall I be in ages to come? (vii.) Shall I not be in ages to come? (viii.) What shall I then be? (ix.) How shall I then be? (x.) From what shall I pass to what? Or, again, it is Self to-day about which he is in doubt, asking himself—(i.) Am I? (ii.) Am I not? (iii.) What am I? (iv.) How am I? (v.) Whence came my being? (vi.) Whither will it pass? In his wrong-headedness one or other of six wrong outlooks emerges as true and trustworthy:—(i.) I have a Self. (ii.) I have not a Self. (iii.) By Self I perceive Self. (iv.) By Self I perceive non-self. (v.) By non-self I perceive Self. (vi.) Or his error is to hold that this speaking and sentient Self of his—which is experiencing the fruits of good and of bad conduct in this or that earlier existence—has always been, and will always be, an everlasting and changeless Self, which will stand fast so long as heaven and earth stand fast. This is called perversion to error, seizure by error, the jungle of error, the schism of error, the writhing in error, the bondage of error. While he is fast in the bondage of error, I say that the uninstructed everyday man is never freed from birth, decay, and death, from sorrow, lamentation and tribulation, is never freed from Ill. Now the instructed disciple of the Noble, who has vision of the Noble and Excellent

Bild 17



Blick auf die Dug-ri-Berge und das Dug-nam-ser-po-Tal.

Aufgenommen v. Zult, 12. Blatt 15.

Bild 18



Blick auf das Anne-maltschin-Gebirge (Rta-mtschog-ngrki).

Aufgenommen v. Zult, 12. Blatt 15.

and is versed and well-trained in their Doctrine, understands what mental states his mind should entertain and what states it should not entertain ; and accordingly [9] he does not entertain those states he should not entertain but does entertain those he should. Now, what are the mental states which he should not, and does not, entertain ?—Why, those states by entertainment of which the Cankers of sensual pleasure, continuing existence or of ignorance either arise where they had not arisen before or grow apace where they had already arisen. And what are the mental states he should, and does, entertain ?—Why, those states by entertainment of which those same Cankers either do not arise if they have not arisen before or, having arisen before, now pass away. If he entertains not the mental states which he should not entertain but does entertain those he should, then not only will the Cankers which have not arisen before not arise now, but also those which had before arisen now pass away. His mind is engaged aright with entertaining the Four Noble Truths, namely :—This is Ill ; this is the origin of Ill ; this is the cessation of Ill ; this is the way that leads to the cessation of Ill. He rids himself of the three Bonds—of individuality, doubt and the virus of ‘good works.’ These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by scrutiny.

2. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by restraint ?—Take the case of a Brother who has got his eye under restraint. Whereas lack of restraint of the eye would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him who has his eye under restraint. [Similar sentences follow about hearing, smell, taste, touch and mind.] [10] These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by restraint.

3. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by use ? Take the case of an Almsman who, duly and advisedly, exercises the use of robes—only to keep off cold, heat, gadflies, mosquitoes, scorching winds, and contact with creeping things, and to veil the parts of shame. Duly





and advisedly he exercises the use of alms received—neither for pleasure nor for delight, neither for ostentation nor for display, but only to support and sustain his body, to save it from hurt and to foster the higher life, thereby putting from him the old feelings and not breeding new feelings, but ensuring progress and the blameless lot and well-being. Duly and advisedly he exercises the use of lodging—only to keep off cold, heat, gadflies, mosquitoes, scorching winds and contact with creeping things, to dispel the dangers which the seasons bring, and to enjoy seclusion. Duly and advisedly he exercises the use of medical comforts and of his supply of medicaments—only to keep off pain felt and to minimize harm. Whereas shortcomings in use would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him whose use is in the right. These are called the Cankers to be got rid of by use.

4. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by endurance?—Take the case of an Almsman who, duly and advisedly, has grown patient of cold and heat, of hunger and thirst, patient of gadflies, mosquitoes, scorching winds and contact with creeping things, patient of abusive and hurtful language, inured to endurance of the advent of all those bodily feelings which are painful, acute, sharp, severe, wretched, miserable, or deadly. Whereas lack of endurance would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him who has endurance. These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by endurance.

5. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by avoidance?—Take the case of an Almsman who, duly and advisedly, avoids a savage elephant or horse or steer or dog, or avoids a snake, the stump of a tree, a briar patch, [11] a tank, a precipice, a refuse-pool or rubbish shoot. Duly and advisedly, he avoids either sitting in such unseemly places, or frequenting such unseemly resorts, or cultivating such bad friends as would lead the discreet among his fellows in the higher life to con-

Bild 19



Blick auf das Dug-nam-ser-po-Tal.

Aufgenommen v. Zelt 12. Blatt 15.

Bild 20



Blick auf das Amne-maltschin-Gebirge (Rta-mtschog-ngrki).

Aufgenommen v. Lager XXII. Blatt 15.

clude he had gone astray. Whereas failure to avoid would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him who knows how to avoid. These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by avoidance.

6. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by removal? Take the case of an Almsman who, duly and advisedly, rejects, discards, dispels, extinguishes and annihilates all those thoughts of sensual pleasure, malevolence and malice that have already arisen; who rejects, discards, dispels, extinguishes and annihilates all evil and wrong mental states which have not yet arisen within him. Whereas failure to remove these would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him who knows how to remove them. These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by removal.

7. What are the Cankers to be got rid of by culture? Take the case of an Almsman who, duly and advisedly, cultivates the factors of enlightenment—to wit, self-collectedness, study of the Doctrine, strenuous effort, zest, tranquillity, rapt concentration, and poised equanimity—based each and all on aloofness, passionlessness and cessation, with renunciation as the crown. Whereas failure to cultivate these things would entail the arising of Cankers that destroy and consume, no such Cankers arise for him who cultivates them aright. These are called the Cankers which are to be got rid of by culture.

The Almsman in whom the Cankers are gone which are severally to be got rid of by scrutiny, by restraint, by use, by endurance, by avoidance, [12] by removal and by culture—he it is who is said to have all the Cankers in restraint; he has cut off craving, shed his bonds, and, by fathoming false pride, has made an end of Ill.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.



### III. DHAMMA-DĀYĀDA-SUTTA.

#### UNWORLDLY GOODS.

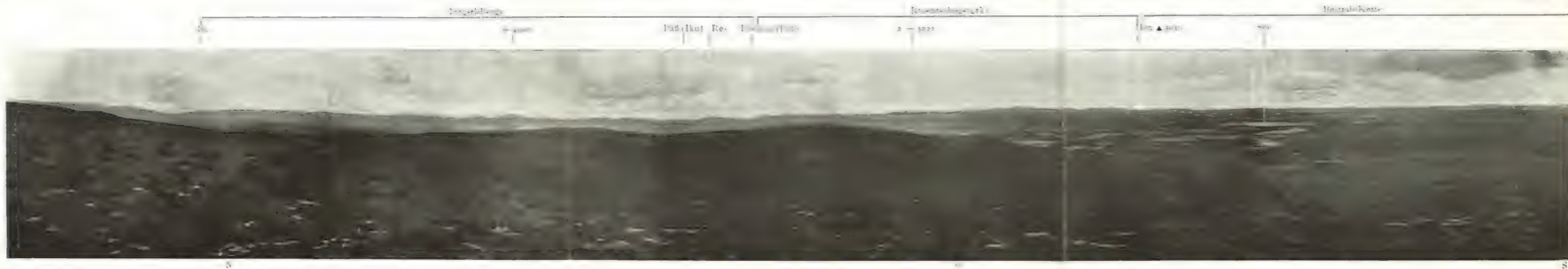
THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure, he addressed the attentive Almsmen as follows :—

Seek to be partakers, Almsmen, not of the world's goods but of my Doctrine ; in my compassion for you, I am anxious to ensure this. Should you be partakers of the world's goods and not of my Doctrine, then not only will you, my disciples, be blamed for so doing, but also I, as your teacher, shall be blamed on your account. If, on the other hand, you partake of my Doctrine and not of the world's goods, then not only will you, my disciples, escape blame for so doing, but also I, as your teacher, shall escape blame too. Therefore, be partakers of my Doctrine and not of the world's goods ; out of compassion for them, I would have all my disciples partake of my Doctrine and not of the world's goods.

Suppose my meal is over and that I have finished and ended, after having had my fill and enough ; and assume that of my alms there is some over, to be thrown away, when there arrive two Almsmen, [18] half dead with hunger and exhaustion, to whom I say that I have finished my own meal and do not want any more, but that of my alms there is some over, to be thrown away ; that they can eat it if they like, but that, if they do not, I shall either throw it away where no grass grows or fling it into water where no living things dwell.<sup>1</sup> Suppose now one Almsman thinks : The Lord has finished eating all he wants but has left some food which, if we do not eat it, he will now throw away. Now the Lord has told us to partake of his Doctrine and not of the world's goods—of which alms

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. so as not to harm life in any form. See S.B.E. XX, 219, and cf. Jainism.



Blick auf das Amne-maltschin-Gebirge und die Dug-yung-Ebene.  
Aufgenommen v. A 1215—34. Blatt 16.

Bild 21



Blick auf die Dug-yung-Ebene.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXII. Blatt 15.

Bild 23



Ma-la-dun-Pässe.  
Aufgenommen v. Paß II, 1031—1130. Blatt 16.

is one; and I had better not eat but fast on till the morrow, notwithstanding my hunger and exhaustion. Suppose then that, not partaking of the alms over, this first Almsman patiently fasts on till the morrow comes. But suppose the second Almsman thinks: The Lord has had his own meal but there remains food over which he will only throw away if we do not eat it. Why should not I, by eating thereof, pass the night and next morning in relief from my hunger and exhaustion? Assume, now, that this second Almsman does eat, and so relieves his hunger and exhaustion before the morrow comes. Albeit he does so and relieves his necessity, yet I should hold the first Almsman in greater honour and esteem. And why?—Because the first Almsman's abstention will long conduce to curtailment of wants, to contentment, to purgation of evil, to virtuous satisfaction and to the strenuous life. Therefore, Almsmen, be ye partakers not of the world's goods but of my Doctrine; in my compassion for you all, I am anxious to ensure this.

Thus spoke the Lord, who thereupon rose and passed to his own cell.

The Lord had not long been gone when the reverend Sāriputta addressed the Almsmen, saying: Your reverences. Reverend sir, [14] said they in response. Then said Sāriputta: In what respects, while their teacher leads the Life Apart, do his disciples either cultivate, or not cultivate, the same detachment of the inner life?

We would have travelled from afar to learn the meaning of this from Sāriputta's lips. Pray, vouchsafe to explain it, and we will treasure up your words.

Then, reverend sirs, hearken and pay attention and I will speak.

Yes, reverend sir, said they in response to Sāriputta, who went on to speak as follows:—

Take the case that, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples fail to cultivate the same aloofness of the inner life, do not put from them those states of mind which their teacher has bidden them put





from them, but are luxurious and have but a loose grip of the truth, are foremost in backsliding, and intolerant of Renunciation's yoke. Herein, first the seniors are trebly blameworthy,—first, that, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples do not cultivate the same detachment in the inner life; secondly, that they do not put from them those states of mind which their teacher has bidden them put from them; and thirdly, that they are luxurious and have only a loose grip of truth, are to the forefront in backsliding and intolerant of Renunciation's yoke. Blame attaches to the seniors in these three ways. And the like threefold blame attaches also to those of middle standing and to the juniors. These are the respects in which, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples do not cultivate the same aloofness of the inner life.

Next, what are the respects in which, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples [15] cultivate the like aloofness of the inner life?—Take the case that, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples also cultivate aloofness in the inner life, put from them those states of mind which their teacher bids them put from them, are not luxurious, have no loose grip of the truth, are intolerant only of backsliding and are foremost in Renunciation. Herein, first the seniors are trebly praiseworthy,—firstly, that while their teacher leads the life apart, they cultivate the same aloofness in the inner life; secondly, that they put from them those states of mind which their teacher has bidden them put from them; and thirdly, that they are not luxurious, have no looseness of grip on the truth, are intolerant only of backsliding, but are to the forefront in Renunciation. Praise attaches to the seniors in these three ways. And the like threefold praise attaches also to those of middle standing and to the juniors. These are the respects in which, while their teacher leads the life apart, his disciples cultivate the like aloofness of the inner life.

Yes, sirs, greed is vile, and vile is resentment. To shed this greed and this resentment, there is



Blick auf das Ma-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen v. Paß II  $\Delta$  4610. Blatt 16.



Ma-tschu, unterhalb Grenard's Übergang.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXVI. Blatt 21.

the Middle Way which gives us eyes to see and makes us know, leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment and Nirvana. What is this Middle Way?—Why, it is naught but the Noble Eightfold Path of right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration; this, Almsmen, is the Middle Way. Yes, sirs; anger is vile and malevolence is vile, envy and jealousy are vile, niggardliness and avarice are vile, hypocrisy and deceit are vile, imperviousness [16] and temper are vile, pride and arrogance are vile, inflation is vile, and indolence is vile; for the shedding of inflation and indolence there is the Middle Way—giving us eyes to see, making us know, and leading us on to peace, insight, enlightenment and Nirvana—which is naught but that Noble Eightfold Path.

Thus spoke the reverend Sāriputta. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what he had said.

#### IV. BHAYA-BHERAVA-SUTTA.

##### OF BRAVING FEARS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattī in Jeta's grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure, there came to him the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi who, after due exchange of the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, seated himself to one side and said:—

These young men who, following the reverend Gotama and believing in him, have gone forth as Pilgrims from home to homelessness,—all of them have him as their leader, warden and guide? And the whole company of them are adherents of his tenets?

Quite so, brahmin; quite so; it is just as you say.

It is hard, Gotama, to brave life in the wilds and depths of the forest, far from the haunts of men; solitude is hard to endure; to live alone is joyless;



and methinks forests are killing to the mind of an Almsman who does not attain to rapt concentration.

[17] Quite, so, brahmin ; quite so ; it is just as you say. I myself thought the very same thing in the days before my full Enlightenment when as yet I was not fully enlightened but was only a Bodhisatta. But, even so, I bethought me that : Recluses and brahmins who without purity—of act—of word—of thought—or of livelihood—take to living in the wilds, all of them, by reason of their impurity and its attendant corruption, evoke fear and dread from within themselves. But it is not in impurity but in purity that I take to a life of solitude in the wilds ; I am one of the Noble Brotherhood who in purity enter on such life. This consciousness of purity within, brahmin, braced me with confidence to live in the wilds.

I bethought me that : Recluses and brahmins living in the wilds are beset with fear and dread if they are covetous and pleasure-loving, and accordingly corrupt —[18] or malevolent and malignant, and corrupt accordingly—or are corrupt either by being given over to sloth and torpor, or by being puffed-up and disordered in mind, or by harbouring perplexity and doubts, or by [19] exalting themselves and disparaging others, or by being aghast and affrighted, or by acquisitiveness and love of distinction, or by being indolent and slack, [20] or by being bewildered and flustered, or by being unstable and wandering, or witless and drivelling. With me it is not so ; none of these defects are mine as I take to a life of solitude in the wilds ; I am one of the Noble Brotherhood who, without any one of these defects and without their attendant corruption, enter on the solitary life in the wilds and depths of the forest, far from the haunts of men. This consciousness braced me with confidence to live in the wilds.

There came to me the thought that, on the special and outstanding nights of each fortnight, I would seek out haunted shrines and altars in woodland or forest or under tutelary trees and there abide, in those awesome



Ma-tschu, unterhalb Grenard's Übergang.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXVI. Blatt 21.



Blick auf die Ma-tschu-Ebene.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXVII. Blatt 17.



and grisly scenes,—perchance there to discover fear and dread. So, in due season, on such nights, I took up my abode in those awesome and grisly scenes. As I abode there, either an animal passed along, or a peacock [21] knocked off a branch, or the wind rustled the fallen leaves, so that I thought this must surely be fear and dread coming. Thought I:—Wherefore am I doing nothing but await the coming of fear and dread? Come as they may, I, just as they find me, will even so overcome them, without changing my posture for them. I was pacing to and fro when fear and dread came upon me; I continued to pace to and fro till I had overcome them, neither standing still nor sitting nor lying down. If I was standing still when fear and dread came upon me, I continued to stand still, and neither paced to and fro nor sat nor lay down, until I had overcome them. If I was seated when they came upon me, sitting I remained till I had overcome them, neither lying down nor standing still nor pacing to and fro. If I was lying down when fear and dread came upon me, lying down I remained till I had overcome them,—neither sitting down nor standing still nor pacing to and fro.

Now, brahmin, there are some recluses and brahmins who say night is day and day is night;<sup>1</sup> but I say this shews the delusion in which they live. Night to me is night, and day is day. Of me, if of anyone, it can truly be affirmed that, in me, a being without delusions has arisen in the world, for the weal and welfare of many, out of compassion towards the world, for the good, the weal, and the welfare of gods and men.

Strenuous effort won for me perseverance that never flagged; there arose in me mindfulness that knew no distraction, perfect tranquillity of body, steadfastness of mind that never wavered. Divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of consciousness, I entered on, and abode in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness

<sup>1</sup> I.e. by Kasīpa meditations on white and black, respectively. Cf. Sutta No. 77,—M. II, 14-15.



but not divorced from observation and reflection. As I rose above reasoning and reflection, I entered on, and abode in, the Second Ecstasy [22] with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of rapt concentration, above all observation and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. By shedding the emotion of zest, I entered on, and abode in, the Third Ecstasy, with its poised equanimity, mindful and self-possessed, feeling in my frame the satisfaction of which the Noble say that poise and mindfulness bring abiding satisfaction. By putting from me both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows I used to feel, I entered on, and abode in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that, knowing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, is the consummate purity of poised equanimity and mindfulness.

With heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, stablished and immutable,—it was thus that I applied my heart to the knowledge which recalled my earlier existences. I called to mind my divers existences in the past,—a single birth, then two . . . [*and so on to*] . . . a hundred thousand births, many an æon of disintegration of the world, many an æon of its reintegration, and again many an æon both of its disintegration and of its reintegration. In this or that former existence, I remembered, such and such was my name, my sept, my class, my diet, my joys and sorrows, and my term of life. When I passed thence, I came by such and such subsequent existence, wherein such and such was my name and so forth. Thence I passed to my life here. Thus did I call to mind my divers existences of the past in all their details and features.—This, brahmin, was the first knowledge attained by me, in the first watch of that night,<sup>1</sup>—ignorance dispelled and know-

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Vinaya version (S.B.E. XIII, 75), only the Chain of Causation occupied the Buddha's mind during all three watches of the seventh night *after* attaining Buddhahood. According, however, to the (later) Jātaka (I, 75), this night was



ledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

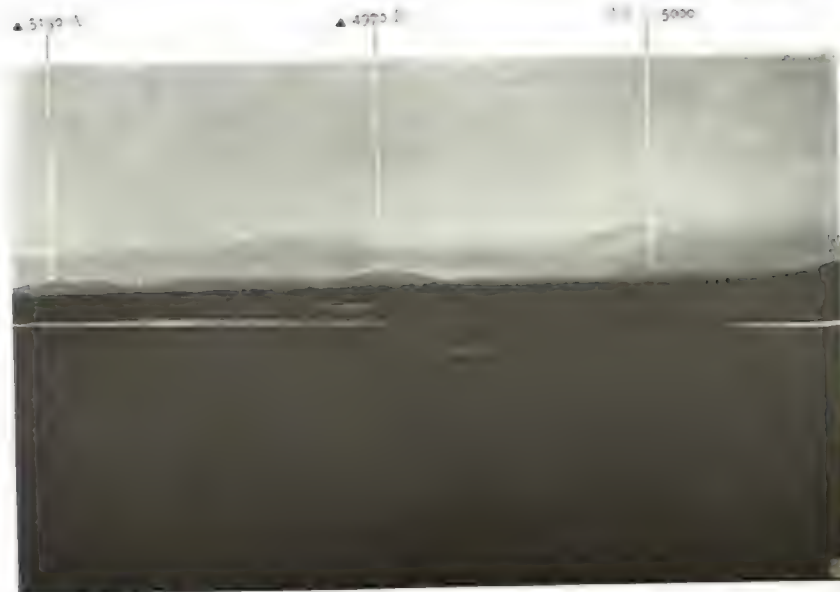
That same stedfast heart I now applied to knowledge of the passage hence, and re-appearance elsewhere, of other beings. With the Eye Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, I saw beings in the act of passing hence and of re-appearing elsewhere,—beings high and low, fair or foul to view, in bliss or woe ; I saw them all faring according to their past. Here were beings given over to evil in act word and thought, who decried the Noble and had a wrong outlook and became what results from such wrong outlook ;—these, at the body's dissolution after death, made their appearance in states of suffering, misery and tribulation and in purgatory. Here again were beings given to good in act [28] word and thought, who did not decry the Noble, who had the right outlook and became what results from right outlook ;—these, at the body's dissolution after death, made their appearance in states of bliss in heaven. All this did I see with the Eye Celestial ; and this, brahmin, was the second knowledge attained by me, in the second watch of that night,—ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

That same stedfast heart I next applied to knowledge of the eradication of Cankers. I comprehended, aright and to the full, Ill, the origin of Ill, the cessation of Ill, and the course that leads to the cessation of Ill. I comprehended, aright and to the full, what the Cankers were, with their origin, cessation, and the course that leads to their cessation. When I knew this and when I saw this, then my heart was delivered

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the actual night of attaining Buddhahood and the first two watches of this night were absorbed (as in this Sutta) by the *pubbe-nivāsa-nāṇa* and the *dibba-cakkhu-nāṇa* of this and the next paragraph. In the Jātaka version the third watch alone is reserved for the Chain of Causation,—here replaced (as at I Dīgha 93) by the Four Noble Truths and by a parallel series of four truths concerning the three Cankers.

Bild 28



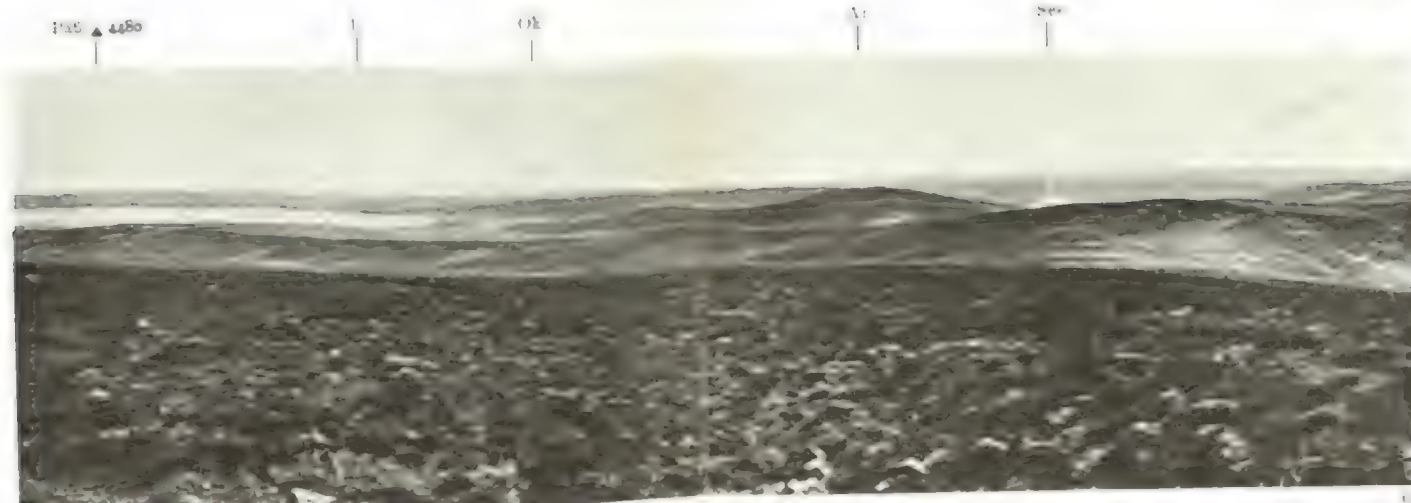
Blick auf das Amne-kor-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen von v. 700—800 Blatt 17.

Bild 29



Blick auf das S.O.-Ende des Oring-nör.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXXIII. Blatt 22.

Bild 30



Blick auf das S.O.-Ende des Oring-nör.  
Aufgenommen v. B. 847—114. Blatt 22.





from the Canker of sensuous pleasure, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance; and to me thus delivered came the knowledge of my Deliverance in the conviction — Rebirth is no more; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now for me there is no more of what I have been. This, Brahmin, was the third knowledge attained by me, in the third watch of that night.—ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

Yet it may be, brahmin, that you imagine that even to-day the recluse Gotama is not void of passion, hate and delusion, and therefore takes to living in the wilds and depths of the forest, far from the haunts of men. Not so. I live the solitary life because therein I see a twofold good;—I see my own well-being here and now, and I have compassion on them that come after.

Compassion indeed, Gotama, for them that come after,—[24] befitting the Arahāt all-enlightened! Excellent, Gotama; excellent! It is just as if a man should set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what was hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear. I come to Gotama as my refuge and to his Doctrine and to his Confraternity; I ask him to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life shall last.

## **Bilder Nr. 31—69**

Aufgenommen zwischen dem  
**Kiang-tschu und Yach-tschu**

Zum III. Teil des Kartenwerkes

# NORDOST-TIBET

## V. ANANGANA-SUTTA.

### OF BLEMISHES.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, the reverend Sāriputta addressed the Almsmen as follows :—

There are four types of individuals in the world :—  
(i.) The blemished man who does not realize aright the blemish within him ; (ii.) the blemished man who does realize it aright ; (iii.) the unblemished man who does not realize aright that he is unblemished within ; and (iv.) the unblemished man who does realize it aright. In the first pair—of the blemished—the second ranks high and the first low ; and similarly [25] in the second pair the second ranks high and the first low.

Hereupon the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna asked Sāriputta what was the cause and what were the conditions whereby one of the two with blemishes, and one of the two without blemishes, was ranked high and the other low.

Reverend sir, answered Sāriputta, it is to be expected of the man who is blemished but does not realize it, that he will not develop will-power, will not exert himself nor work to shed his blemishes ; he will die with heart corrupt and with his blemishes still upon him, a prey to passion, hate and delusion. It is just like a brass bowl brought home from bazaar or stithy covered with dust and dirt, never to be used or scoured by its owners, but just flung aside among the dust. Pray, would such a bowl grow fouler and fouler till it became filthy ?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the man with blemishes which he does not realize aright, may be expected not to develop will-power . . . delusion.

On the other hand, it is to be expected of the man with blemishes which he does realize aright, that he will develop will-power, will exert himself, will work to



shed his blemishes, and will die with heart uncorrupt and without blemish, quit of passion, hate and delusion. It is just like a brass bowl brought home from bazaar or stithy covered with dust and dirt, to be used and scoured by its owners and not to be flung aside among the dust. [26] Pray, would such a bowl grow cleaner and cleaner till it became spotless?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the man with blemishes which he realizes aright, may be expected to develop will-power . . . quit of passion, hate and delusion.

Of the man who is without blemish but does not realize it aright, it is to be expected that his mind will dwell on seductive ideas and that in consequence passion will degrade his heart; he will die with heart corrupt and with his blemishes still upon him, a prey to passion, hate and delusion. It is just like a brass bowl brought home from bazaar or stithy clean and bright, never to be used or scoured by its owners but just flung aside among the dust. Pray, would such a bowl grow fouler and fouler till it became filthy?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the man who is without blemish but does not recognize it aright, may be expected to let his mind dwell on seductive ideas and in consequence to have his heart degraded by passion, so that he will die with heart corrupt and with his blemishes still upon him, a prey to passion, hate and delusion.

Lastly, it is to be expected of the man without blemish who realizes it aright, that his mind will not dwell on seductive ideas, and therefore that passion will not degrade his heart, and that he will die with heart uncorrupt and without blemish, quit of passion, hate, and delusion. It is just like a brass bowl brought home from bazaar or stithy clean and bright, to be used and scoured by its owners and not to be flung aside among the dust. Pray, would such a bowl grow cleaner and cleaner till it became spotless?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way it is to be expected of the man without blemish who realizes it aright, that his mind will not dwell . . . quit of passion, hate, and delusion.



This, reverend Moggallāna, [27] is the cause and these are the conditions whereby one of the two with blemishes, and one of the two without blemishes, is ranked high and the other low.

Blemish is simply called blemish, reverend sir (said Moggallāna). What does the term connote?

Blemish, reverend sir, connotes the domain of bad and wrong desires. The case may arise of an Almsman who conceives the desire that, should he commit an offence, his fellows should not know of it; and who, when they do come to know of it, waxes angry and wroth at their knowing it. This anger and dissatisfaction are both blemishes.

Or he may conceive the desire that, should he commit an offence, his fellows should reprove him in private and not in conclave; and when they reprove him in conclave, he waxes angry and wroth at their doing so. This anger and dissatisfaction are both blemishes.

Or he may conceive the idea that, should he commit an offence, he may be reproved by an equal and not by one on an inequality with him; and when reproof comes from one not his equal, he waxes angry and wroth. This anger and dissatisfaction are both blemishes.

Or he may conceive the desire that the Master should expound the Doctrine to the Confraternity through a series of questions addressed to him alone and to no other Almsman; and, if the questions are addressed not to him but to another, [28] he waxes angry and wroth at being passed over. This anger and dissatisfaction are both blemishes.

Blemishes too are his anger and dissatisfaction if he is disappointed in the desire—

to be the centre figure—he and no other—to lead a train of Almsmen into the village for alms;

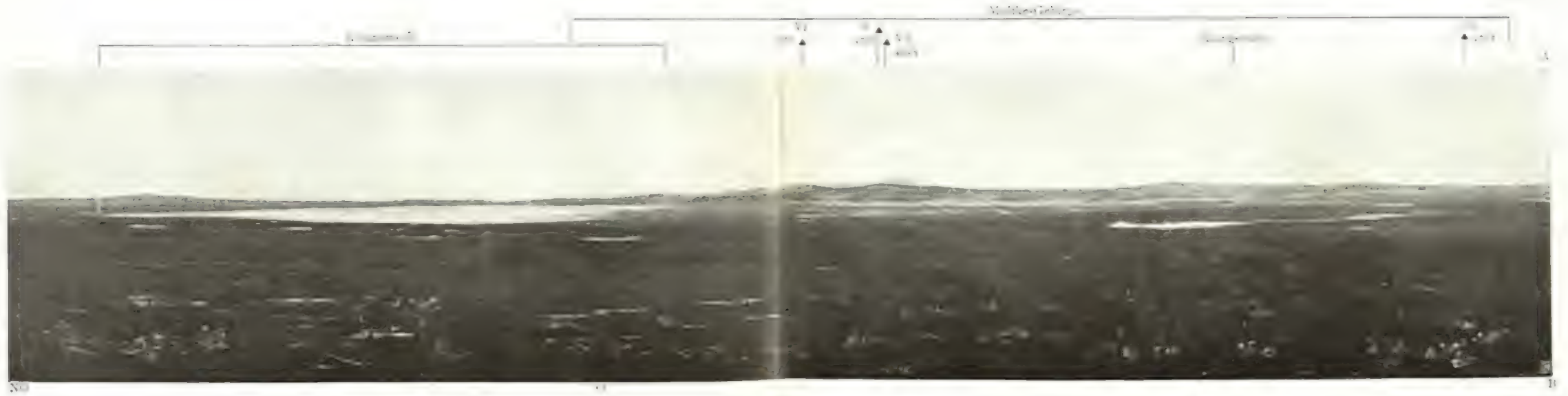
to be given, after the meal, the principal seat, the water first (to handsel the donation, as senior), and the best of everything going;

to return thanks after the meal;

to be the preacher in the pleasaunce to the



Bild 31



zu Bild 31



Blick auf das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen von T. 911-1111. Blatt 32

Almsmen, [29] or to the Almswomen, or to the laymen, or to the lay-women ;

to be the sole recipient—he and no other—of the other Almsmen's respect and reverence, devotion and worship ;

to have to himself the pick of robes, [30] alms, lodging, and medicaments.

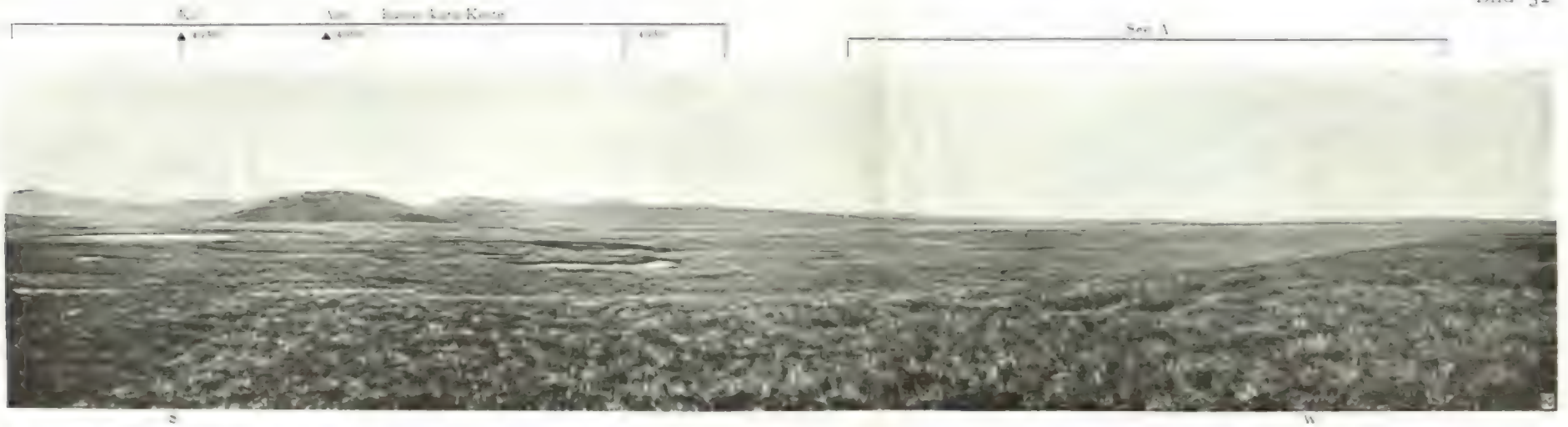
—Blemish, reverend sir, connotes the domain of all these bad and wrong desires. If they are seen, and heard, to be immanent, in an Almsman, then—albeit his abode be in the depths of the forest, albeit he begs his food from door to door just as the houses come, and is coarsely clad in rags from the dust-heap—not unto him do his fellows in the higher life shew respect and reverence, devotion and worship. And why ?—Because bad and wrong desires are seen and heard to be immanent in him. It is just as if a brass bowl, clean and bright, were brought home from bazaar or stithy and were first filled by its owners with a dead snake or a dead dog or human carrion, and then taken back to the bazaar enclosed within a second bowl, making people wonder what wonderful treasure was here, until, on opening it and looking in, they were filled at the sight with such repugnance and loathing and disgust as to banish appetite from the hungry, let alone from those who had already fed ; even so, sir, if these bad and wrong desires are seen, or heard, to be immanent in a Brother, then—albeit . . . [31] immanent in him.

But if these bad and wrong desires are seen, and heard, to have been put from him by an Almsman, then—albeit he lives on the outskirts of a village and accepts invitations to meals and is clad in lay attire—yet unto him do his fellows in the higher life shew respect and reverence, devotion and worship. And why ?—Because he has put from him bad and wrong desires. It is just as if a brass bowl, clean and bright, were brought home from bazaar or stithy, and its owners were first to fill it with the choicest boiled rice of picked varieties together with divers sauces and

curries, and were then to hie back to the bazaar with it enclosed within a second bowl, making people wonder what wonderful treasure was here, until, on opening it and looking in, they were filled at the sight with such pleasure and delight as to give appetite to those who had already fed, let alone the hungry;—even so, sir, if these bad and wrong desires are seen, and heard, to have been put from him by an Almsman, then—albeit he lives . . . and wrong desires.

At this point the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna remarked to Sāriputta that an illustration had occurred to him and, on being invited to cite it, said:—Early one morning, when I was staying once on the heights that encircle Rājagaha, I went for alms into the city, duly robed and bowl in hand, at a time when Samīti, the waggon-builder, was shaping a fellow; and by him there was standing Paṇḍu-putta the Mendicant (ājīvika)—himself come of a waggon-building stock in bygone days—in whom arose the wish that Samīti might shape the fellow without crook or twist or blemish, so that, free from crook, twist and blemish, the fellow might turn out clean and of the best; [32] and while this thought was passing through the mind of Paṇḍu-putta, the old waggon-builder, all the time Samīti was shaping away crook, twist and blemish. At last Paṇḍu-putta in his joy burst out with the joyous cry—His heart, methinks, knows my heart, as he shapes that fellow! Even so is it here. First, take first those persons who, not for their belief but for a livelihood and without believing, go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims,—cunning and deceitful tricksters, vain and puffed-up, raucous babblers who keep no watch over the portals of sense, intemperate in their eating, devoid of vigilance, taking no thought of their vocation nor keen for its discipline, acquisitive and with only a loose grip of truth, foremost in backsliding and intolerant of Renunciation's yoke, indolent and slack, bewildered and flustered, unstable and wandering, witless and drivelling.—Sāriputta's heart, methinks, knows the heart of





In der Kalanam-nör-Ebene.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXXVI. Blatt 32.



Aufstieg zum Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXXVI. Blatt 32.

all these persons and is at work in his exposition to shape them aright. Take next those young men who, for belief's sake, go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims,—in whom these shortcomings find no place but only their counterparts in virtue—, these, as they hear the reverend Sāriputta's exposition drink it in, methinks, and feed upon it, methinks, with words of thanksgiving from grateful hearts. Right well has Sāriputta raised up his fellows in the higher life from what is wrong and established them in what is right. It is just as if, after the bath, a woman or a lad young and fond of finery were to be given a chaplet of lotuses or jasmine or other blossoms and were to clutch it eagerly with both hands and set it gladly on the brow,—even so do these young men who, for belief's sake, go forth . . . established them in what is right.

In such wise did that noble pair of Arahats rejoice together in what each had heard the other say so well.

## VI. ĀKANKHEYA-SUTTA.

### OF YEARNINGS.

[33] Thus have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the Almsmen as follows :—

Let your lives conform to the codes of Virtue and of Obligations; let your lives be restrained by the restraint of the Obligations and ordered on the plane of right behaviour; be scrupulous in observing the precepts of conduct, seeing peril in small offendings.

Should an Almsman yearn to be dear to his fellows in the higher life and beloved by them, revered and famed among them,—let him fulfil the whole code of virtue, calm his heart within him, cultivating the Ecstasies, fostering Insight, and perfecting himself in inward detachment. Let him do this too, if his yearning is either that he may be given robes, food, lodging and medicaments;—or that the donors of such gifts to





him may reap a rich reward and blessing therefrom ;—or that such of his own kith and kin departed in the faith who keep him in mind, may reap a rich reward and blessing therefrom ;—or that he may overcome, and not be overcome by, discontent and sensuality, and fear and dread ;—or that, without toil and travail, he may have fruition of the Four Ecstasies with their illumination and the satisfaction they bring here and now ;—or that he may enter on and abide in physical experience of those excellent Deliverances<sup>1</sup> which transcend visible form and are formless ; [34]—or that, by destroying the (first) three Bonds, he may enter on conversion's first stage, secure thenceforth against rebirth in any state of woe and assured of ultimate Enlightenment ;—or that, by destroying the three Bonds and reducing to small dimensions passion, hate and delusion, he may enter on conversion's second stage and have to return but once more to this world in order to make an end of Ill ;—or that, by destroying all five Bonds which bind him to this lower world, he may be translated elsewhere (to the higher Brahmā world), there to pass utterly away without any return thence ;—or that it may be his to enjoy in turn each and every form of psychic power,—from being one to become manifold, from being manifold to become one, to be visible or invisible, to pass at will through wall or fence or hill as if through air ; to pass in and out of the solid earth as if it were water, to walk on the water's unbroken surface as if it were the solid earth, to glide in state through the air like a bird on the wing, to touch and to handle the moon and sun in their power and might, and to extend the sovereignty of his body right up to the Brahmā world ;—or that, with the Ear Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the ear of men, he may hear both heavenly and human sounds, sounds near and sounds afar ;—or that he may comprehend with his own heart the hearts of other creatures and of other men so as to know them for just

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<sup>1</sup> See Dialogues II, 119.

what they are,—filled with passion or free from passion, hating or free from hate, filled with delusion or free therefrom, focussed or wandering, large-minded or small-minded, inferior or superior, steadfast [85] or unsteadfast, Delivered or lacking Deliverance ;—or that he may recall to mind his divers existences in the past,—a single birth, then two . . . [*and so on to*] . . . a hundred thousand births, many an æon of disintegration of the world, many an æon of its redintegration, and again many an æon both of its disintegration and of its redintegration,—remembering, in every detail and feature, that in this or that former existence such and such was his name, his sept, his class, his diet, his joys and sorrows, and his term of life, ere, passing thence, he came by such and such subsequent existence, wherein such and such was his name and so forth, right up to the time when he passed to his present life here ;—or that with the Eye Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, he may see creatures in the act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere,—creatures high and low, fair or foul to view, in bliss or woe, all faring according to their past (*etc. as in Sutta No. 4*) ;—or that, by eradicating the Cankers, he may—here and now, of and by himself—comprehend, realize, enter on, and abide in, the Deliverance of heart and mind which knows no Cankers.

[86] It was to this intent that I have said :—‘ Let your lives conform to the codes of Virtue and of Obligations ; let your lives be restrained by the restraint of the Obligations and ordered on the plane of right behaviour ; be scrupulous in observing the precepts of conduct, seeing peril in small offendings.’

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

Bild 34



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v. Am ▲ 4900, 1055—1277. Blatt 32.

Bild 35



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v. Am ▲ 4900, 1055—1277. Blatt 32.

Bild 36



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Abstieg von Am ▲ 4900. Blatt 32.

Bild 37



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge (Blick auf Paß E).  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXXVII. Blatt 32.

## VII. VATTHŪPAMA-SUTTA.

## ON FULLING.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the Almsmen as follows :—

Even as a foul and dirty piece of cloth, if dipped by the fuller in blue, yellow, red, or pink dye, would take the dye badly and not come out a good colour, and that because of the cloth's impurity,—even so, Brethren, when a man's heart is impure, woe must be expected to ensue ; and, conversely, just as cloth in the fuller's hands takes the dye well if it be pure and clean, so, when a man's heart is pure, bliss may be expected to ensue.

Now, what are the heart's impurities ?—They are avarice and covetise, malevolence, anger, malice, rivalry, jealousy, grudging, envy, hypocrisy, deceit, imperviousness, outcry, pride, arrogance, inflation, and [37] indolence. Recognizing that each in turn of these is an impurity of the heart, an Almsman puts them from him ; and when at last he has put them all from him, he comes to full belief in the Enlightened One and to recognition of him as the Lord, Arahāt all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment ; he comes to full belief in the Doctrine and to recognition of it as having been excellently expounded by the Lord, as being here and now and immediate, with a welcome to all and with salvation for all, to be comprehended of each man of understanding ; he comes to belief in the Lord's Confraternity and to recognition of it as schooled aright and as walking uprightly, trained in all propriety and in duty, the Brotherhood of the conversion with its four pairs making up the eight classes of the converted,<sup>1</sup> right

<sup>1</sup> The Confraternity—which, of course, does not include the laity—is here divided into eight classes, each of the Four Paths



worthy to receive alms, hospitality, oblations and reverence, unrivalled throughout the world as the field for garnering merit. To the uttermost, every form of self-seeking is renounced, spewed out, discharged, discarded and abandoned. Realizing that he has come to full belief in the Enlightened One—and in his Doctrine—and in his Confraternity,—the Brother reaches fruition of spiritual welfare and of its causes together with the gladness attendant thereon; from such gladness is born zest, bringing tranquillity to the body; with his body now tranquil, he experiences satisfaction, wherein he finds peace for his heart. [88] An Almsman who has reached this pitch in virtue, character and lore, may, without harm or hurt, indulge in the choicest rice with all manner of sauces and curries. Just as a foul and filthy cloth, if plunged in clear water, becomes pure and clean; and just as silver, if passed through the furnace, becomes pure and clean;—even so can such an Almsman eat as he will without harm or hurt.

With radiant thoughts of love—of compassion—of sympathy—and of poise—his mind pervades each of the world's four quarters,—above, below, across, everywhere; the whole length and breadth of the wide world is pervaded by the radiant thoughts of a mind all-embracing, vast, and boundless, in which no hate dwells nor ill-will.

Thus much is so, says he to himself; there is a lower and there is yet a higher stage; Deliverance<sup>1</sup> lies beyond this realm of consciousness. When he knows and sees this, his heart is delivered from the Cankers of sensuous pleasure, of continuing existence, of ignorance; and to him thus Delivered comes knowledge of his Deliverance in the conviction:— Rebirth

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in conversion being subdivided into entrants and adepts (*maggā* and *phala*).

<sup>1</sup> Bu. interprets these four stages as the recognition successively of the Four Noble Truths. In a separate category, extirpation of the Cankers—for the Arahāt here, as for the Buddha himself in Sutta No. 4—precedes triumphant Deliverance.





is no more ; I have lived the highest life ; my task is done ; there is now no more of what I have been. [39]—Such an Almsman is said to be inly washen.

Now at this time there was sitting close by the brahmin Sundarika-Bhāradvāja who asked whether the Lord went to the river Bāhukā to bathe.

What boots the river Bāhukā, brahmin ? What can it do ?

It is reputed to cleanse<sup>1</sup> and give merit ; many have their burthen of evil borne away in its waters.

Thereupon, the Lord addressed the brahmin in these lines :—

*In Bāhukā,<sup>2</sup> at Adhikāḥka's ghāt,  
Gayā, Sundārikā, Sarāssatī,  
Bāhumatī, Payāga,—there the fool  
may bathe and bathe, yet never Cleanse his Heart.  
Of what avail are all these ghāts and streams ?  
—They cleanse not heart or hand of guilt.  
For him whose heart is Cleansed, each day is blest,  
each day is hallowed ; pure of heart and mind,  
he hallows each new day with vows renewed.  
So hither, brahmin, come and Bathe as I :  
Love all that lives, speak truth, slay not nor steal,  
no niggard be but dwell in faith, and then—  
why seek Gayā ?—Your well at home 's Gayā !*

Hereupon the brahmin said to the Lord :—Excellent, Gotama ; excellent ! It is just as if a man should set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear. I come to Gotama as my refuge and to his Doctrine and to his

<sup>1</sup> Reading lokhyas°, with Bu.

<sup>2</sup> Bu. remarks that, while Bāhukā, Sundārikā, Sarāssatī, and Bāhumatī are rivers, the rest are tittḥas only, or ghāts, on the Ganges.



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v.  $\Delta$  4935, 11°—12°. Blatt 32



Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen oberhalb d. Lagers XXXVII. Blatt 32

Confraternity. I ask him to admit me as a Pilgrim in his train and to confirm me therein !

Admitted and confirmed accordingly, the reverend Bhāradvāja was not long [40] before, dwelling alone and aloof, strenuous, ardent and purged of self, he won the prize in quest of which young men<sup>1</sup> go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims, that prize of prizes which crowns the highest life,—even this did he think out and realize for himself, enter on, and abide in, here and now ; and to him came the conviction that for him rebirth was now no more ; that he had lived the highest life ; that his task was done ; and that now for him there was no more of what he had been. Thus the reverend Bhāradvāja too was numbered among the Arahats.

## VIII. SALLEKHA-SUTTA.

### OF EXPUNGING.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, the reverend Mahā-Cunda, rising towards evening from his meditations, came to the Lord, saluted him, and took his seat to one side, saying—In order to get quit and rid of the various false views current about self and the universe,<sup>2</sup> should an Almsman start by taking thought of them ?

The way, Cunda, to get quit and rid of those false views and of the domains in which they arise and crop up and obtain, is by seeing with right comprehension that there is no 'mine,' no 'this is I,' no 'this is my self.'

The case may arise of an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of con-

<sup>1</sup> Kulaputtā (translated sts. as clansmen) are of two kinds, according to Bu.—scions of noble families and those who behave and act as such. The latter are doubtless grafted on to the earlier brahminical idea.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed list of these speculative views see *Dialogues* I, 26 and III, 129.



sciousness, has entered on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward solitude but not divorced from observation and reflection. He may think that expunging is his. But, in the Rule of him that is Noble, the Ecstasies are called not expungings but states of satisfaction here and now.

[41] The case may arise of an Almsman who, rising above observation and reasoning, has entered on, and abides in, the Second Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of rapt concentration above all observation and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. He may think . . . here and now. The case may arise of an Almsman who, by shedding the emotion of zest, has entered on, and abides in, the Third Ecstasy, with its poised equanimity, mindful and alive to everything, feeling in his frame the satisfaction of which the Noble say that poise and mindfulness bring abiding satisfaction. He may think . . . here and now. The case may arise of an Almsman who, putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, has entered on, and abides in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that knows neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant, the clarity that comes of poised equanimity and alert mindfulness. He may think . . . here and now. The case may arise of a Brother who—by passing altogether beyond perception of things visible and by ceasing to perceive sense-reactions and by not taking thought of distinctions—has attained to the idea of Infinity of Space and has entered on and abides in that plane of thought. He may think . . . here and now. The like thought may come too at each stage to the Almsman who, passing altogether beyond that plane, has successively come to the ideas of Infinity of Mind—of Naught—of Neither-perception-nor imperception; he may successively think that expunging is now his. [42] But, in the Rule of him that is Noble, each of these planes is called not an expunging but an excellent state.



Blick auf das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XXXVIII. Blatt 32.



Blick auf das Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge.  
Aufgenommen v. Ark, 307. Blatt 32.





Here is the way to expunge.—You are to expunge by resolving that, though others may be harmful, you will be harmless; that, though others may kill, you will never kill; that, though others may steal, you will not; that, though others may not lead the higher life, you will; that, though others may lie, traduce, denounce, or prattle, you will not; that, though others may be covetous, you will covet not; that, though others may be malignant, you will be benignant, that, though others may be given over to wrong views, wrong aims, wrong speech, wrong actions, wrong modes of livelihood, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness, and wrong concentration, you must follow (the Noble Eightfold Path in) right outlook, right aims, right speech, right actions, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration; that, though others are wrong about the truth and wrong about Deliverance, you will be right about truth and right about Deliverance; that, though others may be possessed by sloth and torpor, you will free yourselves therefrom; that, though others may be puffed up, you will be humble-minded; that, though others may be perplexed by doubts, you will be free from them; that, though others may harbour wrath, malevolence, [48] envy, jealousy, niggardliness, avarice, hypocrisy, deceit, imperviousness, arrogance, frowardness, association with bad friends, slackness, unbelief, shamelessness, unscrupulousness, lack of instruction, inertness, bewilderment, and unwisdom,—you will be the reverse of all these things; and that, though others may clutch at and hug the temporal nor loose their hold thereon, you will clutch and hug the things that are not temporal, and will ensue Renunciation.—That is the way to expunge.

I say it is the development of the will which is so efficacious for right states of consciousness, not to speak of act and speech. And therefore, Cunda, there must be developed the will to all the foregoing resolves I have detailed.

It is just as if there were both a rough, uneven





zu Bild 42



Rundpanorama auf der Wasserscheide zwischen Kiang-tschu und Ri-tschu.  
 Aufgenommen v. ▲ 4770, nahe Lager XXXIX. Blatt 35.

Bild 43



Am Ri-tschu.

Aufgenommen v. Lager XII. Blatt 34.

road and also a smooth, level road as an alternative route; or as if there were the choice of a rough and a smooth ford;—[44] even so the harmful man has harmlessness as his alternative, he who kills has his alternative in innocence of blood, he who steals has his alternative in honesty [and so forth through the whole of the foregoing list].

As all wrong states of consciousness must lead downwards and all right states must lead upwards, so the harmful man has harmlessness for the higher state, the man who kills has innocence of blood for the higher state [and so forth through the whole of the foregoing list].

[45] Now it is impossible for a man who is bogged, himself to extricate another who is bogged too; but it is possible for a man who is himself not bogged, to extricate another who is. It is impossible for a man who is himself not broken-in, schooled and emancipated to break-in, school and emancipate another. But the converse is possible.—So the hurtful individual has harmlessness for his emancipation, he who slays has innocence of blood for his emancipation, the thief has honesty [and so forth through the whole of the foregoing list].

[46] So I have taught how to expunge, how to develop the will, how to effect the alternative approach, how to rise upwards, and how to find emancipation. All that a fond and compassionate teacher can do for his disciples in his compassion, that have I done for you. Here, Cunda, are trees under which to lodge; here are solitude's abodes; plunge into deepest thought and never flag; lay not up for yourself remorse hereafter;—this is my injunction to you.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Mahā-Cunda rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## IX. SAMMĀ-DITṬHI-SUTTA.

## RIGHT IDEAS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure, the reverend Sāriputta addressed the Almsmen as follows:—

The man of right ideas is hailed as such. Now, in what respects does the disciple of the Noble become right in his ideas? In what respects are his ideas impeccable? In what respects has he gained absolute clarity in the doctrine and mastered its truth?

We would have journeyed from afar, reverend sir, to learn the meaning of this utterance from the reverend Sāriputta's lips. Pray, vouchsafe to set forth its meaning for us to treasure up in our memories.

Then listen, reverend sirs, and pay attention; and I will speak.

Yes, reverend sir, said they in response, and Sāriputta spoke as follows:—

When the disciple of the Noble comprehends that which is wrong and the root from which it springs, when he comprehends that which is right and the root from which it springs, [47] thereby he becomes right in his ideas, his ideas are impeccable, he has gained absolute clarity in the Doctrine and mastered its truth.

Now what is the wrong and the right? and what are their respective roots?

Killing is wrong, theft is wrong, sensuality is wrong, lying is wrong, calumny is wrong, reviling is wrong, chattering is wrong, covetise is wrong, harmfulness is wrong, and wrong ideas are wrong.—All this is called that which is wrong; and its roots are—greed, hate and delusion.

And what is that which is right?—To keep from killing, theft, sensuality, lying, calumny, reviling, and chattering; to be void of covetise and harmful-





ness, and to hold right views.—This is what is called right ; and its roots are freedom from greed, freedom from hate, and freedom from delusion.

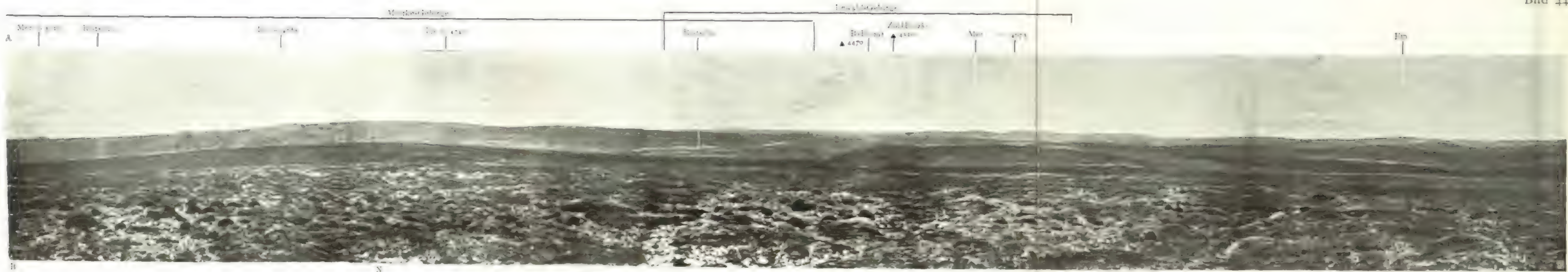
When the disciple of the Noble has this understanding of what is wrong and of what is right, and of their respective roots, then—by putting from him every tendency to passion, by dispelling every tendency to repugnance, by venting every tendency to the idea and conceit ‘I am,’ by shedding ignorance, and by developing knowledge—he makes an end of Ill here and now.—That is how he is right in his ideas, that is how his ideas are impeccable, that is how he gains absolute clarity in the Doctrine and masters its truth.

After expressing their satisfaction and gratitude to Sāriputta, those Almsmen put to him the further question whether there was yet another way by which the disciple became right in his ideas.

Yes, answered Sāriputta.—When he understands Sustenance, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. [48] Now what are these?—There are four Sustenances which either maintain existing creatures or help those yet to be. First of these is material sustenance, coarse or delicate ; contact is the second ; intention is the third ; and the fourth is consciousness. From the rise of craving comes the rise of Sustenance, and with the cessation of craving, comes also the cessation of Sustenance, the course to which is the Noble Eightfold Path,—namely right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. When the disciple thus understands Sustenance, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation, then . . . its truth.

After expressing their satisfaction and gratitude to Sāriputta, those Almsmen put to him the further question whether there was yet another way by which the disciple became right in his ideas.

Yes, answered Sāriputta.—When he understands



In den Vorbergen des Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirges.

Aufgenommen von h. 4640. Blatt 34.

Ill, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these ?—Ill is birth, decay, sickness, and death ; sorrow, wailing, depression of body and mind ; also not getting what one desires ; together with, in brief, the fivefold attachments to existence. That is what Ill is. Now, first, what is the origin of Ill ?—This denotes every craving that leads to rebirth, that has to do with delight and passion, delighting now in this object and now in that, —namely, cravings for pleasures of sense, for continuing existence, or [49] for annihilation. Next, what is the cessation of Ill ?—This denotes the absolute and passionless cessation of the self-same cravings, their abandonment and renunciation, deliverance from them, and aversion for them. Lastly, what is the course that leads to the cessation of Ill ?—It is precisely the Noble Eightfold Path, namely, right outlook, right aims . . . right concentration. When the disciple thus understands Ill, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to the cessation of Ill, then . . . its truth.

After expressing their satisfaction and gratitude to Sāriputta, those Almsmen put to him the further question whether there was yet a further way by which the disciple became right in his ideas.

Yes, answered Sāriputta. When the disciple understands decay and death, their origin, their cessation, and the course that leads to their cessation. Now what are these ? Decay is when in any creature in its class decay and decadence set in with broken teeth, grey hair, and wrinkles, when the term of life is drawing to a close and the faculties are spent. Death is when any creature deceases from its class, goes hence, breaks up, departs, expires and dies, when the elements break up and the corpse is buried. From the arising of birth comes the arising of decay and death ; from the cessation of birth comes the cessation of decay and death, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path,—namely, right ideas, right aims . . . right concentration. When the disciple thus understands decay and death,





their origin, their cessation, and the course that leads to their cessation, then,—by putting from him every tendency . . . its truth.

After expressing . . . further . . . right in his ideas.

[50] Yes, answered Sāriputta. When the disciple understands birth, its origin, its cessation, and the course that leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—Birth is when any creature comes to be born<sup>1</sup> or produced, to issue or appear in this or that class, when the factors of existence make their appearance and senses are acquired. From the arising of existence comes the arising of birth; from the cessation of existence comes the cessation of birth; and the course which leads to the cessation of birth is precisely the Noble Eightfold Path, namely, right outlook . . . right concentration. When the disciple thus understands birth, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation, then . . . its truth.

After expressing . . . further . . . right in his ideas.

Yes, answered Sāriputta. When the disciple understands existence, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—There are three planes of existence, — sensuous, corporeal, and incorporeal. It is from the arising of attachment<sup>2</sup> that their existence takes its rise, and from attachment's cessation comes the cessation of existence, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path,—namely, right ideas . . . right concentration. When the disciple thus understands existence, its origin, its cessation and the course which leads to its cessation, then . . . its truth.

Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands attachment, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—There are four

<sup>1</sup> Bu. takes *jāti* here as conception and the next term (*sañjāti*) as parturition; he limits issue to emerging from egg and womb, and understands 'appear' as birth either from moisture (*samseda-yoni*) or without ostensible parents (*opapātika-yoni*). See Dialogues I, 201, II, 338.

<sup>2</sup> Upādāna.

Bild 45



Am Ri-tschu.

Aufgenommen v. 7-1-00. Blatt 33.

Bild 46



Am Ri-tschu.

Aufgenommen v. Lager N.I.I. Blatt 33.

[51] attachments,—to sensuous pleasure, to speculative ideas, to 'good works,' and to soul-theories. It is from the arising of craving that attachment takes its rise, and from the cessation of craving comes the cessation of attachment, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands attachment . . . its truth.

Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands craving, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—There are six kinds of craving,—for forms, sounds, smells, tastes, touch, and mental objects. It is from the arising of feeling that craving takes its rise, and from feeling's cessation comes the cessation of craving, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands craving . . . and masters its truth.

Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands feeling, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—There are six kinds of feelings,—ocular, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental. It is from the arising of contact that feelings take their rise, and from contact's cessation that there comes the cessation of feeling, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. [52] When the disciple thus understands feelings . . . its truth.

Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands contact, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now, what are these?—There are six kinds of contact,—ocular, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental. It is from the arising of the six spheres of sense that contact arises and from their cessation that there comes the cessation of contact, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands contact . . . its truth.

Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāri-



putta ; when the disciple understands the six spheres of sense, their origin, their cessation, and the course which leads to their cessation. Now, what are these?—There are six spheres,—vision, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and cognition. It is from the arising of name-and-shape that these six spheres arise and from the cessation of name-and-shape that there comes the cessation of the six spheres, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands the six spheres . . . its truth.

[58] Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta ; when the disciple understands name-and-shape, their origin, their cessation, and the course which leads to their cessation. Now, what are these?—Name denotes feeling, perception, volition, contact, and attention ; shape denotes the four great elements and any material form derived therefrom ; and name-and-shape is these two together. It is from the arising of consciousness that name-and-shape arise, and from the cessation of consciousness that there comes the cessation of name-and-shape, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands name-and-shape . . . its truth.

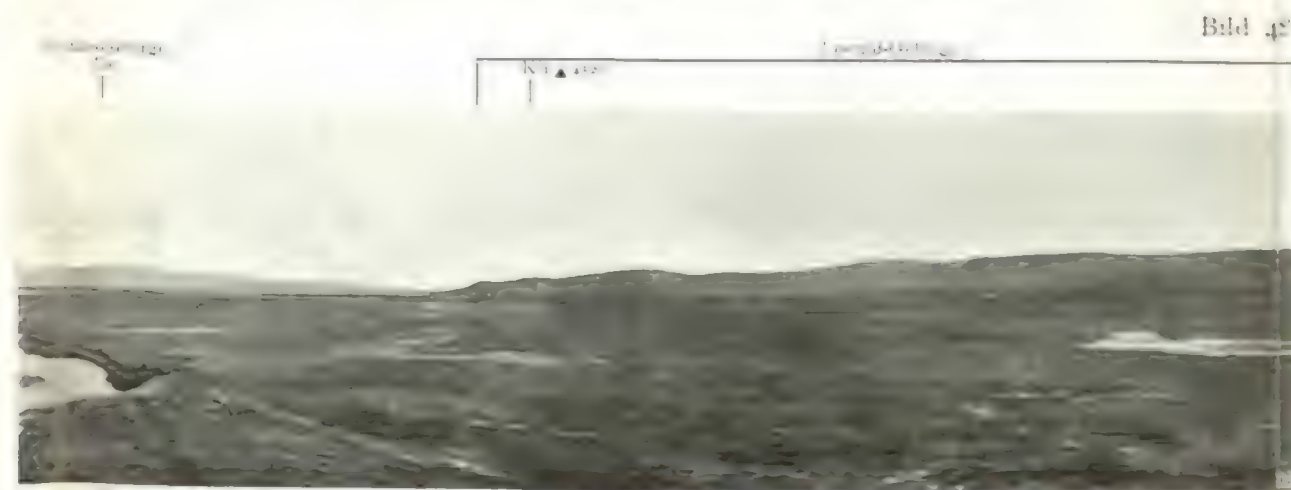
Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta ; when the disciple understands consciousness, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now, what are these?—There are six kinds of consciousness,—ocular, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental. It is from the arising of the plastic forces (*sankhārā*)<sup>1</sup> that consciousness

<sup>1</sup> On this 'elusive' term *sankhāra* (variously rendered syntheses, conditions, confections and conditions precedent in the *Dialogues* ; and elsewhere as activities and synergies), see Buddhist Psych. Ethics, 2nd edition, p. x. Bu. here observes as follows:—*abhisankharapa-lakkhaṇa sankhāro*. At *Digha* III, 211, occurs the passage: *sabbe sattā āhara-ṭṭhitikā, sabbe sattā sankhāra-ṭṭhitikā*,—on which Bu. observes: *imasmim pi visajjane hetthā vutta-paccayo va attano phalassa sankharanato sankhāro ti vutto; iti hetthā āhara-paccayo kathito*,

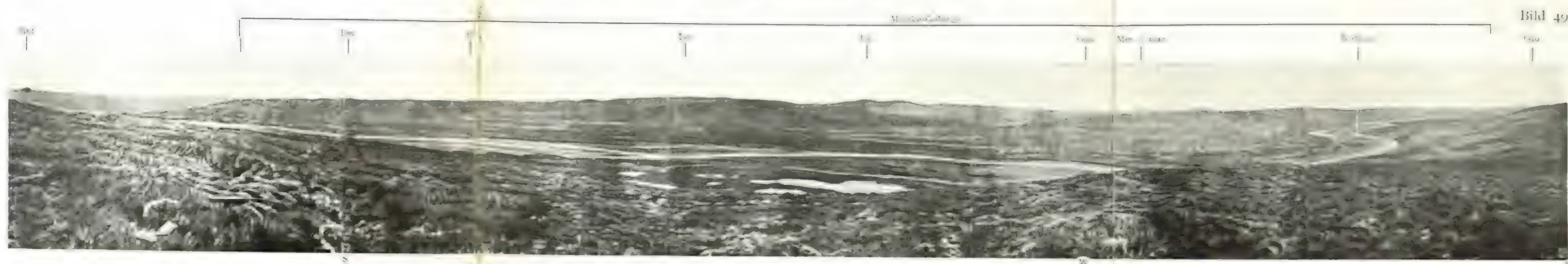




In der Koslow-Ebene. Aufgenommen von Ves.  $\Delta$  4410. Blatt 33



In der Koslow-Ebene. Aufgenommen vom Lager MIII. Blatt 33



Blick auf das Moltke-Gebirge. Aufgenommen von Kli ▲ 4520. Blatt 30.

arises, and from their cessation comes the cessation of consciousness, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands consciousness . . . its truth.

[54] Was there yet another way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands the plastic forces, their origin, their cessation, and the course which leads to their cessation. Now, what are these?—There are three kinds of plastic forces,—namely, of the body, of speech, and of the heart. It is from the arising of ignorance that these forces arise, and from the cessation of ignorance that there comes the cessation of plastic forces, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands plastic forces . . . its truth.

Was there yet another way? Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands ignorance, its origin, its cessation, and the course which leads to its cessation. Now what are these?—Ignorance denotes lack of knowledge of Ill, of its origin, its cessation, and of the course which leads to its cessation. It is from the arising of the Cankers that ignorance arises, and from their cessation comes the cessation of ignorance, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple thus understands ignorance . . . its truth.

Was there yet another [55] way?—Yes, answered Sāriputta; when the disciple understands a Canker, its origin, its cessation, and the course leading to its cessation. Now what are these?—There are three Cankers,—the Canker of sensuous pleasure, the Canker of continuing existence, and the Canker of ignorance.

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*idha sankhāra-paccayo ti ayam ettha heṭṭhimato viseso; heṭṭhā nippariyāy-āhāro gahito, idha pariyāy-āhāro ti evaṃ gahito* (i.e. the second clause in the Digha quotation is a particularized version of the preceding general expression that all creatures persist through food). I take *sankhāra* therefore to be the subsequent elaboration or digestion of the Sustenance till it becomes an integral part of the organism; by metabolism, occasioned by plastic forces.



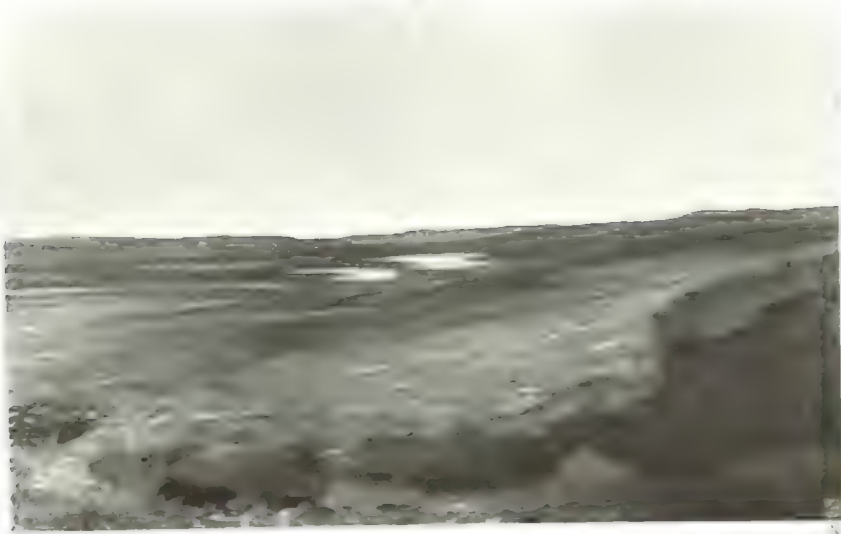


It is from the arising of ignorance that Cankers arise, and from its cessation comes their cessation, the course whereto is just the Noble Eightfold Path. When the disciple of the Noble has this understanding of Cankers, of their origin, of their cessation, and of the course which leads to their cessation, then—by putting from him every tendency to passion, by dispelling every tendency to repugnance, by venting every tendency to the idea and conceit 'I am,' by shedding ignorance, and by developing knowledge—he makes an end of Ill here and now. That is how the disciple is right in his ideas, that is how his ideas are impeccable, that is how he gains absolute clarity in the Doctrine and masters its truth.

Thus spoke the reverend Sāriputta. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what he had said.

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NOTE.—On this scholastic compilation, here attributed to Sāriputta, see the 14th and 15th Suttas (attributed to Gotama himself) of the *Digha Nikāya* and the Introductions to the translations of those Suttas at the beginning of the second volume of the *Dialogues*. It will be noted that *avijjā* figures both as a cause and as a result of the *āsavas*; according to Bu. it is equivalent to *moha* (or illusion) *supra*, where it is defined as lack of knowledge.



Am Ri-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von 9<sup>23</sup>—4<sup>8</sup>, bei Kii. Blatt 30.



Am Ri-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von 9<sup>23</sup>—4<sup>8</sup>, bei Kii. Blatt 30.

## X. SATI-PATTHĀNA-SUTTA.

## OF MINDFULNESS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Kurus—a township of theirs is called Kammāssadhamma—he addressed the Almsmen as follows :—

There is but one way, Almsmen, to purify creatures [56] to pass beyond sorrow and lamentation, to shed ills of body and of mind, to find the right way, and to realize Nirvana ;—it is by the fourfold mustering of mindfulness. . . .

[For the remainder of this Sutta, see (at Dialogues II, 327 et seqq.) the translation of the 22nd Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, which is identical with this Majjhima Sutta, except that towards the end it interpolates paragraphs—which in the Majjhima Nikāya form our separate Sutta No. 141—explaining in detail the Four Noble Truths, and accordingly is distinguished from ours here as ‘the Long’ or *Mahā-sati-paṭṭhāna-suttanta*.



## XI. CŪĻA-SĪHANĀDA-SUTTA.

### THE SHORT CHALLENGE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the Almsmen as follows :—

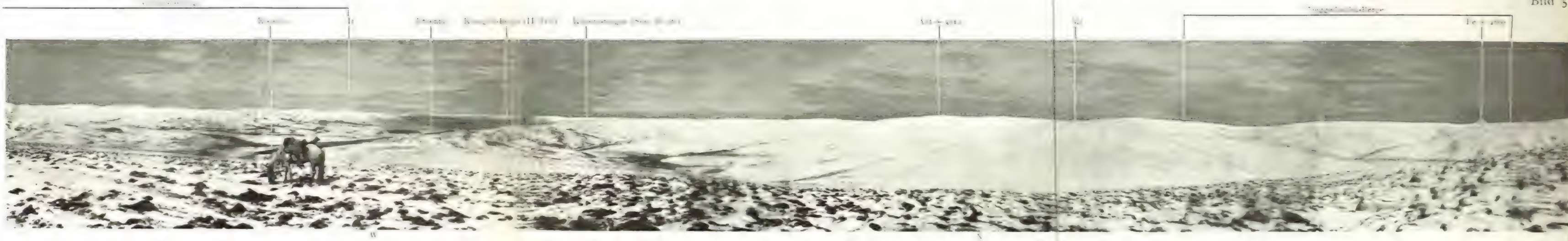
We have in our very midst a recluse, yes and a second, third, and fourth recluse who are empty and heretical [64]—no true recluses!—in these words let your indictment ring out like a lion's roar.

If now it happens that Wanderers (*paribbājakā*) of other sects than yours ask you by what inspiration and on what authority you say this, then your answer to such should be this :—Unto us, reverend sirs, the Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened, has revealed four states of mind which we have realized and therefore speak thus ; and those four states of mind are that we (i) believe in our Teacher, (ii) believe in his Doctrine, (iii) have fulfilled the code of virtue, and (iv) love all our dear fellow-believers, be they lay or be they Pilgrims. These four states we have realized, and that is why we speak thus.

If now the Wanderers of other sects were to rejoin that, in like manner, they believed in a teacher of their own and in his doctrine, had fulfilled their own code of virtue, and loved their own dear fellow-believers ; and if they went on to ask you what was the distinction or divergence or difference between them and you ;—then, you should ask them whether the Goal<sup>1</sup> was one or many. If they answer aright, they will say the Goal

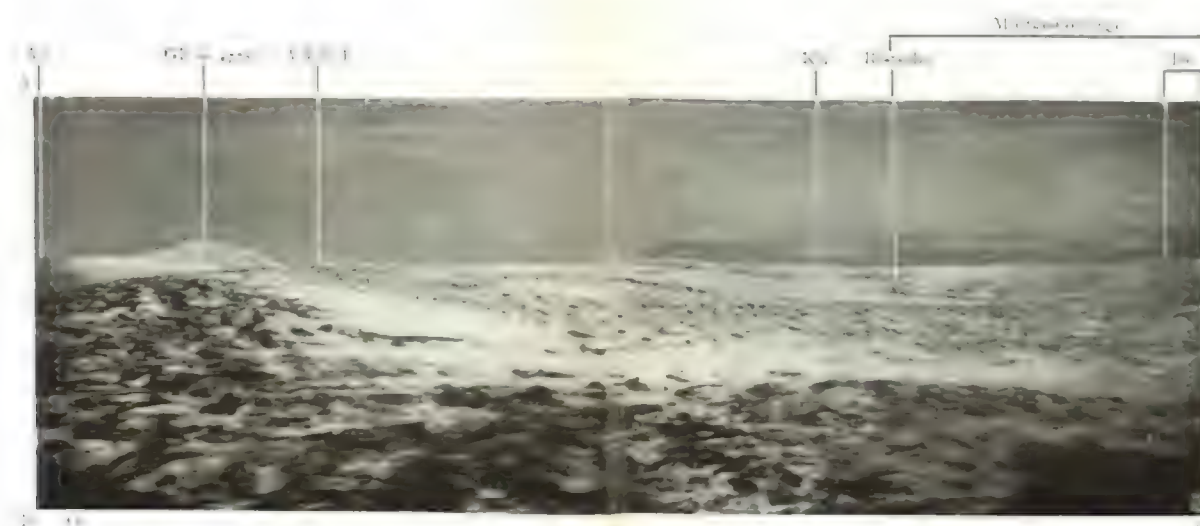
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<sup>1</sup> *Niṭṭhā*. Bu. observes that, while all alike professed 'Arahātship' as their goal, brahmins aimed at the *brahmaloka*, *tapas* ascetics at the *ābhassara* heaven, *paribbājakas* at the *subhakiṇṇa* heaven, the *ājīvikas* at the heaven of Infinity



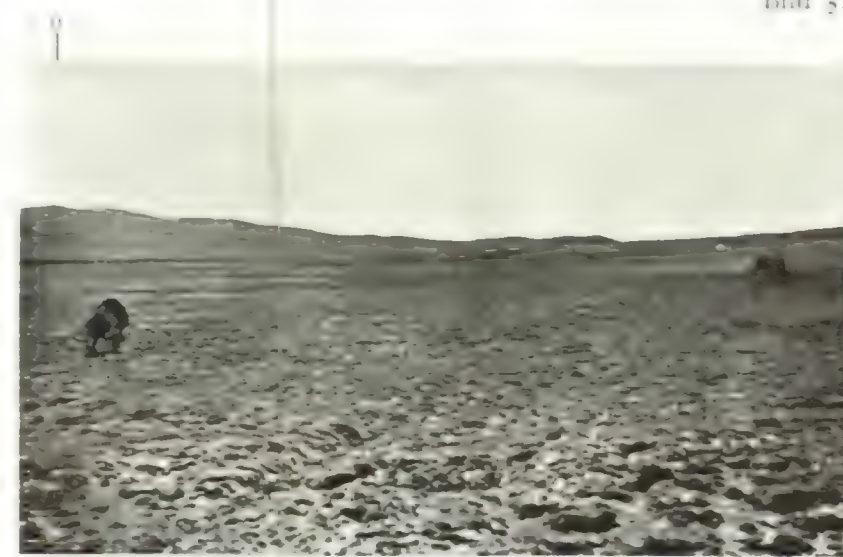
Im Lewald-Gebirge (Tschimurtach).  
Aufgenommen von Gilo ▲ 4500. Blatt 26, 31

zu Bild 53



Im Lewald-Gebirge (Tschimurtach).  
Aufgenommen v. Gilo ▲ 4590. Blatt 26, 31

Bild 52



Am Ri-tschu.  
Aufgenommen v. Lager XLV. Blatt 31



is one and not many. Is it, you will ask, the Goal of the man with, or of the man without, passion—hate—illusion? If they answer aright, they will say it is the Goal of the man without passion, hate, or illusion,—as they will also say, in answer to your further questions, that it is the Goal of the man without cravings, [65] without attachments, of the man who is without fractiousness and without a combative spirit, and who is free from obsessions.

There are the two speculative ideas,—of eternalism and of annihilationism. Every recluse or brahmin who is attached, devoted, and given over to the first view is an opponent of the other; and *vice versa*. Recluses or brahmins who know not the real nature of the rise and wane of these two speculative ideas, who know not their lure, their perils, and their outcome,—harbour passion, hate, illusion, cravings and attachments, are empty of lore, are foes to peace, take pleasure and delight in obsessions, nor do they win deliverance from birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, depression of body and mind, or from tribulation;—they win, say I, no deliverance from Ill. Whereas, all recluses and brahmins who do know the real nature of the rise and wane of these two speculative ideas, their lure, perils and outcome,—are void of passion, hate and illusion, void of cravings and attachments, are rich in lore, combat not the unpeaceful, take no pleasure or delight in obsessions, and win Deliverance from birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, depression of body and mind, and from tribulation;—these win, say I, Deliverance from Ill.

[66] There are four attachments,—to sensuous pleasure, to speculative ideas, to works, and to soul-theories. Some recluses and brahmins profess to understand them all, but fail to show understanding of the whole set of four; for example, they show an

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of mind. Really, they all wanted some (unconscious) *future* (cf. Digha I, 28, and Dialogues I, 41, n. 2), whereas in Buddhism the goal is Arahatship pure and simple, with no after-life.

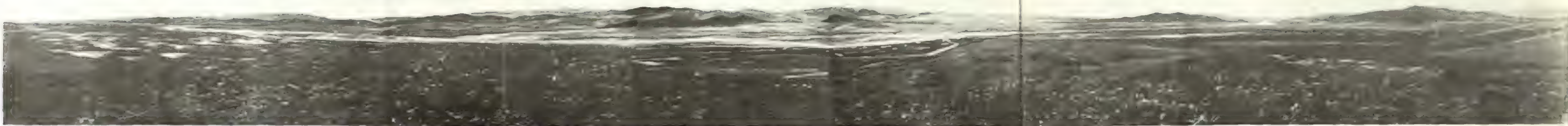




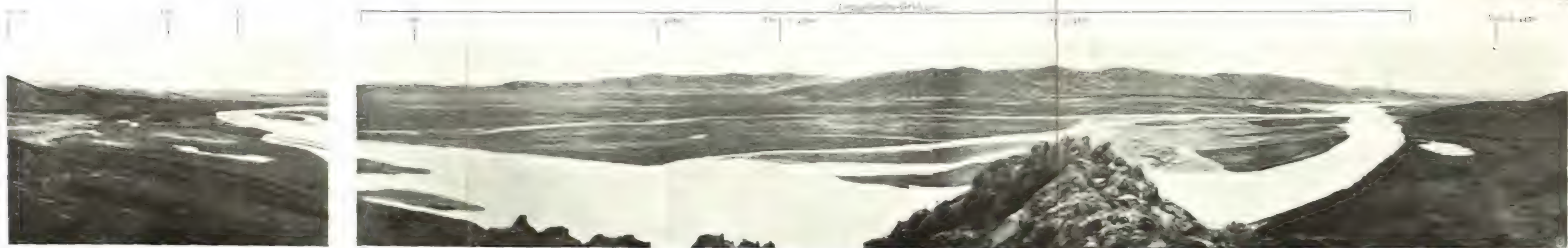
understanding of attachment to sensuous pleasures, but not of the other attachments. And why?—Because these good people do not understand aright what the others are. In such a creed and rule as theirs, it is clear their belief in their teacher is not perfect, or their belief in his plan, or fulfilment of the code of virtue, or love for their fellow-believers. And why?—Because this must be so [67] in any creed and rule which has been wrongly revealed and wrongly preached, which does not bring salvation and peace, which has not been preached by the All-enlightened.

Now the Truth-finder, Arahāt all-enlightened, not only professes to understand all attachments but also communicates to others his understanding of all four. In such a creed and rule as ours, Almsmen, it is clear that belief in the Master is perfect, as belief in his Doctrine is perfect, and as fulfilment of the code of virtue and love for fellow-believers are perfect. And why?—Because this must be so in a creed and rule which has been rightly revealed and rightly preached, which brings salvation and peace, which has been preached by the All-Enlightened.

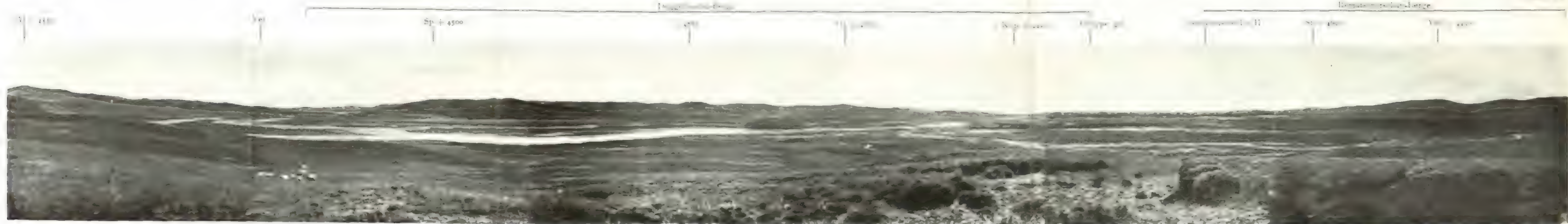
Now whence come the four attachments? What is their origin? What is their parentage? How are they produced?—They come from craving; they originate in craving; they are born of craving; and by craving they are produced. Craving in its turn comes from feeling; it originates in feeling; it is born of feeling; and by feeling it is produced. Similarly, feeling comes from contact, contact from the six spheres of sense, these six spheres from name-and-shape, name-and-shape from perception, perception from plastic forces, plastic forces from ignorance. When ignorance has passed away and when knowledge (of the true goal) has arisen in an Almsman, then, with this purging of ignorance and the uprising of knowledge, he attaches himself no longer to sensuous pleasure, or to speculative ideas, or to works, or to soul-theories; being void of attachment, he trembles not; trembling not, he wins Nirvana for himself,—sure in his convic-



Blick auf das Deggedombu-Gebirge. Aufgenommen von Tet ▲ 4345. Blatt 25.



Am Ma-tschu. Aufgenommen von Vel ▲ 4350. Blatt 25.



Das Ma-tschu-Tal. Aufgenommen von Ert ▲ 4300. Blatt 30.

tion that for him rebirth is no more, that he has lived the highest life, that his task is done, and that now for him what he was is no more.

[68] Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XII. MAHĀ-SĪHANĀDA-SUTTA.

### THE LONG CHALLENGE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Vesālī, outside the town in the dense forest to the west, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, who had recently left this creed and rule, was telling people there was nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama's ennobling gifts of knowledge and insight, that it was Gotama's own reasoning which had hammered out a Doctrine of his own evolving and of his personal invention, such that whoso hears it preached for his good has only to act up to it to be guided to the utter ending of Ill.

Now in the morning early the reverend Sāriputta, duly robed and bowl in hand, went for alms into Vesālī, where he heard Sunakkhatta saying this. On his return after his meal, Sāriputta came to the Lord and with due obeisance took a seat aside, telling the Lord what Sunakkhatta was saying. Sunakkhatta—was the Lord's reply—is a man of wrath and folly; wrath prompted his remarks; yet, though dispraise is his object, the foolish person is actually singing the Truthfinder's praises. [69] For, praise it is when a man says: Whoso hears it preached for his good has only to act up to it to be guided to the utter ending of Ill.

Never, Sāriputta, will this foolish person attain to the Doctrine's teaching about myself that—He is the Lord, Arahat all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, knowing all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of





enlightenment. Never will this foolish person attain to the Doctrine's teaching about myself that—He is the Lord in whom reside all psychic powers : from being one to become manifold, from being manifold to become one, to be visible or invisible, to pass at will through wall or fence or hill as if through air, to pass in and out of the solid earth as if it were water, to walk on the water's unbroken surface as if it were the solid earth, to glide in state through the air like a bird on the wing, to touch and to handle the moon and sun in their power and might, and to extend the sovereignty of his body right up to the Brahmā world. Never will this foolish person attain to the Doctrine's teaching about myself that—He is the Lord who, with the Ear Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human ear, hears both heavenly and human sounds. Never will this foolish person attain to the Doctrine's teaching about myself that—He is the Lord who with his own heart comprehends the heart of other creatures and of other men so as to know them for just what they are,—filled with passion or free from passion, . . . focussed or wandering, large-minded or small-minded, inferior or superior, steadfast or unsteadfast, Delivered or lacking Deliverance.

Ten in number, Sāriputta, are a Truth-finder's powers, whereby he knows his precedence as leader of the herd, issues his lion-like challenges in public assemblies<sup>1</sup> and sets a-rolling the excellent Wheel of Truth. And the ten powers are these :

- (i) The Truth-finder knows precisely both what is and what is not a specific cause ;
- (ii) [70] he knows the precise nature of the consequences that must inevitably result from everything done in the past, present and future ;

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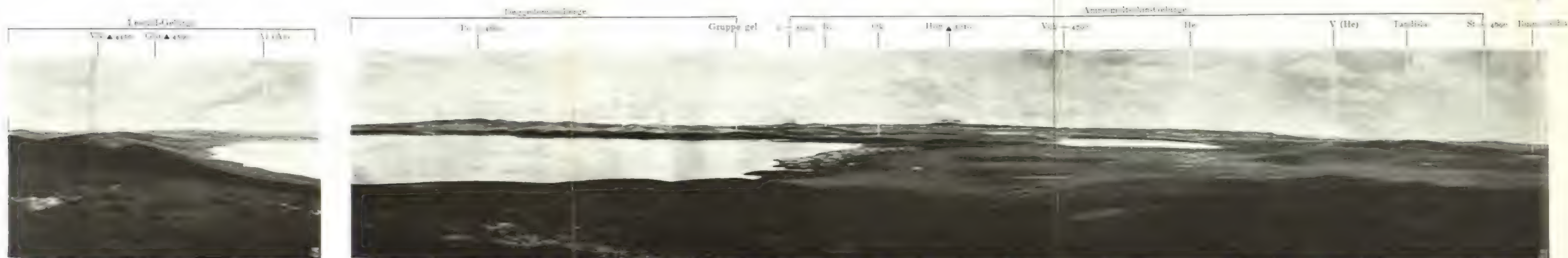
<sup>1</sup> From D. I, 175, it will be seen that Gotama had been unjustly criticized for roaring like a lion only in safe privacy, where he could not be answered.

Bild 57



Am Tsodyara-nör I.  
Aufgenommen v. Vlk ▲ 4450. Blatt 29.

Bild 58



Tsodyara-nör I u. II.  
Aufgenommen v. B ▲ 4470. Blatt 29.

- (iii) he knows the precise nature of the future to which every course leads ;
- (iv) he knows the precise nature of the manifold and diverse physical factors which make up the world ;
- (v) he knows the precise nature of each creature's particular bent ;
- (vi) he knows the precise nature of all that is going on in the hearts of others ;
- (vii) he knows the precise nature of the imperfections, the specific stage, or the uprising of the several achievements of Ecstasy, Deliverance, and Rapt Concentration ;
- (viii) he recalls to mind his divers existences in the past,—a single birth . . . (etc. as in Sutta No. 4) right up to the time when he passed to his present life here ;
- (ix) he sees—with the Eye Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human eye—creatures in the act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere, creatures high and low . . . (etc. as in Sutta No. 4) ;
- (x) [71] by eradicating the Cankers, he—here and now, of and by himself—comprehends, realizes, enters on, and abides in the Deliverance of heart and mind which knows no Cankers.

Such are the Truth-finder's ten powers, whereby he knows his precedence as leader of the herd, issues his lion-like challenge in public assemblies and sets a-rolling the excellent Wheel of Truth. Now, if of me who know and see all this anyone were to say that there is nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama's ennobling gifts or his knowledge and insight, and that it is Gotama's own reasoning which has hammered out a Doctrine of his own evolving and personal invention,—if such a one does not recant these words of his, change his heart, and renounce his view, he will find himself hauled off to purgatory. Just as an Almsman





who is equipped with virtue, concentration, and insight will here and now come to (the Arahats') plenitude of knowledge, so this other equipment—if the man does not recant his words, change his heart, and renounce his view—will end in his being hauled off to purgatory.

Four in number are a Truth-finder's assurances whereby he knows his precedence as leader of the herd, issues his lion-like challenge in public assemblies, and sets a-rolling the Excellent Wheel of Truth; and the four are these:—

(i) I see nothing to indicate that anyone—be he recluse or brahmin or god or Māra or Brahmā or anyone else in the wide world—[72] will, with justice, charge me with lacking enlightenment on those states of mind on which I profess to be all-enlightened. And, as I see nothing to indicate this, my state is one of tranquillity, fearlessness, and assurance.

(ii) I see nothing to indicate that anyone . . . will, with justice, charge me with not having extirpated the Cankers as I profess. And, as I see nothing to indicate this, my state is one of tranquillity, fearlessness, and assurance.

(iii) I see nothing to indicate that anyone . . . will, with justice, charge it against me that the states of mind which I have declared to be stumbling-blocks, are not such at all, to him who indulges in them. And, as I see nothing to indicate this, my state is one of tranquillity, fearlessness, and assurance.

(iv) I see nothing to indicate that anyone . . . will, with justice, charge it against me that the Doctrine I have preached for the profit of whomsoever it be, fails, if he acts up to it, to guide him to the utter ending of Ill. And, as I see nothing to indicate this, my state is one of tranquillity, fearlessness, and assurance.

Such are the Truth-finder's four assurances whereby he knows his precedence as leader of the herd, issues his lion-like challenge in public assemblies, and sets a-rolling the excellent Wheel of Truth. Now, if of me who know and see all this anyone were to say there is



nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama . . . will end in his being hauled off to purgatory.

Eight in number are the assemblies, namely the assemblies of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, recluses, the four Great Regents, the Thirty-three gods, Māra and Brahmā. Strong in the aforesaid four assurances, I have experience of going to some hundreds of each of these eight assemblies, sitting and talking with them and holding converse. Yet never did I see anything to indicate that fear or nervousness would come upon me. And, as I saw nothing to indicate this, my state is one of tranquillity, fearlessness, and assurance. [78] Now, if of me who know and see all this anyone were to say that there is nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama . . . will end in his being hauled off to purgatory.

Four in number are the modes in which life is engendered,—from the egg, from the womb, from moisture, and by translation. From the egg are those creatures said to be born who at birth break the shell that contains them. From the womb are those creatures said to be born who at birth break the womb. From moisture are those creatures said to be born who are born in putrid fish, corpses, or rice, or in refuse-pools or rubbish-shoots. By translation come gods, denizens of purgatory, some human beings and some dwellers in the four states of woe. Now, if of me who know and see all this anyone were to say that there is nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama . . . will end in his being hauled off to purgatory.

Five in number are the destinies after life,—in purgatory, as an animal, as a ghost, as a human being, and as a god. Purgatory I know, the road thereto, the courses that lead to it, and what courses a man pursues to pass, at the body's dissolution after death, to rebirth in some unhappy state of misery or woe or purgatory. The animal world I know, and the worlds of ghosts and men, together with the roads to each, the courses that lead to each and what courses a man pursues to pass to each, at the body's dissolution after



## Tsodyara-nör I.

Aufgenommen von Ok + 4350. Blatt 29.



## Tsodyara-nör II.

Aufgenommen von Ok + 4350. Blatt 29.

death. Gods I know, the road thereto, and the courses that lead to their world, and what courses a man pursues to pass, at the body's dissolution after death, to a state of blessedness in heaven. I know too Nirvana, the road leading thereto, the courses that lead to it, [74] and what courses a man pursues to dwell—here and now—by the extirpation of the Cankers, in that Deliverance of heart and mind which knows no Cankers, a Deliverance which he has, for and by himself, thought out and realized, so as to enter and to abide therein.

Suppose that my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tells me that his courses and behaviour and the road he has taken are such as will bring him at the body's dissolution after death to a state of suffering and woe or purgatory. Later on, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, I duly see him, at the body's dissolution after death, in some state of suffering and woe or purgatory, there experiencing violent, acute and racking pain. It is just as if there were a pit, over a man's height deep, filled with embers showing neither flame nor smoke; and if there drew near a man overcome and overpowered by the midsummer heat, exhausted and beside himself with thirst, making straight for the ember-pit ahead of him; and if a man with eyes to discern were to observe him and say his course and behaviour and the road he was taking would surely bring him to that very pit of embers; and if later that observer were to see the wayfarer fallen into the pit of embers, there experiencing violent, acute and racking pain;—even so does my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tell me that his courses and behaviour . . . and racking pain.

Suppose, again, that my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tells me that his courses and behaviour and the road he has taken are such as will bring him at the body's dissolution after death to rebirth as an animal. Later on, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, I duly

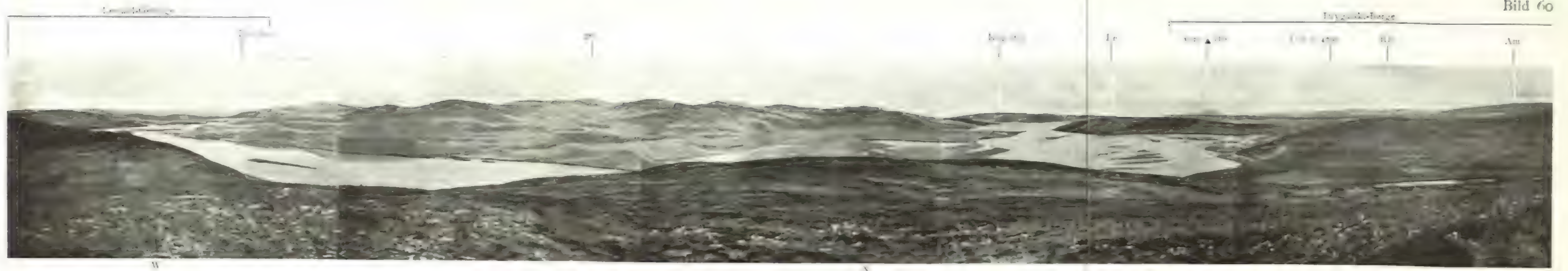


see him, at the body's dissolution after death, reborn as an animal and experiencing, as such, violent, acute and racking pain. It is just as if there were a jakes, a man's height deep, full up with ordure, and if there drew near a man overcome [75] and overpowered by the midsummer heat . . . (etc. as in previous paragraph, *substituting* ordure *for* embers) . . . racking pain.

Or, suppose that my heart's knowledge of . . . reborn as a ghost, there experiencing, as such, violent, acute and racking pain. It is just as if on rugged ground there grew a tree with but the tiniest leaves and foliage and with but meagre strips of shade beneath ; and if there drew near a man overcome and overpowered by the midsummer heat, exhausted and beside himself with thirst, making straight for the tree ahead of him ; and if a man with eyes to discern were to observe him and to say that his course and behaviour and the road he was taking would surely bring him to that very tree ; and if later that observer were to see the wayfarer seated or lying under that tree's shade, experiencing violent, acute and racking pain ;—even so does my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tell me that his courses and behaviour and the road he has taken are such as to bring him, at the body's dissolution after death, to rebirth as a ghost, there to experience violent, acute and racking pain.

Or, suppose that my heart's knowledge of . . . reborn as a man, there experiencing much felicity. It is just as if on level ground there grew a tree with thick luxuriant foliage and with dense shade beneath ; and if there drew near a man overcome . . . (etc. as in previous paragraph) . . . see the wayfarer seated or lying in the shade of the tree, there experiencing much felicity ;—even so does my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tell me that his courses and behaviour and the road he has taken are such as to bring him, at the body's dissolution after death, to rebirth among mankind, there to experience much felicity.

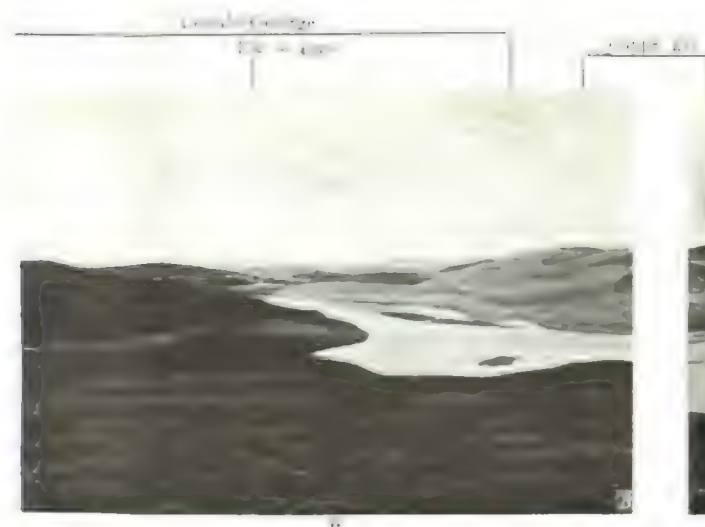




Das Dünengelände des Ma-tschu. Aufgenommen von Ri + 4380. Blatt 29.



Rückblick zum Tsodyara-nör II. Aufgenommen von Ri + 4380. Blatt 29.



Im Dünenland des Ma-tschu. Aufgenommen von Ri + 4335. Blatt 29.



Rückblick zum Tsodyara-nör II.  
Aufgenommen von Ri + 4335. Blatt 29.

[76] Or, fourthly, suppose that my heart's knowledge of . . . reborn in bliss in heaven, there experiencing exceedingly great felicity. It is just as if there were a palace and in it a gabled pavilion, plastered within and without, sheltered from winds, complete with well-barred doors, and windows that fasten; and if within this pavilion there were a divan, spread with white coverlets of fleecy wool embroidered with flowers, strewn over with rare antelope-skins as rugs, and furnished with counterpanes and a red cushion at either end; and if there drew near a man overcome . . . see the wayfarer seated or lying on that divan in exceedingly great felicity;—even so does my heart's knowledge . . . there to experience exceedingly great felicity.

Or, lastly, suppose that my heart's knowledge of the heart of a given man tells me that his courses and behaviour and the road he has taken are such as will, by the extirpation of the Cankers, ensure his dwelling—here and now—in that Deliverance of heart and mind which knows no Cankers, a Deliverance which he has, for and by himself, thought out and realized, so as to enter and abide therein. Later on, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, I duly see him with his Deliverance achieved, experiencing exceedingly great felicity. It is just as if there were a lotus-pond of clear pleasant cool gleaming water with firm banks and in every way delightful, with a dense wood hard by; and if there drew near a man overcome . . . see the wayfarer—after going down to the pond and there bathing and drinking and easing his weary frame of all its fatigue and distress—come out of the water and sit or [77] lie down in the dense wood in exceedingly great felicity;—even so does my heart's knowledge . . . with his Deliverance achieved, experiencing exceedingly great felicity.

Such are the five destinies hereafter. Now, if of me who know and see all this anyone were to say that there is nothing superhuman about the recluse Gotama's ennobling gifts or his knowledge and insight, and that



it is Gotama's own reasoning which has hammered out a Doctrine of his own evolving and personal invention,—if such a one does not recant these words of his, change his heart, and renounce his view, he will find himself hauled off to purgatory. Just as a Brother who is equipped with virtue, concentration, and insight will—here and now—come to the (Arahat's) plenitude of knowledge, so this other equipment—if the man does not recant his words, change his heart, and renounce his view—will end in his being hauled off to purgatory.

Aye, Sāriputta, I have lived the fourfold higher life ;—I have been an ascetic of ascetics ; loathly have I been, foremost in loathliness ; scrupulous have I been, foremost in scrupulosity ; solitary have I been, foremost in solitude.

(i.) To such a pitch of asceticism have I gone that<sup>1</sup> naked was I, flouting life's decencies, licking my hands after meals, never heeding when folk called to me to come or to stop, never accepting food brought to me before my rounds or cooked expressly for me, never accepting an invitation, never receiving food direct from pot or pan or within the threshold or among the faggots or pestles, never from (one only of) two people messing together, never from a pregnant woman or a nursing mother or a woman *in coitu*, never from gleanings (in time of famine) nor from where a dog is ready at hand or where (hungry) flies congregate, never touching flesh or fish or spirits or strong drink or brews of grain. I have visited only one house a day and there taken only one morsel ; [78] or I have visited but two or (up to not more than) seven houses a day and taken at each only two or (up to not more than) seven morsels ; I have lived on a single saucer of food a day, or on two, or (up to) seven saucers ; I have had but one meal a day, or one every two days, or (so on, up to) every seven days, or only once a fort-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra* Suttas No. 36, 45, 51, etc. ; and see Dialogues I, 227, for these—and one or two more—ascetic practices (of Ājivakas) and their interpretation (by Buddhists).



Bild 62



In dem Dünenland des Ma-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von Kup + 4410. Blatt 29.

Bild 63



An den Ma-tschu-Seen.  
Aufgenommen von S. Blatt 24.

Bild 64



Die Dünenlandschaft des Ma-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von Tāt + 4345. Blatt 24

night, on a rigid scale of rationing. My sole diet has been herbs gathered green, or the grain of wild millets and paddy, or snippets of hide, or water-plants, or the red powder round rice-grains within the husk, or the discarded scum of rice on the boil, or the flour of oil-seeds, or grass, or cow-dung. I have lived on wild roots and fruit, or on windfalls only. My raiment has been of hemp or of hempen mixture, of cerements, of rags from the dust-heap, of bark, of the black antelope's pelt either whole or split down the middle, of grass, of strips of bark or wood, of hair of men or animals woven into a blanket, or of owls' wings. In fulfilment of my vows, I have plucked out the hair of my head and the hair of my beard, have never quitted the upright for the sitting posture,<sup>1</sup> have squatted and never risen up, moving only a-squat, have couched on thorns, have gone down to the water punctually thrice before night-fall to wash (away the evil within). After this wise, in divers fashions, have I lived to torment and to torture my body ;—to such a length in asceticism have I gone.

(ii.) To such a length have I gone in loathliness that on my body I have accumulated the dirt and filth of years till it dropped off of itself,—even as the rank growths of years fall away from the stump of a Tindukā-tree. But never once came the thought to me to clean it off with my own hands or to get others to clean it off for me ;—to such a length in loathliness have I gone.

(iii.) To such a length in scrupulosity have I gone that my footsteps out and in were always attended by a mindfulness so vigilant as to awake compassion within me over even a drop of water lest I might harm tiny creatures in crevices ;—to such a length have I gone in scrupulosity.

(iv.) To such a length have I gone as a solitary that, [79] when my abode was in the depths of the forest, the mere glimpse of a cowherd or neatherd or grass-

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<sup>1</sup> Jain practices, see Sutta No. 14.





cutter, or of a man gathering firewood or edible roots in the forest, was enough to make me dart from wood to wood, from thicket to thicket, from dale to dale, and from hill to hill,—in order that they might not see me or I them. As a deer at the sight of man darts away over hill and dale, even so did I dart away at the mere glimpse of cowherd, neatherd, or what not, in order that they might not see me or I them ;—to such a length have I gone as a solitary.

When the cowherds had driven their herds forth from the byres, up I came on all fours to find a subsistence on the droppings of the young milch-cows. So long as my own dung and urine held out, on that I have subsisted. So foul a filth-eater was I.<sup>1</sup>

I took up my abode in the awesome depths of the forest, depths so awesome that it was reputed that none but the passion-less could venture in without his hair standing on end. When the cold season brought chill wintry nights, then it was that, in the dark half of the months when snow was falling, I dwelt by night in the open air and in the dank thicket by day. But when there came the last broiling month of summer before the rains, I made my dwelling under the baking sun by day and in the stifling thicket by night. Then there flashed on me these verses, never till then uttered by any :—

*Now scorched, now froze, in forest dread, alone,  
naked and fireless, set upon his quest,  
the hermit battles purity to win.*

In a charnel ground I lay me down with charred bones for pillow. When the cowherds' boys came along, they spat and staled upon me, pelted me with dirt, and stuck bits of wood into my ears. Yet I declare that never did I let an evil mood against them arise within me.—So poised in equanimity was I.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Less detail is given at Dialogues I, 232 (note 1), and the 94th Jātaka (which contains the verses following, with a commentary which is fuller and—I think—later than Buddhaghosa's commentary on them in this Sutta).

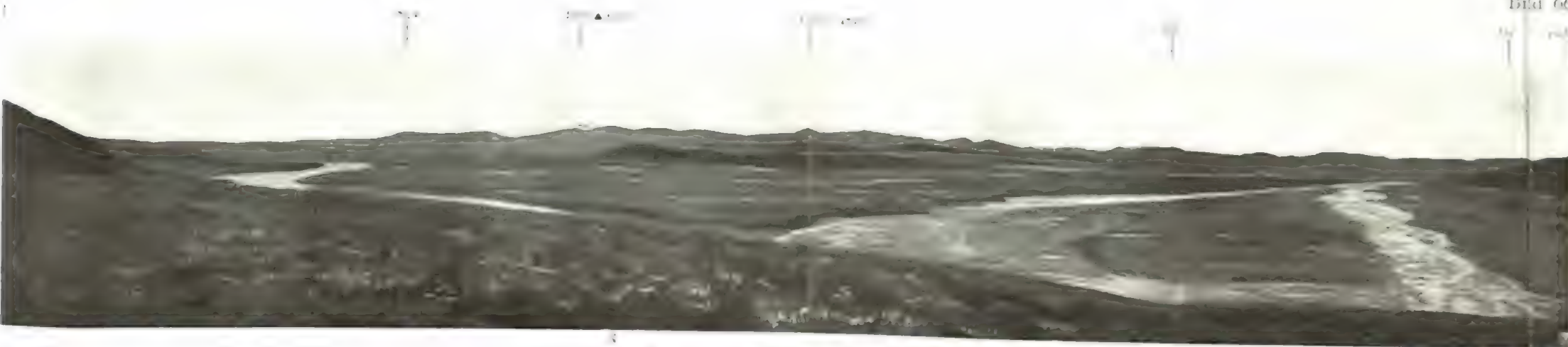
<sup>2</sup> This bojjhanga addition (see Sutta No. 2) does not appear in the Dīgha catalogue of asceticisms.

Bild 65



Der Ma-tschu am Fuße der Drygalski-Berge.  
Aufgenommen von Mm ▲ 4345. Blatt 24.

Bild 66



Der Ma-tschu mit der Bertrab-Kette.  
Aufgenommen von Mm ▲ 4345. Blatt 25

Bild 67



Am Ma-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von Lager LIII. Blatt 28

[80] Some recluses and brahmins there are who say and hold that purity cometh by way of food, and accordingly proclaim that they live exclusively on jujube-fruits, which, in one form or other, constitute their sole meat and drink. Now I can claim to have lived on a single jujube-fruit a day. If this leads you to think that this fruit was larger in those days, you would err ; for, it was precisely the same size then that it is to-day. When I was living on a single fruit a day, my body grew emaciated in the extreme ; because I ate so little, my members, great and small, grew like the knotted joints of withered creepers ; like a buffalo's hoof were my shrunken buttocks ; like the twists in a rope were my spinal vertebræ ; like the crazy rafters of a tumble-down roof, that start askew and aslant, were my gaunt ribs ; like the starry gleams on water deep down and afar in the depths of a well, shone my gleaming eyes deep down and afar in the depths of their sockets ; and as the rind of a cut gourd shrinks and shrivels in the heat, so shrank and shrivelled the scalp of my head,—and all because I ate so little. If I sought to feel my belly, it was my backbone which I found in my grasp ; if I sought to feel my backbone, I found myself grasping my belly, so closely did my belly cleave to my backbone ;—and all because I ate so little. When I wanted to retire for the calls of nature, down I fell on my face ;—and all because I ate so little. If for ease of body I chafed my limbs, the hairs of my body fell away under my hand, rotted at their roots ;—and all because I ate so little.

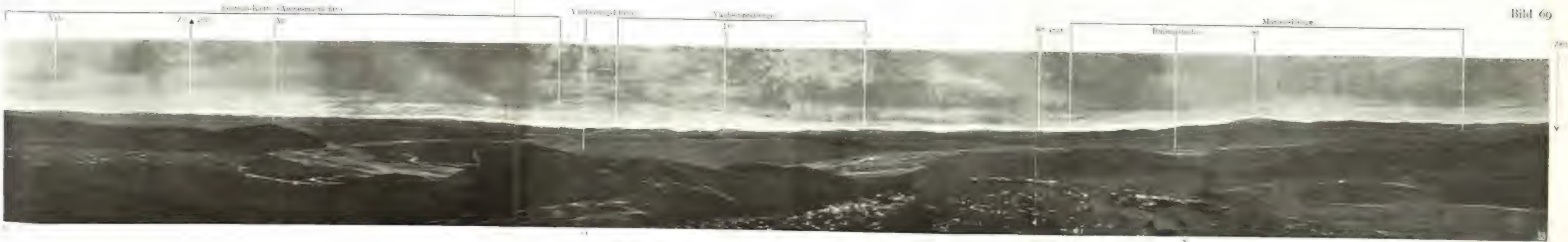
Other recluses and brahmins there are who, saying and holding that purity cometh by way of food, proclaim that they live exclusively on beans—or sesamum—or rice—as their sole meat and drink. [81] Now I can claim to have lived on a single bean a day—on a single sesamum seed a day—or a single grain of rice a day ; and [the result was still the same]. Never did this practice or these courses or these dire austerities bring me to the ennobling gifts of super-







Der Ma-tschu in der Yach-yung-Ebene.  
Aufgenommen von Zg 824-925. Blatt 28.



Der Ma-tschu aus den Drygalski-Bergen gesehen.  
Aufgenommen von Ha 4480. Blatt 28

human knowledge and insight. And why?—Because none of them lead to that noble understanding which, when won, leads on to Deliverance and guides him who lives up to it onward to the utter extinction of all Ill.

Again, there are other recluses and brahmins who say and hold that purity cometh by way of successive transmigrations, [82]—or of a particular rebirth—or particular abode. Now, it would not be easy to find the transmigration or rebirth or abode that has not been mine in all this long past of mine,—save and except the heaven of the pure abode.<sup>1</sup> And even if I were to transmigrate to—or be reborn in—or abide among the gods of that particular heaven, I could never more return to earth.

Again, there are recluses and brahmins who say and hold that purity cometh by sacrificing or by fire-ritual. Now it would not be easy to find either the sacrifice which I have not offered or the fire-ritual which I have not performed,—whether as a king anointed as such from among the nobles, or as a brahmin magnate.

Lastly, there are recluses and brahmins who say and hold that, as long as a man is in the prime of his youth and early manhood, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey, and in all the beauty of his prime,—so long only are the powers of his mind at their best; but that when he has grown broken and old, aged and stricken in years, and draws to his life's close, then the powers of his mind are in decay. This is not so. I myself am now broken and old, aged and stricken in years and at the close of my life, being now round about eighty. Imagine now that I had four disciples—each living to be a full hundred, each of perfect alertness, resolve, and power to reproduce and expound,—four disciples as perfect in their

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<sup>1</sup> This heaven is deliberately ignored in Sutta No. 1. At Digha II, 50 (v. Dialogues II, 39, note 2), Gotama paid a visit of curiosity to this heaven, which is only dragged in here per contumeliam, to pour contempt on all the pride of brahmins in their purity and its apotheosis.

scope as a mighty archer of renown, so skilled and dexterous with his bow and so schooled in its use that he can with ease shoot even a feather-weight shaft right over a towering palm. [83] Imagine further that these four gifted disciples ply me with questions (say) about mustering-up mindfulness, receive my answers, take in my exposition as expounded to them, never put to me a single subsidiary question, and never pause in their questioning except for meals, for the calls of nature, and for necessary repose.—Still uncompleted withal would be the Truth-finder's teaching, still uncompleted would be his exposition of the Sayings, still uncompleted would be his answers to their questions; but meantime my four disciples would have lived out their allotted century and would have expired. If you have to carry me about on a litter, Sāriputta, yet will my mind still retain its powers.

Of me, if of anyone, it may truly be said that in me a being without delusions has appeared in the world for the welfare and good of many, out of compassion towards the world, for the profit, welfare and good of gods and men.

At the time the venerable Nāgasamāla was standing behind the Lord, fanning him; and he said to the Lord :—Wonderful, sir; marvellous! As I listened to this discourse, the hairs of my body stood on end. What is the title of this discourse?

Well, then, Nāgasamāla, treasure it up in your memory as 'the Grisly discourse.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Nāgasamāla rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

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<sup>1</sup> As this Mahā-sihanāda-sutta is also thus styled the Lomahamsa-pariyāya, so the Sigāl-ovāda-sutta of the Dīgha was also (Dialogues III, 171) known as the layman's Vinaya. So the Anumāna-sutta (infra, No. 15) was known as the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha; and the Ariya-pariyesana-sutta (infra, No. 26) is alternatively styled by Bu. Pāsārāsī-sutta. See also the penultimate paragraph of Sutta No. 115 for five alternative titles, all attributed to Gotama himself.





### XIII. MAHĀ-DUKKHA-KKHANDHA-SUTTA.

#### THE LONGER STORY OF ILL.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, a number of Almsmen, duly robed and bowl in hand, went early in the day [84] into the city for alms. But, thinking it somewhat early for this, they thought they would go to the (neighbouring) pleasure-ground assigned to the Wanderers of other creeds. Arrived there and seating themselves after due exchange of civil greetings, they were addressed as follows by these sectaries :—Reverend sirs, the recluse Gotama teaches how to transcend pleasures of sense ;—so do we. He teaches how to transcend visible forms ;—so do we. He teaches how to transcend feelings ;—so do we. Where then is the distinction, divergence or difference between him and us in tenets or teaching ?

The Almsmen who had listened to this, neither applauded nor objected, but simply rose up without a word and departed, to hear the truth on the matter from the Lord's lips. So, when they had gone their rounds for alms and had got back after their meal, they went to him and, seating themselves after due salutations, related what had passed.

[85] Sectaries who say that should be asked what satisfaction, what perils, and what Deliverance attend pleasures of sense, or visible forms, or feelings, respectively. To this they will not succeed in replying, and will be annoyed to boot. And why ?—Because it is beyond their scope. I see no one in the whole universe—with all its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, gods and men—who can win hearts with his answer to these questions, save only a Truth-finder, or a disciple of the Truth-finder, or one who has been told by them.

What is the satisfaction that attends pleasures of sense ? Fivefold are pleasures of sense :—(i.) forms

## **Bilder Nr. 70—115**

Aufgenommen zwischen  
Yach-tschu und Sung p'an-t'ing

Zum IV. und IVa. Teil des Kartenwerkes

# **NORDOST-TIBET**



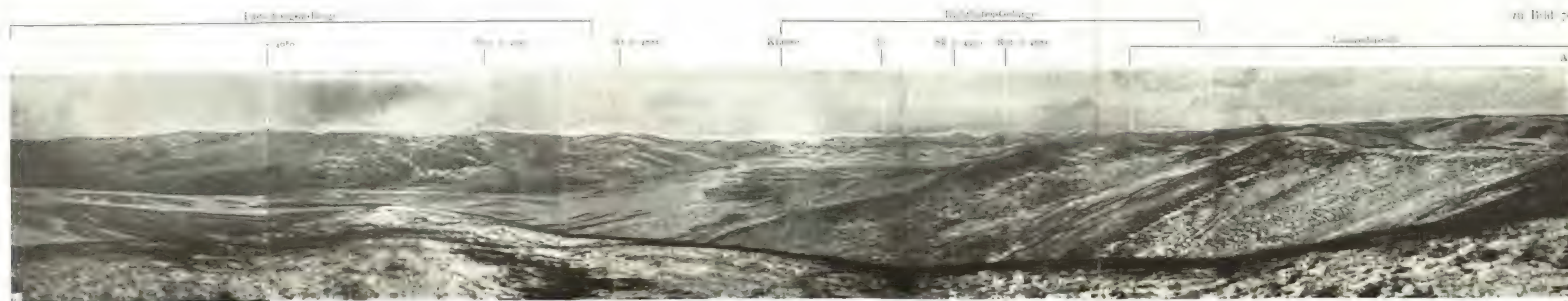
perceived by the eye, (ii.) sounds perceived by the ear, (iii.) odours perceived by the nose, (iv.) tastes perceived by the tongue, and (v.) touch perceived by the body,—all of them desirable, agreeable, pleasant, and attractive, all of them pleasurable and exciting to passion. The satisfaction that attends pleasures of sense is the gratification and contentment which arises from these fivefold pleasures.

What are the perils which attend pleasures of sense?—Take the case of a respectable young man who makes his living by being clerk of the signet, clerk of accout, computer, estate-agent, purveyor, herd-manager, archer, member of the royal household, or in some other calling,—therein braving heat and cold, harassed by gnats, mosquitoes, wind, blazing sun, and contact with snakes, and tormented to death by hunger and thirst.—These are among the perils that attend pleasures of sense, here and now, with all that makes up the sum of Ill,—all because of pleasure, from pleasure, by reason of pleasure, verily [86] with pleasure, and pleasure only, as the cause.

If, now, active, energetic and pushing though he be, this respectable young man fails to make his fortune, he grieves and laments and weeps, beats his breast and is distracted that his efforts have been in vain and his activities fruitless.—These are among the perils that attend . . . the cause.

If on the other hand success attends his efforts and he does make his fortune, he is beset by anxiety and tribulation to retain it,—always wondering whether kings or thieves will despoil him, or whether he will be stripped by fire or flood or by heirs he detests. And if, despite all his watch and ward, one or other of these calamities befalls him, then he grieves and laments . . . the cause.

It is equally because of pleasure—from pleasure, by reason of pleasure, verily with pleasure, and pleasure only, as the originating cause—that kings contend with kings, nobles with nobles, brahmins with brahmins, citizens with citizens, mother with son, son with mother,



Im Lamascha-rich.  
Aufgenommen von Tr. 4345. Blatt 36



father with son, son with father, brother with brother, brother with sister, sister with brother, friend with friend, till, in their quarrels, contentions and strife, they fall on one another with fists, clods, cudgels, and knives, whereby they come by their death or deadly hurt.—These are among the perils that attend . . . the cause.

It is equally because of pleasure that, girding on sword and buckler, bow and sheaf of arrows, men charge in battle array, while arrows and javelins hurtle through the air and swords flash and hack ; with arrows and spear they deal wounds, with their swords they hew off heads, so that men come by their deaths or deadly hurt.—These are among the perils that attend . . . the cause.

It is equally because of pleasure that, girding on sword and buckler, bow and sheaf of arrows, men charge up slippery bastions, while arrows and javelins hurtle through the air [87] and swords flash and hack ; with arrows and spear they deal wounds ; (the besieged) pour down blazing embers (on their besiegers) and crush them with the falling portcullis ; heads are hewn off by swords ; so that men come by their deaths or deadly hurt.—These are among the perils . . . the cause.

It is equally because of pleasure that men turn into burglars, robbers, brigands, highwaymen, or adulterers. On arrest, these are punished by the authorities in divers ways,—by flogging, by bastinado, by bludgeoning ; by cutting off hands or feet, hands and feet, ears or nose, ears and nose ; or they are subjected to the tortures of the saucepan,<sup>1</sup> the chank-shave, or the lanthorn,<sup>2</sup> the wreath of fire,<sup>3</sup> the fiery hand, the hay-

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<sup>1</sup> The skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in, so that the brains boiled over like porridge. For this and other tortures see *S.B.E.*, XXXV, 276.

<sup>2</sup> The mouth was fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside. This torture was called the mouth of Rābu because Rābu, the Asura, was supposed, at an eclipse, to swallow the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Bu. says that the whole body was oiled before ignition ; but





band,<sup>1</sup> the bark-robe, the black hart,<sup>2</sup> the meat-hooks,<sup>3</sup> the pennies,<sup>4</sup> the pickle,<sup>5</sup> bolting the door,<sup>6</sup> or the palliasse;<sup>7</sup> or they are sprayed with boiling oil, or are given to starved dogs to devour, or are impaled alive, or have their heads chopped off; so that men come by their deaths or deadly hurt.—These are among the perils . . . the cause.

Lastly, it is equally because of pleasure—from pleasure, by reason of pleasure, verily with pleasure, and pleasure only, as the cause—that men go astray in act word and thought; and thereby, at the body's dissolution after death, they pass to states of suffering, woe and tribulation and to purgatory.—These are the perils that—in the hereafter—dog pleasures of sense with all that makes up Ill,—all because of pleasure, from pleasure, by reason of pleasure, verily with pleasure, and pleasure only, as the cause.

Next, what is the deliverance from pleasures of sense?—To subdue and to shed all desire and appetite for them, this is deliverance from pleasures of sense.

Almsmen, if recluses or brahmins lack this real knowledge of the true nature of the satisfaction and perils of, and of deliverance from, pleasures of sense, they cannot possibly either comprehend such pleasures

mālī suggests a coronal of flames, just as the next torture is localized to the hands.

<sup>1</sup> From the neck downwards, the skin was flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight. In the next torture the strips formed a kilt.

<sup>2</sup> The victim was skewered to the ground through elbows and knees, with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh.

<sup>3</sup> The victims were slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons.

<sup>4</sup> With a razor little discs of flesh were shaved off all over the body.

<sup>5</sup> Into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed,—with combs.

<sup>6</sup> The head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes.

<sup>7</sup> The skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was as soft as a straw mattress.



for themselves or instruct another by what course to comprehend the truth about them. Only those can possibly do this who [88] know pleasures of sense for what they truly are.

Take (the particular case of) visible forms. What is the satisfaction they give?—It is as if there were a maiden of a noble or brahmin or citizen family, between fifteen and sixteen years old, not too tall and not too short, not too plump and not too thin, not too dark and not too pale;—is she then in the flower of her charm and beauty?

Yes, sir.

Well, anything agreeable and pleasurable that arises from charm and beauty is the satisfaction that visible forms give.

Next, what are the perils of visible forms?—Suppose that, later on, one saw that same lady when she was eighty or ninety or a hundred years old, a crone bent double and propping her bowed frame with a staff as she totters along, decrepit, with her youth gone and her teeth broken, with hair grey or scanty or none, all wrinkly or blotchy;—what think you? Has the flower of her charm and beauty gone and calamity set in?

Yes, sir.

Well, this is among the perils which dog visible forms.

Now suppose one saw that same lady sick and suffering and very ill, lying in her own ordure and urine, dependent on others to lift and dress her;—what think you, Brethren? Has the flower of her charm and beauty gone and calamity set in?

Yes, sir.

Well, this too is among the perils which dog visible forms.

Lastly, suppose that, after that same lady's body has been cast into the charnel-ground, one saw it either lying there bloated and black and festering after one to three days' exposure there,—or being devoured by crows or hawks or vultures or dogs or jackals or divers worms—or [89] showing as a chain

Bild 71



In der Klaus.

Aufgenommen von S. — 10. Blatt 40.

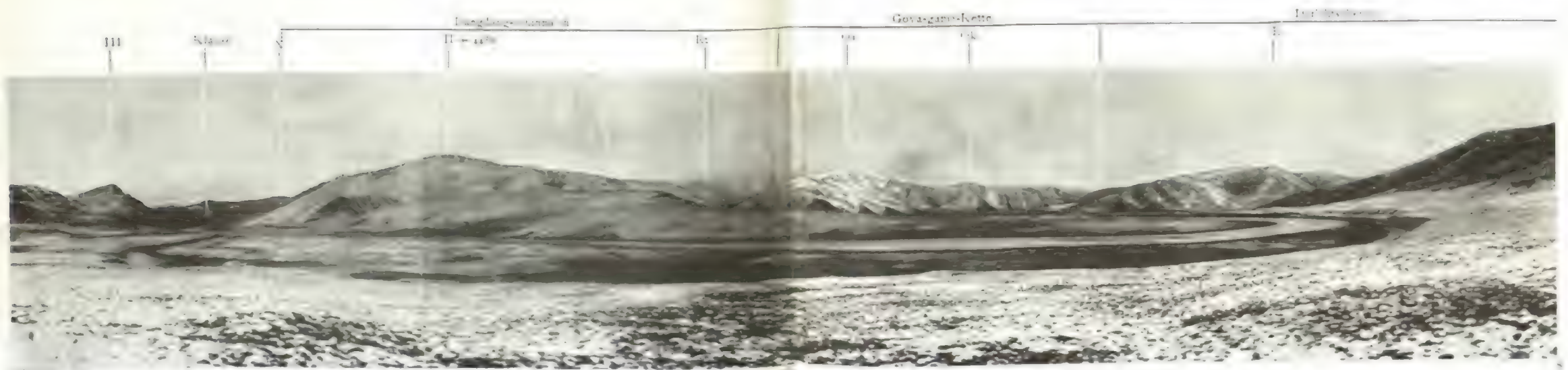
Bild 72



Die Klaus.

Aufgenommen von S. — 10. Blatt 40.

Bild 73



Im Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von S. — 10. Blatt 40.

of bones, either still with flesh and blood and sinews to hold them together, or with only smears of flesh and blood left with the bones and sinews, or with sinews gone and only the bare bones left scattered about, here a hand and there a foot, here a leg and there an arm, here the pelvis, there the spine, and there the skull—or with the bones whitening like sea-shells, or piled in a heap as years roll by, or crumbled to dust;—what think you? Has the flower of her charm and beauty gone and calamity set in?

Yes, sir.

Well, these things too are among the perils which dog visible forms.

Next, what is the deliverance from visible forms?—To subdue and shed all desire and appetite for them,—this is deliverance from visible forms.

Almsmen, if recluses or brahmins lack this real knowledge of the true nature of the satisfactions and perils of, and deliverance from, visible forms, they cannot possibly either comprehend visible forms for themselves or instruct another by what course to comprehend the truth about them. Only those can possibly do this who know visible forms for what they truly are.

What are the satisfactions that feelings bring?—Take the case of an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of consciousness, has entered on and abides in the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. When it is thus with him, harm is not in his heart, either towards himself or to others or towards both together; [90] he experiences the feeling of harbouring no harm at all. This perfect innocence of harm I count as the true satisfaction which feelings bring. When he has risen above reasoning and reflection, he enters into and abides in the Second Ecstasy, with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of rapt concentration, above all reasoning and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns

within. And so he passes to the Third and the Fourth Ecstasy ; and when, by putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, that Almsman enters into and abides in that Fourth Ecstasy—the state that knows neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant, the clarity that comes of poised equanimity and alert mindfulness,—harm is not in his heart, either towards himself or to others or to both together ; he experiences the feeling of harbouring no harm at all. This sense of perfect innocence of harm I count as the true satisfaction which feelings bring.

What are the perils which feelings entail ?—Inasmuch as feelings are transitory, fraught with Ill, and the creatures of change,—these are the perils which dog them.

What is the deliverance from feelings ?—To subdue and to shed all desire and appetite for them,—this is deliverance from feelings.

Almsmen, if recluses or brahmins lack this real knowledge of the true nature of the satisfactions and perils of, and deliverance from, feelings, they cannot possibly either comprehend feelings for themselves or instruct another by what course to comprehend the truth about them. Only those can possibly do this who know feelings for what they really are.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.





## XIV. CŪĀ-DUKKĦA-KKHANDHA-SUTTA.

### THE BRIEF STORY OF ILL.

[91] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan pleasaunce, there came to him (his elder cousin) Mahānāma the Sakyan who, after salutations, seated himself to one side and spoke as follows:— Though I have long understood the Lord's teaching that greed, hate and illusion were vices that beset the heart, yet at times each of these vices invades my heart and takes up its abode there, so that I wonder what undiscarded state of consciousness it is that causes this invasion.

Yes, Mahānāma, it is an undiscarded state of consciousness which causes the trouble ; and this would be dislodged from within you, if you were to quit house and home and renounce all pleasures of sense. It is because this state of mind persists in you, that you keep living on at home in comfort. If, though a disciple of the Noble has a sound and true grasp and comprehension of the truth that pleasures of the sense, while yielding little satisfaction but much Ill and much tribulation, are dogged by perils greater still, he yet fails to find zest and satisfaction—or something Higher than that—without pleasures of sense and without wrong states of consciousness,—then he is in pleasure's snares. But if to that grasp and comprehension he adds this zest and satisfaction—or something Higher—without pleasures of sense and without wrong states, then he is not ensnared by pleasure.

I myself, [92] Mahānāma, in the days before my Enlightenment, when I was still but a Bodhisatta not yet fully enlightened, although I had a sound and true grasp and comprehension of the truth about pleasures of

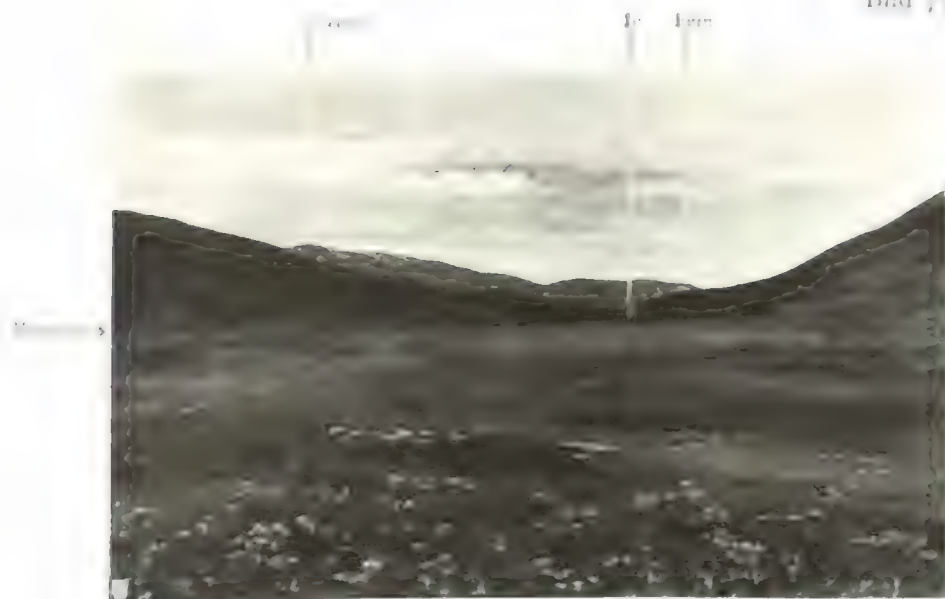
Bild 74



An der Mündung des Kuku-usu.

Aufgenommen von B 11-12 Blatt 30.

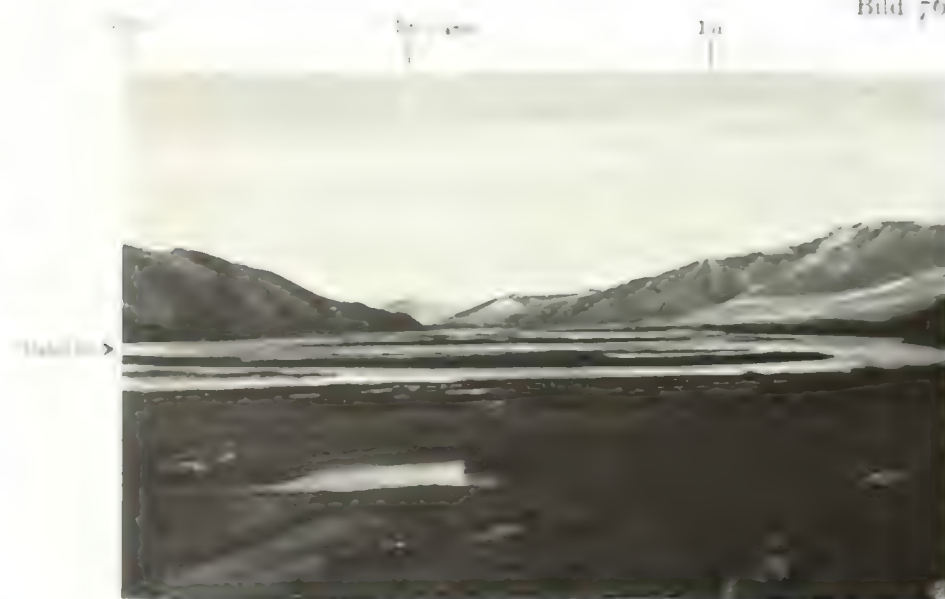
Bild 75



Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von B 11-12 Blatt 30.

Bild 76



Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von Kr. Blatt 30.

sense, yet I failed to find zest and satisfaction, or something Higher, without pleasures of sense and wrong dispositions; and I was conscious that I was still in pleasure's snares. But when to grasp and comprehension I added a zest and satisfaction, and something Higher, into which pleasure and wrong dispositions did not enter, then I became conscious of being no longer ensnared by pleasure.

What is the satisfaction that attends pleasures of sense? Fivefold . . . (etc. as in preceding Sutta) . . . Verily with pleasure, and pleasure only, as the cause.

Once on a time, when I was staying at Rājagaha on the Vultures' Peak, there were a number of Nigaṇṭhas at Blackrock on the slopes of Mt. Isigili,—upright men who would never sit down, and were undergoing paroxysms of acute pain and agony. Arising towards evening from my meditations, I went to Blackrock and asked those Nigaṇṭhas why it was they subjected themselves to all these pains by maintaining the upright posture and never sitting down. Their answer to me was that Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha—'who was all-knowing and all-seeing, with nothing beyond his ken and vision, and who claimed that, whether he was walking or standing still, sleeping or [98] awake, continuous and unruffled ken and vision were always his'—had taught them as follows:—Nigaṇṭhas, you have done evil in the past;—extirpate it by these severe austerities. Every present restraint on body, speech and mind will hereafter undo the evildoings of the past. Hence, by expelling through penance all past misdeeds, and by not committing fresh misdeeds, the future becomes cleared; with the future cleared, the past is wiped out; with the past wiped out, Ill is no more; with Ill no more, (painful) feelings are no more; and, with painful feelings now no more, all Ill will be outworn.—This teaching commends and approves itself to us, and we rejoice in it.

Thereupon, I said to those Nigaṇṭhas:—Do you know, reverend sirs, whether you had an existence before this and were not non-existent?



No, sir.

Do you know that, in a former existence, you were guilty, and not guiltless, of misdeeds?

No.

Do you know that (in that former existence) you were guilty, and not guiltless, of this or that specific misdeed?

No.

Do you know that a precise amount of Ill has already been outworn, or that a precise amount of Ill has to be outworn, or that, when a precise amount of Ill has been outworn, all Ill has become outworn?

No.

Do you know how, here and now, to shed wrong dispositions and to acquire right dispositions?

No.

So I gather, sirs, that you Nigaṇṭhas have no knowledge whether you had an existence before this; whether you were guilty of misdeeds, either generally or specifically; how much Ill is already outworn or how much has still to be outworn or how much has to be outworn before all Ill has become outworn; nor how, here and now, to shed wrong dispositions and to acquire right dispositions. This being so, pray, do those who, having been reborn as men, are hunters or have hands stained with blood or cruelty, flock to be Pilgrims with the Nigaṇṭhas?

True weal, Gotama, must be won not by weal and comfort but by woe. If weal [94] were the means to win weal, then the King of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisāra, would win weal, for there is more weal in his life than in the reverend Gotama's.

Surely this is a somewhat hasty remark. It is I who ought to be asked which of the two of us enjoys the greater weal,—the King or I.

Yes, it was somewhat hasty; but let that pass, and let us now put to you the question whether it is the King or you who enjoys the greater weal in his life.

Then, sirs, I will ask you a question in return, to be answered by you as you see fit:—Can the King





Bild 77

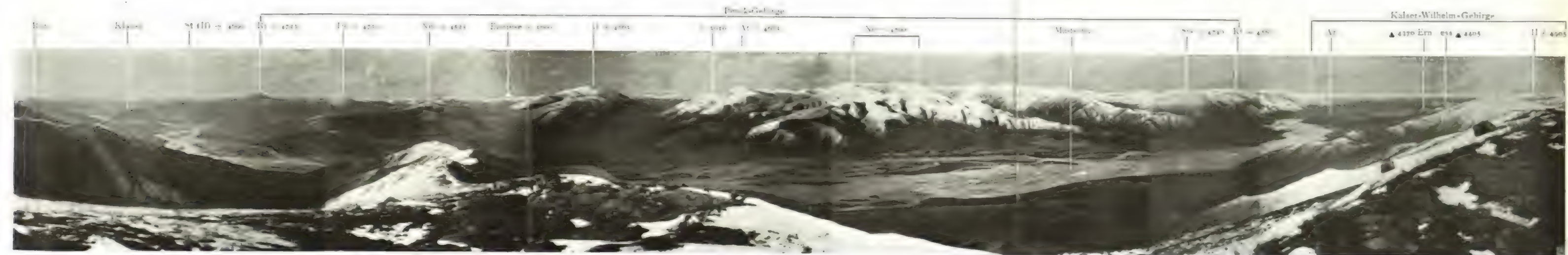
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### Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von St. 110—117. Blatt 40.

### Am Ma-tschu-Ufer.

Aufgenommen von St. 105—106. Blatt 40.



### Blick auf das Penck-Gebirge.

Aufgenommen von Al. 4500 im Richthofen-Gebirge. Blatt 40.

Bild 79



rest motionless and not utter a word for seven days and nights on end, and yet abide in Weal beyond compare?

No.

Can he do so for six days and nights,—or for five, four, three, two days and nights, or for just one single night and day?

No.

Well, sirs, I can rest motionless and not speak a word for a night and a day and yet abide all the time in Weal beyond compare. I can do so for two nights and days,—for three, four, five, six and seven nights and days on end. What think you, Nigaṇṭhas?—On this shewing, who enjoys the greater Weal in his life, King Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, or I?

On this showing, it is the reverend [95] Gotama who enjoys greater Weal in his life than the King does.

So spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, Mahānāma the Sakyan rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XV. ANUMĀNA-SUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

### REFLECTION.

THUS have I heard. Once when the venerable Mahā-Moggallāna was staying in the Bhagga country at Crocodile Peak in the Bhesakalā wood, in the deer-park there, he addressed the Almsmen as follows:—

If, despite his invitation to his seniors to teach him and despite his professed anxiety to learn, an Almsman proves unruly and obstreperous in temper, fractious and unreceptive of instruction,—then his fellows in the higher life deem him unfit to be taught or instructed or trusted. Now what are the states of mind that make a man obstreperous in temper?—Take the case of an Almsman who is evilly inclined and is the thrall of evil

<sup>1</sup> Bu. records that this Sutta was known to the Ancients as the *Bhikkhu-pātimokkha*, and adds that this self-examination should take place three times each day.



inclinations ;—or who lauds himself and runs down others ;—or who is wrathful and the slave of wrath ;—or who is wrathful and because of his wrath bears grudges ;—or who is wrathful and because of his wrath takes offence ;—or who is wrathful and because of his wrath utters words of unbridled wrath ;—or who, being reproved, argues with his reprover ;—or who, being reproved, resents the reproof ;—[96] or who, being reproved, retorts with charges against his reprover ;—or who, being reproved, wraps one thing up in another, turns the talk off to something irrelevant, displaying ill-temper, malice, and distrust ;—or who, being reproved, fails to explain his proceedings ;—or who is a hypocrite and impostor ;—or who harbours envy and jealousy ;—or who is full of guile and deceit ;—or who is stubborn and arrogant ;—or who hugs the temporal, nor looses his grip and hold thereon ;—all these are states of mind that make a man obstreperous in temper.

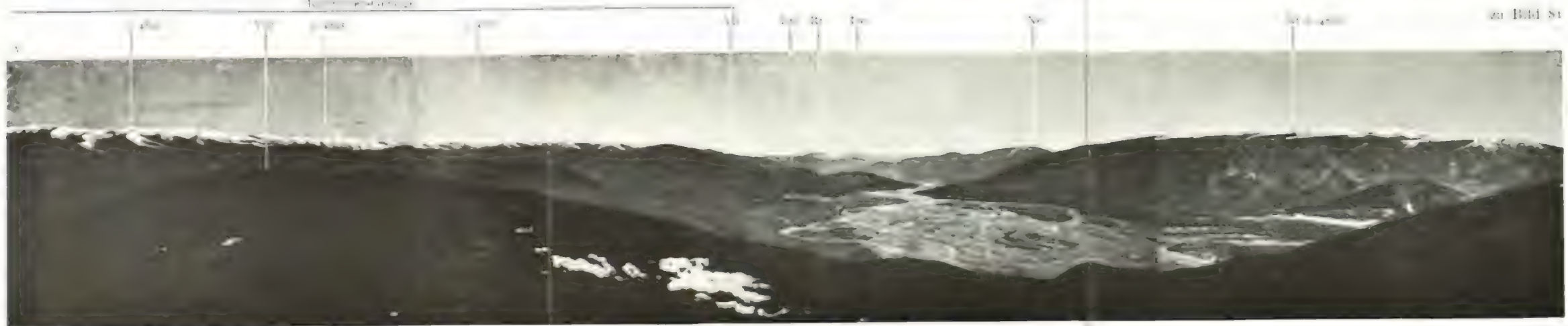
But if an Almsman who invites his seniors to teach him and professes anxiety to learn, proves humble and meek, docile and receptive,—then his fellows in the higher life deem him fit to be taught and instructed and trusted. Now, what are the states of mind that make for meekness ?—Almsmen, they are [point for point the precise opposites of the foregoing list].

[97] In connection with the foregoing states of mind, an Almsman ought to argue about himself as follows :—The man of evil inclinations is displeasing and disagreeable to me ; and if I incline to evil, others will regard me likewise as displeasing and disagreeable. Realizing this, he must school his heart never to give way to evil inclinations. Similarly, realizing that, just as he dislikes each of the other shortcomings in others, so their presence in himself will make him disliked likewise, the Almsman must school his heart never to give way to any single one of them.

[98] He ought to reflect within himself whether he is evilly inclined and so forth. If this reflection tells him that he has got evil inclinations and



Blick auf das Penck-Gebirge. Aufgenommen von Ern. ▲ 1370 Blatt 42



Blick auf das Hahn- und Richthofen-Gebirge. Aufgenommen von Ess. ▲ 1405 Blatt 44



so forth, then he must strive to get rid of them. But, if reflection tells him he has not got evil inclinations or the other evil states of mind, then let his life be filled with zest and holy joy as he trains himself by day and by night in right states of mind.

[100] If his reflection tells him that each and every one of these evil and wrong states of mind persists within him, he must strive to get rid of them all. But, if reflection tells him he has got rid of them all, then let his life be filled with zest and holy joy as he trains himself by day and by night in right states of mind.

Sirs, it is just like a woman or man or lad young and dressy, to whom the reflection of their features in a bright clean mirror or in a bowl of clear water reveals a smut or pimple, so that they strive to get rid of it; but if the reflection revealed nothing of the kind, they rejoice that all is right and that their faces are clean and clear;—even so is it with an Almsman; if reflection tells him that these evil and wrong states of mind persist within him, he must strive to get rid of them all; but if he is conscious of having got rid of all of them, then let his life be filled with zest and holy joy as he trains himself by day and by night in right states of mind.

Thus spoke the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what he had said.

## XVI. CETO-KHILA-SUTTA.

### THE HEART'S FALLOWS AND BONDAGES.

[101] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows:—While the five Fallows of his heart are left untilled and its five Bondages are unshattered, no Almsman can possibly shew growth, increase and progress in this Doctrine and Rule.

What are the five Fallows he leaves untilled?—Take the case of an Almsman who feels doubts and



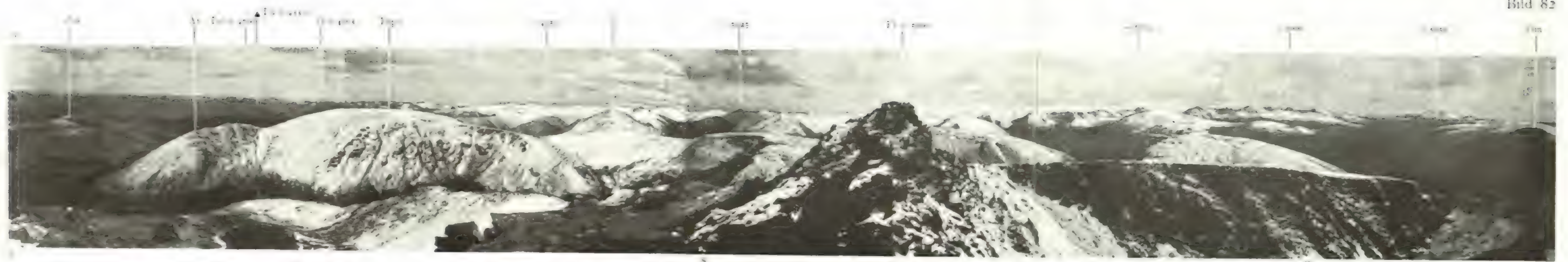


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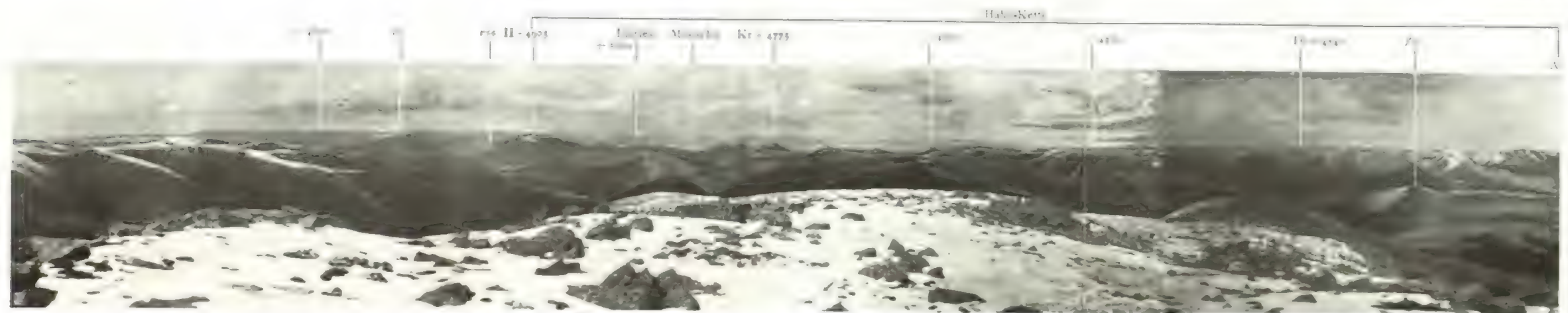


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Im Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gebirge (Rheinbaben-Kette).  
Aufgenommen von Sch II ▲ 4930. Blatt 43.



misgivings about the Master, without either certainty or conviction, so that in this frame of mind, his heart has no bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion ; this marks the first Fallow untilled. Or suppose he feels these same doubts and misgivings about the Doctrine—or the Confraternity—or his course of training, with the same lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion ;—this marks the second—the third—and the fourth Fallow untilled. The fifth is when he is angry with his fellows in the higher life, is displeased with them, is upset about them, and fallow—as it were—in his relations to them, so that he has no bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion.

What are the five Bondages he leaves unshattered ? —Take the case of an Almsman who, in the matter of sensuous pleasure, is not void of passion and appetite, fondness and yearning, thirsting, feverish longings and craving ; in this frame of mind, his heart has no bent towards ardour and so forth. This marks the first Bondage unshattered. If he is in like case in the matter of the body—or of visible forms,—this marks the second [102] and the third, respectively, of the heart's Bondages unshattered. Or, again, if after eating as much as ever his belly will hold, an Almsman is fond of his chair or bed or of slumber, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion ; and this marks the fourth Bondage unshattered. Or, lastly, an Almsman's ambition in the higher life may be for some particular order of gods ; and so his virtue, conversation, austerities and higher life aim at ensuring his becoming a god, or some particular god. If such be his aims and ambition, then his heart's bent is not to ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion ; and this marks the fifth Bondage unshattered.

If, Almsmen, these five Fallows of his heart are left untilled, and if these five Bondages are unshattered, no Almsman can possibly shew growth, increase and progress in this Doctrine and Rule.

If, on the other hand, an Almsman has the five Fallows of his heart tilled and its five Bondages shattered, then it is quite possible for him to shew growth, increase and progress in the Doctrine and Rule.

What are the five tilled Fallows of the heart?—Take the case of an Almsman who feels no doubts or misgivings about the Master but feels certainty and conviction, so that his heart is bent on ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion,—this marks the first Fallow tilled. If he feels no doubts or misgivings about the Doctrine—or about the Confraternity—or about his course of training,—and if his heart is bent on ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion,—this marks the second—the third—and the fourth Fallow tilled. The fifth is when he is not angered against his fellows, is not displeased or upset by them, nor is he fallow—as it were—in his relations to them ; [108]—this marks the heart's fifth and last Fallow tilled.

And similarly with shattering the heart's five Bondages.

He develops the four bases of psychic power, in which purpose, will, thought, and study respectively inspire what moulds and fashions vigorous concentration. Strenuousness itself is a fifth.

The Almsman who is equipped with these fifteen<sup>1</sup> factors of the strenuous character [104] has the capacity for breaking through, the capacity for full Enlightenment, and the capacity for the Peace beyond compare.

It is like a hen with a clutch of eight or ten or a dozen eggs, on which she has sat closely, keeping them as warm as may be with all her pains and care ; albeit the wish may arise within her that her chicks with claw or beak would break through the shell and win forth, yet that hen's chicks are capable of breaking the shell and winning forth quite safely ;—even so, the

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the five tilled Fallows plus the five shattered Bondages plus the four psychic bases ; with strenuousness itself added on to the latter as a fifth (Bu.).



Almsman who is equipped with these fifteen factors of the strenuous character is capable of breaking through, is capable of full Enlightenment, and is capable of the Peace beyond compare.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XVII. VANA-PATTHA-SUTTA.

### UBI BENE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the Almsmen, saying:—I will expound to you the principles of the forest life. Give ear and pay attention, and I will speak.—Yes, Lord, was their response to the Lord, who then went on to speak as follows:—

Take the case of an Almsman who, dwelling in the forest, finds that the mindfulness which was not his before is still not his, that the steadfastness of heart which was not his before is still not his, that the Cankers which had not passed before are not passing away from him now, that the Peace beyond compare which he had not won before is still to win, and that in the forest it is hard to satisfy a Pilgrim's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed, and medicaments. In such case, the Brother [105] should ponder this over and—be it by night or be it by day—should quit that forest and reside there no longer.

Next, take an Almsman who, dwelling in the forest, has just the same experiences except that he has no difficulty there in satisfying a Pilgrim's needs. He too should ponder this over and reflect that it was not for clothing and the like that he went forth from home to homelessness but that here he is acquiring neither mindfulness nor steadfastness of heart, is not getting rid of the Cankers nor winning the Peace beyond com-



Im Lager LX, 8.-9. Sept. Blatt 41.



Im Do-tschu-Tal. Aufgenommen von 7. Blatt 43.



Im Do-tschu-Tal. Aufgenommen von 8. Blatt 43.



pare. Realizing this, he should quit that forest and reside there no longer.

Take now an Almsman who, dwelling in the forest, finds that the mindfulness which was not his before is now his, that the steadfastness of heart which was not his before is now his, that the Cankers which had not passed away before have now passed away from him, and that he is now winning that Peace beyond compare which he had not won before,—but that he finds it hard there to satisfy a Pilgrim's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed, and medicaments. Pondering over this, he should reflect [106] that it was not for these latter things that he went forth from home to homelessness but that by residing in that forest the mindfulness which was not his before is now his . . . not won before. Realizing this, he should dwell on in that forest and not quit it.

Lastly, if, in addition to growth in mindfulness and so forth, he finds no difficulty there in satisfying a Pilgrim's needs, he should similarly dwell on in that forest and not quit it.

(The same considerations should guide him) if his abode is near a village, a township, a city, a country, [107-8] or an individual. . . . If all goes well with his growth Within, he will cleave to that individual while life lasts; he will not quit him, although hounded away.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

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## XVIII. MADHU-PINḌIKA-SUTTA.

### HONEYED LORE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan pleasaunce, he went, duly robed and bowl in hand, into the city for alms. At the end of his round, when his meal was over and he was on his way back, he came to Great Wood and entering it seated





Im Lager LXI, 9—10. Sept. Blatt 43



Im Do-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 75-84. Blatt 43



Im Do-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 75-84. Blatt 43

himself for the noontide at the foot of a young Vilva tree. So too Daṇḍapāṇi the Sakyan, who was on his wanderings and peregrinations afoot in the forest, came also to Great Wood and, entering it, drew near to the Lord under his tree, and, after exchange of civil greetings, stood to one side with his hands leaning on his staff, to ask :—What are your tenets, recluse ? What is your gospel ?

Tenets, sir, whereby not only is a man at strife with no world whatsoever throughout the whole universe—with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind,— but also he as (a true) Brahmin dwells above all pleasures of sense, without perplexities and with a clear conscience, without any cravings to be reborn either here or there, immune from assaults of the perceptions.— These, sir, are my tenets ; and this is my gospel.

At these words Daṇḍapāṇi shook his head, [109] waggled his tongue and departed, still leaning on his staff, with his brow puckered into three wrinkles.

Towards evening, arising from his meditations, the Lord made his way to the Banyan pleasaunce. There, seating himself on the seat set for him, he told the Almsmen the incident in full detail. When he had done so, a certain Almsman asked what precisely were the tenets whereby the Lord was at strife with no world and how he as the true Brahmin dwelt above all pleasures of sense without perplexities . . . assaults of the perceptions.

Whatever be the origin, Almsman, of the several obsessions, bred of perceptions, which beset a man's path, yet, if they find neither approval nor welcome nor adherence, then here at once is an end of all propensities to passion, to resentment, [110] to speculative ideas, to doubts, to pride, to passion for continuing existence, and to ignorance ; it is the end of taking up cudgel or knife, of quarrels, of contentions, of strife, of wrangling, slander, and lies.—Herein, all these evil and wrong states of mind are quelled and pass away entirely.



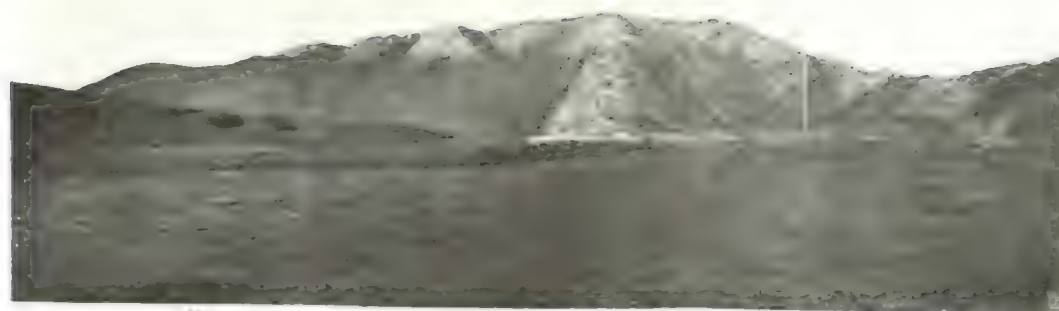
So spoke the Lord. Then, getting up from his seat, the Blessed One went to his cell.

He had not been gone long when those Almsmen bethought them how tersely and without detailed exposition the Lord had propounded this theme ere withdrawing to his cell ; and they were wondering who would expound to them the meaning of the Lord's pregnant utterance, when the idea came to them that the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna, who was praised by the Master and was held in high honour among the most able of his fellows in the higher life, could give them that detailed exposition. So to Mahā-Kaccāna they went, laid the whole matter before him, and asked him to expound accordingly.

[111] Really, sirs, said he, it is as if a man who was in need and search and quest of choice timber were to come on just the fine upstanding tree for his purpose but were to disregard its root and trunk and to imagine he could find his choice timber among the branches and foliage. For, this is just what your reverences have come to, in that, with the Master there in front of you, you have ignored him and come to ask me what he meant. Sirs, the Lord knows with all knowing and sees with all seeing,—being the embodiment of vision, insight, the Doctrine, and all excellence ; he is the propounder and expounder and unfold of meanings, the giver of Nirvana's ambrosia, lord of the Doctrine, the Truth-finder. Then was the time to address your questions to the Lord in person, in order to treasure up what he might reveal.

Admitting all this, the Almsmen still pressed Mahā-Kaccāna to consent to expound and elucidate it for them. And he, consenting, spoke as follows :—I take, sirs, the detailed meaning of the Lord's pregnant utterance to be this.—It is because of the eye and of visible forms that visual consciousness arises ; the meeting of these three things is contact ; contact conditions feeling ; what a man feels, he perceives ; [112] what he perceives, he reasons about ; what he reasons about, he is obsessed by ; from what obsesses him

Bild 89



In Topa-Do-yung.  
Aufgenommen von 837—902. Blatt 43

Bild 90



Topa-Do-yung.  
Aufgenommen von 910—1014. Blatt 43

Bild 91



Topa-Do-yung.  
Aufgenommen von 91—1014. Blatt 43

originate the several obsessions, bred of perceptions, which beset a man's path in respect of visible forms, past present or future, which are cognizable by the eye. So too, it is because of ear and sounds that auditory consciousness arises ;—because of nose and odours that olfactory consciousness arises ;—because of tongue and tastes that gustatory consciousness arises ; because of body and tangible things that there arises tactile consciousness ;—because of mind and mental objects that there arises mental consciousness ; the meeting of these three things is contact ; contact conditions feeling . . . mental objects, past, present or future, which are cognizable by the mind.<sup>1</sup> Where eye and visible form are present with visual consciousness, there a man may recognize the manifestation of contact ; where there is the manifestation of contact, there a man may recognize the manifestation of feeling—and so of perception, reasoning, and obsession. But the three factors must all be present together, or there can be no manifestation to recognize. And the like holds good of each of the other senses, including mind.—This, sirs, [118] is what I take to be the detailed meaning of the Lord's pregnant utterance. But, should your reverences so desire, you can go to the Lord himself and address your questions to him in person, in order to treasure up what he may reveal.

After expressing their gratification and gratitude to the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna, those Almsmen rose and went to the Lord, to whom they explained at length how, to get a detailed interpretation of his pregnant utterance, they had betaken themselves to the reverend Mahā-Kaccāna [114] and how in what sentences and words he had expounded the meaning to them.

Mahā-Kaccāna, said the Lord, has learning and

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<sup>1</sup> Here, as *infra* at M. III, 223, this scholastic formula is attributed, not to Gotama but to Kaccāna, as, in the 28th and 43rd Suttas, it is attributed to Sāriputta.

See M. I, 295, for Sāriputta's dictum that, while the first five (ordinary) senses have domains separate and distinct from one another, mind enters into the domain of each of them.





great insight. If you were to put your question to me, my explanation would tally with his; for this is the right meaning and you should so treasure it up.

Hereupon, the venerable Ānanda said to the Lord:—Just as a man who, being half-dead with hunger and exhaustion, should come on a honeyed cake, each bit he tastes bringing in on him more and more its sweet delicious savour,—even so, the further the mind of a competent Almsman penetrates into the import of the lore of the exposition of the Doctrine, the greater grows his gratification and gladness of heart. What, sir, is the name of this exposition?

Well, Ānanda, let it be known as the exposition of 'the honeyed cake.'

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Ānanda rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XIX. DVEDHĀ-VITAKKA-SUTTA.

### ON COUNTER-IRRITANTS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows:—

In the days before my full enlightenment, when I was as yet only a Bodhisatta and not yet all-enlightened, the idea came to me to sort out my thoughts into two separate and distinct groups. Into one category I put thoughts about pleasures of sense, about harm, and about hurt; and in a second category came thoughts about Renunciation, about hurting not nor harming. When, in my life of strenuous earnestness purged of self, [115] there arose within me a thought about pleasures of sense, I recognized that it had arisen and that it conduced to harm—harm to myself, to others, and both to myself and to others—as being subversive of insight, allied to overthrow, and no help towards Nirvana. The reflection that they conduced to harm

1000 m. Höhe

Bild 92

1000 m. Höhe

zu Bild 92



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Beim großen Obo.  
Aufgenommen im Lager LXII. Blatt 43

—to myself or to others or to both—caused thoughts about pleasures of sense to vanish away, as did reflections that these thoughts were subversive of insight, allied to overthrow, and no help towards Nirvana. As each such thought severally arose, I drove it away, discarded it, and rooted it out. And in just the same way I dealt with each thought of harm and hurt.

Now, whatsoever an Almsman thinks much about and dwells on, gradually moulds his mind. If he thinks much about pleasures of sense and dwells thereon, he has thereby driven away thoughts of Renunciation, has fostered the growth of thoughts on pleasure, and has applied his heart to thoughts on pleasure. And the same thing happens with thoughts of harm and of hurt. Just as in the last month of the monsoon towards autumn, when the crops stand thick on the ground, a cowherd looks sharply after his cattle, beating them off here with his stick, heading them off there, checking them at this point and blocking their way at that point,—because he dreads stripes or imprisonment or mulcts or censure to himself;—even so did I see the perils, fatuity, and defilement arising from wrong states of mind, and the blessings of Renunciation, with sanctification as their ally, which flow from right states of mind.

[116] When, in my life of strenuous earnestness purged of self, there arose within me a thought of Renunciation, I recognized that it had arisen and that it conduced to no harm, either to myself or to others or to both, seeing that it fostered insight, was arrayed against overthrow, and helped on towards Nirvana. If by night—or by day—or by night and by day continuously—I thought much about Renunciation and dwelt thereon, never did I discern anything to breed fear. But, if I were to go on thinking these thoughts too long, would my body grow weary? With bodily weariness, would my heart be defiled? With its defilement, would my heart be sundered from concentration? At this thought, I stilled and composed



my heart within, focussed and concentrated it,—lest haply it should become defiled. And as with thoughts of Renunciation, so did I deal with thoughts of goodwill and of benignity. Now, Brethren, whatsoever a Brother thinks much about and dwells on, gradually moulds his mind. If he thinks and dwells much on thoughts of Renunciation—or goodwill—or benignity,—he has thereby driven away thoughts about pleasures of sense and about harm and about hurt. Just as in the last month of the hot season, when all the crops have been carried and are garnered on the confines of the village, the cowherd in the discharge of his duties [117] has only to see—from beneath a tree's shade or in the open—that his cows are all there,—even so, Almsmen, all that I had to see was that all (right) states of mind were there.

Strenuous effort won for me perseverance that never flagged ; there arose in me mindfulness that knew no distraction, perfect tranquillity of body, steadfastness of mind that never wavered. Divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of mind, I entered on, and abode in, the First Ecstasy . . . (*etc., as in Sutta No. 4*). . . . This was the third knowledge attained by me, in the third watch of that night,—ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

It is just as if in the heart of the jungle there was a great pond in a valley, with a large herd of deer living there, and there should come along a man bent on their harm, with no kind thought for them and with no regard for their well-being. If now he were to block up the peaceful, safe, and happy road, to open up a treacherous way, to plant a decoy,<sup>1</sup> and to tether there a tame hind as a lure,—that great herd of deer would thus in time come to dire calamity and dwindle

<sup>1</sup> Okacarō (home-pasture, cf. gocarō) seems to be a decoy in the sense in which we speak of a duck-decoy, and okacārikā to be its lure. (Cf. Jāt. VI, 416, okacarenāti okacarikāyā, with no suggestion of a tame stag—as Bu. here—as an added attraction.)

Bild 93



Im Da-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 114—26. Blatt 43.

Bild 94



Im Da-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 124<sup>11</sup>—102. Blatt 43.

Bild 95



Im Da-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 124<sup>11</sup>—102. Blatt 43.



away. But, if another man appeared, who meant well by the herd and was kindly towards them and had regard to their well-being, he would open up that peaceful, safe and happy road, close the treacherous way, break up the decoy, get rid of the hind,—whereby the herd later on would grow and increase and multiply.

This, Almsmen, is a similitude framed by me for your edification ; [118] and here is its meaning :—The great pond in the valley is another name for pleasures of sense ; mankind is the herd of deer ; the first man stands for Māra the Evil One ; the treacherous way is the evil eightfold path—of wrong outlook, wrong aims and so forth ; the decoy represents sensual passion and the hind ignorance. The second man—he of the good-will and kind heart, who had regard to the deers' well-being—stands for the Truth-finder, Arahat all-enlightened. What was styled the peaceful, safe and happy road, is the Noble Eightfold Path of right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right mode of life, right effort, and right concentration. Yes, Brethren, I have opened up the peaceful, safe and happy road, closed the treacherous way, broken up the decoy, and got rid of the lure of the hind. All that a teacher can do for his disciples out of his love and compassion, that, for compassion's sake, have I done for you. Here are trees under which to lodge ; here are solitude's abodes ; plunge into deepest thought and never flag ; lay not up for yourselves remorse hereafter ;—this is my injunction to you.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, these Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XX. VITAKKA-SANTHĀNA-SUTTA.

### THE GOVERNANCE OF THOUGHTS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—



[119] An Almsman who applies himself to the higher thought should pass in review from time to time five phases of mind ; and these are they :—

(i.) When, by reason of a phase of mind, there arise in a Brother bad and wrong thoughts associated with appetite, hatred and delusion, then he should divert his mind from that to another phase associated with what is right ; and, by his doing so, those bad and wrong thoughts pass away and disappear, so that his heart stands firm, is stedfast, is focussed and concentrated. Just as a skilled artizan or his apprentice will with a little peg knock and drive out and expel a big peg, so, when, by reason of a phase of mind, there arise in an Almsman bad and wrong thoughts . . . focussed and concentrated.

(ii.) If, though the Almsman diverts his mind from the former to the latter phase, there still arise in him the same bad and wrong thoughts as before, then he should study the perils these entail, marking how wrong and depraved such thoughts are and how they ripen unto Ill. As he studies them, these bad and wrong thoughts pass away and disappear, so that his heart stands firm, is stedfast, is focussed and concentrated. Just as a woman or man or dressy lad, [120] if the carcase of snake or dog or human being be slung round their necks, are filled with horror, loathing and disgust,—even so is it with this Almsman in his scrutiny.

(iii.) If, for all his scrutiny of their perils, these bad and wrong thoughts still keep on arising, then he should ignore them and not let his mind dwell on them. As he ignores them, they will pass away and disappear, so that his heart stands firm, is steadfast, is focussed and concentrated. Just as a man with eyes to see, will, if he does not want to view visible forms that come within his field of vision, close his eyes or look another way,—even so is it with the Almsman in his ignoring of bad and wrong thoughts.

(iv.) If, for all his ignoring of them, these bad and wrong thoughts still keep on arising, then he must



bethink him how to allay all that moulds and fashions thoughts. As he does so, these thoughts will pass away and disappear, so that his heart stands firm, is steadfast, is focussed and concentrated. Just as a man who is running fast, may decide to walk slowly—or stand still—or sit down—or lie down—and thereby passes from the more violent to the easier posture,—even so is it with this Almsman in his allaying of all that moulds and fashions thoughts.

(v.) But, if, allay as he may, these thoughts continue to arise, then, with his teeth clenched and with his tongue pressed against his palate, he should, by sheer force of mind, restrain, coerce and dominate his heart. [121] As he does so, these thoughts will pass away and disappear, so that his heart stands firm, is steadfast, is focussed and concentrated. Just as a strong man, taking a weaker man by the head or shoulders, restrains and coerces and dominates him,—even so, if, allay as he may, these thoughts . . . focussed and concentrated.

When at last, whether (i.) by diverting his mind elsewhere or (ii.) by scrutiny of the perilous consequences or (iii.) by ignoring bad and wrong thoughts or (iv.) by allaying what moulds them or (v.) by subduing them, the Almsman is victorious over bad and wrong thoughts associated with appetite, hatred and delusion, so that they pass away and disappear and his heart stands firm and is steadfast, is focussed and concentrated,—[122] then indeed has he earned the style of master of the ordering of his thoughts, for, he will think only such thoughts as he wishes and not those he wishes not to think; he has hewn away cravings, has shed his fetters, and—by fathoming propensities to pride—has made an end of Ill.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

zu Bild 96



N

Bild 96



N

zu Bild 96



Im Lager LXIII, 12./13. Sept. Blatt 43.



## XXI. KAKACŪPAMA-SUTTA.

### THE PARABLE OF THE SAW.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, the reverend Moliya - Phagga was always in the society of the Almswomen, so much so indeed that, if in his presence any Almsmen ever said a word against those Almswomen, he was annoyed and displeased and made a fuss about it. With the Almswomen it was just the same;—they were annoyed and displeased and made a fuss, if in their presence any Almsman ever said a word against him. Such were the terms he was on with the Almswomen.

Now, a certain Almsman reported all this to the Lord, who bade an Almsman [128] summon Moliya-Phagga to his presence. In obedience to the summons, the Elder came, with due obeisance took his seat to one side, and, being questioned about the report concerning him and the Almswomen, admitted its truth.

Was it not for faith's sake, Phagga, that you went forth from a comfortable home to homelessness as a Pilgrim?

Yes, sir.

Then it becomes you not, having so gone forth on Pilgrimage, to associate so much with Almswomen. Even if you hear things said in your presence against them, you should put from you every mundane impulse and thought, schooling yourself never to let your heart be led away, never to let wicked words pass your lips, but always to be kindly and compassionate, with your heart full of love and void of enmity. You should be the same, if in your presence anyone were

Bild 97



Topa-Gabibatschun.

Aufgenommen von S. 7. Blatt 41.

Bild 98



Topa-Gabibatschun.

Aufgenommen von S. 7. Blatt 41.



to strike those Almswomen with fist, clod, cudgel or knife. You should school yourself to be the same, too, if you yourself were reviled [124] or struck.

Turning to the Almsmen, the Lord said:—I was much pleased with the Almsmen once, when I told them how, personally, I only sat down to food once a day and found that on this regimen I was healthful and well, buoyant, hale, and hearty. I urged them to do likewise and they would benefit therefrom as I had. I had no need to instruct them in this ; all I had to do was to draw their attention to it.<sup>1</sup> It was just like a carriage—with thoroughbreds harnessed to it and with the goad lying ready to hand, on level ground at the crossroads,—into which there mounts a skilled driver who knows how to manage horses ; he takes the reins in his left hand and the goad in his right, and away he drives, up and down, where he likes and as he likes ;—even so, I had no need to instruct those Almsmen in this ; all I had to do was to draw their attention to it.

So put from you what is wrong and yoke yourselves to right states of mind, because thereby you will develop and grow and increase in this Doctrine and Rule. It is just like a great grove of Sāl-trees near a village or township, which is overgrown with creepers, and to which there comes a man who wants the grove to thrive and flourish and has amiable and kindly feeling towards it ; he cuts out and carries off all crooked and hurtful growths so that the grove is cleaned and clean within ; he tends with every care whatever wood grows straight and fair, so that later on the grove may develop and grow and increase.—Even so should you put from you what is wrong and yoke yourselves to right states of mind, because [125] thereby you will develop and grow and increase in this Doctrine and Rule.

Once on a time in this same Sāvattthī there was a lady named Videhikā, who was reputed gentle, and

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<sup>1</sup> But in the 65th Sutta he had trouble with Bhaddālī on this.



meek, and mild. She had a maid-servant named Darkie, a bright girl, an early riser and a good worker. I wonder, thought Darkie, whether my mistress, who is so well spoken of, has really got a temper of her own which she does not show or whether she has got no temper at all? Or do I do my work so well that, though she has got a temper, she does not show it? I will try her.

So next morning she got up late. Darkie! Darkie!—cried the mistress.—Yes, madam, answered the girl.—Why did you get up so late?—Oh, that's nothing, madam.—Nothing, indeed, the naughty girl! thought the mistress, frowning with anger and displeasure.

So she has got a temper, though she does not show it, thought the maid; it is because I do my work so well that she does not show it; I will try her further. So she got up later next morning. Darkie! Darkie! cried the mistress.—Yes madam, answered the girl.—Why did you get up so late?—Oh, that's nothing, madam.—Nothing, indeed, you naughty girl! exclaimed the mistress, giving vent in words to her anger and displeasure.

Yes, thought the maid; she has got a temper, though she does not show it because I do my work so well; I will try her yet further. So next morning she got up later still. [126] Darkie! Darkie! cried her mistress.—Yes, madam, answered the girl.—Why did you get up so late?—Oh, that's nothing, madam.—Nothing indeed, you naughty girl, to get up so late! exclaimed the mistress; and in her anger and displeasure she snatched up the lynch-pin and struck the girl on the head with it, drawing blood. With her broken head streaming with blood, Darkie roused the neighbourhood with shrieks of—See, lady, what the gentle one has done! See, lady, what the meek one has done! See, lady, what the mild one has done! What for? Just because her only maid got up late, she was so angry and displeased that she must up with the lynch-pin to strike her on the head and break it.



zu Bild 99



zu Bild 99



zu Bild 99



Bild 99



zu Bild 99



zu Bild 99

Im Da-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von I, 1016—1101. Blatt 41.

In the result the lady Videhikā got the repute of being violent and anything but meek and mild. x

—In like manner an Almsman may be gentle, and meek, and mild enough so long as nothing unpleasant is said against him. It is only when unpleasant things are said against him that you can begin to dub him gentle, and meek, and mild. I do not call that Almsman docile who is docile and evinces docility only to get clothes and food and so forth. For, if he fails to get these things, he is not docile and evinces no docility. Him only do I call docile whose docility springs from honouring and venerating and revering the Doctrine. Be it your task, Almsmen, to become docile and to evince docility by honouring and venerating and revering the Doctrine.

There are five ways in which you may be addressed,—(i.) in or out of season, (ii.) truthfully or untruthfully, (iii.) mildly or harshly, (iv.) profitably or unprofitably, and (v.) in love or in hate; people may speak to you from time to time in each of these ways. [127] Your task should be to preserve your hearts unmoved, never to allow an ill word to pass your lips, but always to abide in compassion and goodwill, with no hate in your hearts, enfolding in radiant thoughts of love the person addressing you and proceeding thence to enfold the whole world in your radiant thoughts of love,—thoughts like the solid earth beneath thoughts great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.

It is like a man who comes with basket and shovel to do away with the solid earth! So here he digs and there he digs; dumps it down here and dumps it down there; spits here and stales there;—confident that the earth is being got rid of bit by bit! Do you think he will succeed in doing away with the earth?

No, sir;—because the solid earth is so deep and so measureless, that it will not readily cease to exist before the man is tired out and worn out himself.

—Even so (futile) are the five ways in which others may address you,— . . . thoughts of love,—thoughts





like the solid earth, great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.

It is like a man who comes with lac and colours, yellow or blue or madder, to paint pictures on the air. Do you think he could do so?

No, sir; because the air is void of form and attributes, so that pictures will not readily be painted on it before the man himself is [128] tired out and worn out.

—Even so (futile) are the five ways in which others may address you . . . thoughts of love, thoughts like the air above, great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.

It is like a man who comes with a blazing wisp of bracken to set the river Ganges on fire and burn it all up. Do you think he could do so?

No, sir; because the Ganges is so deep and so measureless that it will not readily be fired and burnt up by wisps of bracken before the man himself is tired out and worn out.

—Even so (futile) are the five ways in which others may address you . . . thoughts of love, thoughts like the Ganges, great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.

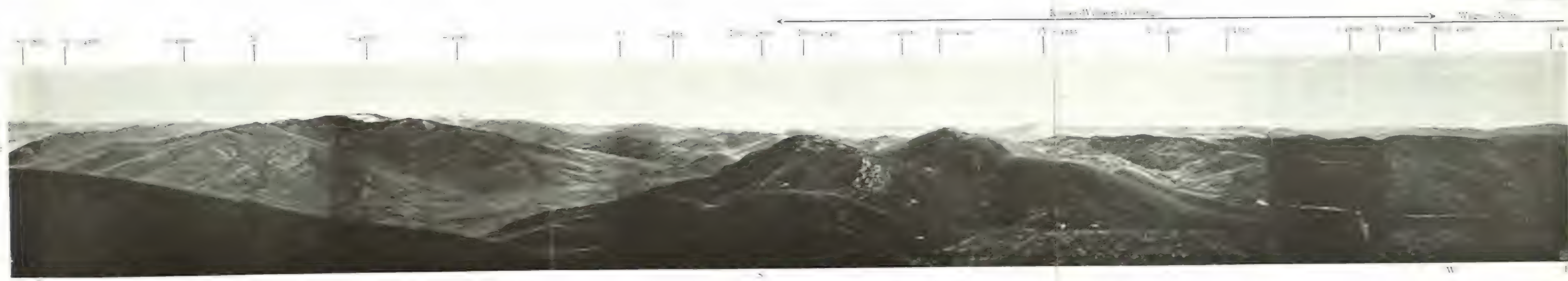
It is like a wallet of cat's skin that has been rubbed and scrubbed until it is as supple as supple can be, and as soft now as gossamer, with never a purr or a hiss left in it; and if there came along a man with a chip of wood or a potsherd, professing therewith to start it purring and hissing again;—do you think he could succeed?

No, sir; because that cat's skin has been rubbed and scrubbed till it is as supple as supple can be, and as soft now as gossamer, with never a purr or a hiss left in it; so that it will not readily be started purring and hissing again, with his chip or potsherd, before the man himself is tired out and worn out.

—Even so (futile) are the five ways in which others may address you . . . [129] thoughts of love, thoughts like that supple and tempered wallet of cat's



Bild 100



zu Bild 100



Im Friederichsen-Gebirge.

Aufgenommen von Glo. - 1895. Blatt 36

skin, thoughts great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.<sup>1</sup>

If villainous bandits were to carve you limb from limb with a two-handled saw, even then the man that should give way to anger would not be obeying my teaching. Even then be it your task to preserve your hearts unmoved, never to allow an ill word to pass your lips, but always to abide in compassion and goodwill, with no hate in your hearts, enfolding in radiant thoughts of love the bandit (who tortures you) and proceeding thence to enfold the whole world in your radiant thoughts of love, thoughts great, vast and beyond measure, in which no hatred is or thought of harm.

If, Almsmen, you were to ponder again and again over this parable of the saw, do you perceive anything, great or small, which you could not endure to have said to you?—No, sir.—Then, Almsmen, ponder again and again on this parable of the saw; it will make for your abiding good and welfare.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXII. ALAGADDŪPAMA-SUTTA.

### THE VENOMOUS SNAKE.

[130] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, an Almsman named Aritṭha who had originally been a vulture-catcher had come to hold the pernicious heresy that, as he understood the Lord's exposition of the Doctrine, the states of mind declared by the Lord to be the stumbling-blocks are not such at all to him who indulges in them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the cat cannot be brought back to life, nor can its dressed skin rustle or crackle when handled, so is the Arahāt who 'answers not again.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, 72. The whole Aritṭha episode occurs verbatim in Vinaya Texts, II, 377. See Vinaya Texts, I, 47 for the penalty



As soon as this reached their ears, a number of Almsmen went to ask Aritṭha whether he was correctly reported as holding a heresy so pernicious; and, on learning from him that he undoubtedly did hold it, they sought to wean him from it by enquiry, expostulation, and remonstrance. Do not, said they, misrepresent the Lord; it is not right to impute this to him, for he would not say so; (on the contrary) it has been by the Lord laid down in many a figure that the states of mind declared by him to be stumbling-blocks are veritable stumbling-blocks to him who indulges in them. Pleasures of sense he has described as giving little satisfaction, much Ill and much tribulation, and as being dogged by perils greater still. He has described these pleasures of sense in the (ten) Parables,<sup>1</sup>—of the bare bone, the lump of carrion, the hay-torch, the pit of embers, the dream, the loan, the hanging fruit, the slaughter-house, the impaling stake, the snake's head,—always as giving little satisfaction, much Ill, and much tribulation, and always as being dogged by perils greater still. But say what they might, Aritṭha would not yield to their expostulations but stoutly maintained and upheld his pernicious heresy. So, when Aritṭha could not [131] be got to recede from his position, those Almsmen went to the Lord and recounted all that passed; and he sent an Almsman to summon Aritṭha to his presence.

[132] When Aritṭha had obediently come and had taken his seat to one side after due obeisance, the Lord asked him whether he was correctly reported as having come to hold that, as he understood the Doctrine taught by the Lord, the states of mind declared to be stumbling-blocks were not such at all to him who indulged in them.—Yes, he undoubtedly did so hold.—Then said the Lord:—To whom, foolish man, do you aver that I ever so taught the Doctrine? Have I not,

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of excommunication for maintaining that a Saint cannot fall from grace. It will be noted that here, as in Sutta 38, the recalcitrant is branded as belonging by origin to a murderous calling.

<sup>1</sup> See Sutta No. 54 for the first seven of these in detail.

foolish man, laid it down in many a figure that the states of mind declared by me to be stumbling-blocks are veritable stumbling-blocks to him who indulges in them? Pleasures of sense I have described as giving little satisfaction, much Ill, and much tribulation, and as being dogged by perils greater still; I have so described pleasures of sense in ten Parables. Yet you, foolish man, employ what you yourself misunderstand not only to misrepresent me but also to undermine yourself and to lay up a store of demerit,—to your lasting hurt and harm.

Turning then to the Almsmen, the Lord said :—Do you think this Brother Ariṭṭha, the vulture-catcher of the past, has got even a spark of illumination in this Doctrine and Rule?

How could he, sir? For, it is not the fact.

Hereat, Ariṭṭha sat silent and glum, with his shoulders hunched up and eyes downcast, much exercised in his mind but finding no words to utter. Marking his plight, the Lord said :—And now, foolish man, you shall be shewn up in respect of this pernicious view; I will question the Almsmen on the point.

Accordingly the Lord addressed the Almsmen as follows :—[133] Now do you too, Almsmen, understand me to have taught the Doctrine in the fashion in which Ariṭṭha here, this whilom vulture-catcher, employs what he himself misunderstands, not only to misrepresent me but also to undermine himself and to lay up a store of demerit?

No, sir; for, in many a figure we have heard from the Lord that the states of mind declared by him to be stumbling-blocks are veritable stumbling-blocks to him who indulges in them; pleasures of sense the Lord has described as giving little satisfaction, much Ill, and much tribulation, and as being dogged by perils greater still.

Quite right, Almsmen; you rightly understand my teaching; for, indeed, I have, as you say, so taught in many a figure and parable. Yet here is this former vulture-catcher, Ariṭṭha, employing what he himself



zu Bild 101



Bild 101



Im Ma-tschu-Tal.  
Aufgenommen von 127-10. Blatt 35



Am Ma-tschu.  
Aufgenommen von 87-54. Blatt 38.





misunderstands, not only to misrepresent me but also to undermine himself and to lay up a store of demerit,—to his lasting hurt and Ill. No one can possibly indulge in pleasures of sense without harbouring sensuality within himself or without perceiving it and thinking about it.

Take the case of some foolish persons who have learned by heart the Doctrine,—the Suttas<sup>1</sup> in prose or in prose and verse, with the Poems and the Triumphant Utterances and the Quotations and the Jātākas and the Miracles and the Miscellanies,—yet, though they have learned it all by heart, fail to study its import for the comprehension of all it embodies, and consequently find no joy in it, profiting by their learning by rote solely for strictures on others or for bandying verbal quotations, and quite missing the real object of their memorizing; so that these divers aspects of the Doctrine which they have failed to grasp conduce to their lasting hurt and Ill. And why?—Because they have grasped it all wrong.

It is just like a man who is in quest of a serpent for his needs and who in the course of his searching finds a big serpent, which he seizes by its coils or tail, with the result that it turns on him and bites him on hand or arm or elsewhere on his body, so that he [184] comes thereby by his death or deadly hurt. And why?—Because he has wrongly grasped his snake. And it is just the same with those foolish persons who have learned by heart . . . wrongly grasped them.

Take now the case of young men who have likewise learned the Doctrine by heart in all its aspects but study its import for the comprehension of all it embodies, and consequently find joy in it,—learning it

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<sup>1</sup> In this stock passage—here naïvely put into the mouth of the still living and preaching Buddha by later recensionists—Bu. interprets Sutta as including the Vinaya and Abhidhamma, and therefore as signifying the Pitakas at large,—not being either exclusively in verse (like the Dhammapada and the Thera- and Theri-gāthās) or purely expository (like Sutta No. 9 above or the Vedalla Suttas Nos. 43 and 44 infra) or florilegia (like the Udāna).

Bild 103



Im Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von 1057—1120. Blatt 38.

Bild 104



Im Ma-tschu-Tal.

Aufgenommen von 1077—1120. Blatt 38.

by heart not for strictures on others or for bandying verbal quotations, but for securing the real object of their memorizing, so that the divers aspects of the Doctrine which they have succeeded in mastering conduce to their lasting good and welfare. And why?—Because they have grasped it all aright.

It is just like a man who is in quest of a serpent for his needs and who in the course of his searching finds a big serpent which he pins securely down with a forked stick before grasping it tightly by its neck. Coil itself as the serpent may round his hand or arm or other part of his body, the man does not come thereby by his death or deadly hurt. And why?—Because he has grasped it aright. And it is just the same with those young men who have likewise learned by heart . . . grasped it all aright.

Therefore, Almsmen, when you understand the import of what I say, so treasure it up in your memories; but if you fail to understand, then ask me or some outstanding Almsmen.

By the parable of the raft I will teach how to abandon and not to retain. Listen and pay attention; and I will speak. Yes, sir, said they in response; and the Lord began:—It is like a man who after travelling a long way finds the floods out, with danger and peril on the hither side and with security and safety on the further side, but with no ferry or suspension-bridge; and to him comes the thought [185] to win his way across the floods to safety from the perils which encompass him by collecting grass and sticks and branches and boughs wherewith to fashion a raft on which to paddle himself safely across with his hands and feet; and to him, when he has done all this and has paddled himself safely across, the thought comes that the raft had been so useful that he might do well to take it along with him packed on his head or shoulders. Think you he would be doing the right thing with the raft?—No, sir.—How should he act so as to do the right thing with his raft? Well, suppose that, when he was safely over, he, recognizing how



useful the raft had been, were to deem it well, before going on his way, either to beach it or to leave it afloat ;—clearly thus he would be doing the right thing with his raft. In this wise I have taught you by the parable of the raft how to abandon and not to retain. If you understand this parable of the raft, you have to discard good things, and *à fortiori* bad things.

Speculative tenets are sixfold. Take the case of an uninstructed everyday man who takes no count of the Noble, who is unversed and untrained in the Doctrine of the Noble, who takes no count of the Excellent,—who is unversed in the Doctrine of the Excellent,—who regards as ‘mine’ or ‘I am this’ or ‘this is my Self,’ either (i) visible form,—or (ii) feeling— or (iii) perception— or (iv) the plastic forces— or (v) whatsoever he sees, hears, touches, is aware of, or by the mind attains, seeks out, and reflects on,— or (vi) the speculative tenet that ‘the world around me is the Self which I shall hereafter become,—eternal and permanent, everlasting and unchangeable, [186] standing fast like heaven and earth.’

But the instructed man, the disciple of the Noble who does take count of the Noble and is both versed and trained in their Doctrine, who does take count of the Excellent and is both versed and trained in their Doctrine,—he refuses to regard visible form— or the rest of the six—as mine or I am this, or this is my Self. Refusing so to regard these things, he is not worried over the non-existent.

At this point an Almsman asked whether there could be worry over the externally non-existent.

Yes, answered the Lord. Suppose a Brother thinks he once had something which he now has not got, or that he would like to have something he cannot get ; he grieves and mourns and laments, he beats his breast and is distraught.—That is how there comes worry over the externally non-existent.

Being asked further if there could be an absence of worry over the externally non-existent, the Lord said :—Yes ; suppose an Almsman never thinks that

he once had something which he now has not got, or that he would like to have something he cannot get; he does not grieve and mourn and lament, he does not beat his breast nor is he distraught.—That is how there is an absence of worry over the externally non-existent.

Being asked further if there could be worry over the internally non-existent, the Lord said :—Yes; as for instance in the case of an Almsman who comes to hold the speculative idea that the world around me is the Self, which I shall hereafter become,—eternal and permanent, everlasting and unchangeable, standing fast like heaven and earth. From the Truth-finder or a disciple of his he hears preached the Doctrine to remove all tendency, inclination, and bias towards speculative tenets, to still all plastic forces, to discard all the material of rebirth, to extirpate cravings, in the passionless calm of Nirvana. Thinks he to himself: [187] ‘ Then I shall be cut off and perish utterly, there will be an end of me for ever ’; and at the thought he grieves and mourns and laments, beats his breast, and is distraught.—That is how there is worry over the internally non-existent.

Being asked further whether there could be an absence of worry over the internally non-existent, the Lord :—Yes; as for instance in the case of an Almsman who, holding no speculative idea that the world around him is the Self, into which he will hereafter merge for ever and ever, hears the Doctrine preached by the Truth-finder or a disciple of his, without a thought that this means he will be cut off and perish utterly and be ended for ever; so he does not grieve and mourn and lament, he does not beat his breast nor is he distraught.—That is how there is an absence of worry over the internally non-existent.

You would like to possess something that was eternal and permanent, everlasting and unchangeable, standing fast like heaven and earth ;—but, can you see any such possession ?

No, sir.

Quite right, Almsmen ;—nor do I.





You would like to have a grip on personal immortality such that thereby you would escape all grief, lamentation, sorrow, woe and tribulation;—but, can you see any such grip?

No, sir.

Quite right, Almsmen;—nor do I.

You would like a foundation for speculative beliefs so sure that thereby you would escape all grief, lamentation, sorrow, woe, and tribulation;—but, can you see any such foundation?

No, sir.

Quite right, Almsmen;—nor do I.

[188] If there were a Self, would there be something of the nature of a 'Self of mine'?

Yes, sir.

And if there were something of the nature of a Self of mine, would there be a 'my-self'?

Yes, sir.

But, if really and truly there is to be found neither Self nor anything of the nature of Self, is it not mere absolute folly to hold the speculative view that the world around me is 'the Self', into which I shall pass hereafter,—eternal and permanent, everlasting and unchangeable, standing fast like heaven and earth?

How, sir, could it not be mere absolute folly?

What do you think, Almsmen? Is visible form permanent or impermanent?

Impermanent, sir.

And is the impermanent a weal or a woe?

A woe, sir.

But can a woe that is impermanent and changeable properly be regarded as mine, or as I am this, or as this is my Self?

No, sir.

[And the same argument applies also to feelings, perception, plastic forces, and consciousness.]

From which it results, Almsmen, that all visible forms—or feelings—or perceptions—or plastic forces—or consciousness—all this, whether past, present, or future, whether internal or external, [189] whether



Bild 105

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# Am Ma-tschu.

Aufgenommen von K. 1151—1213. Blatt 38.

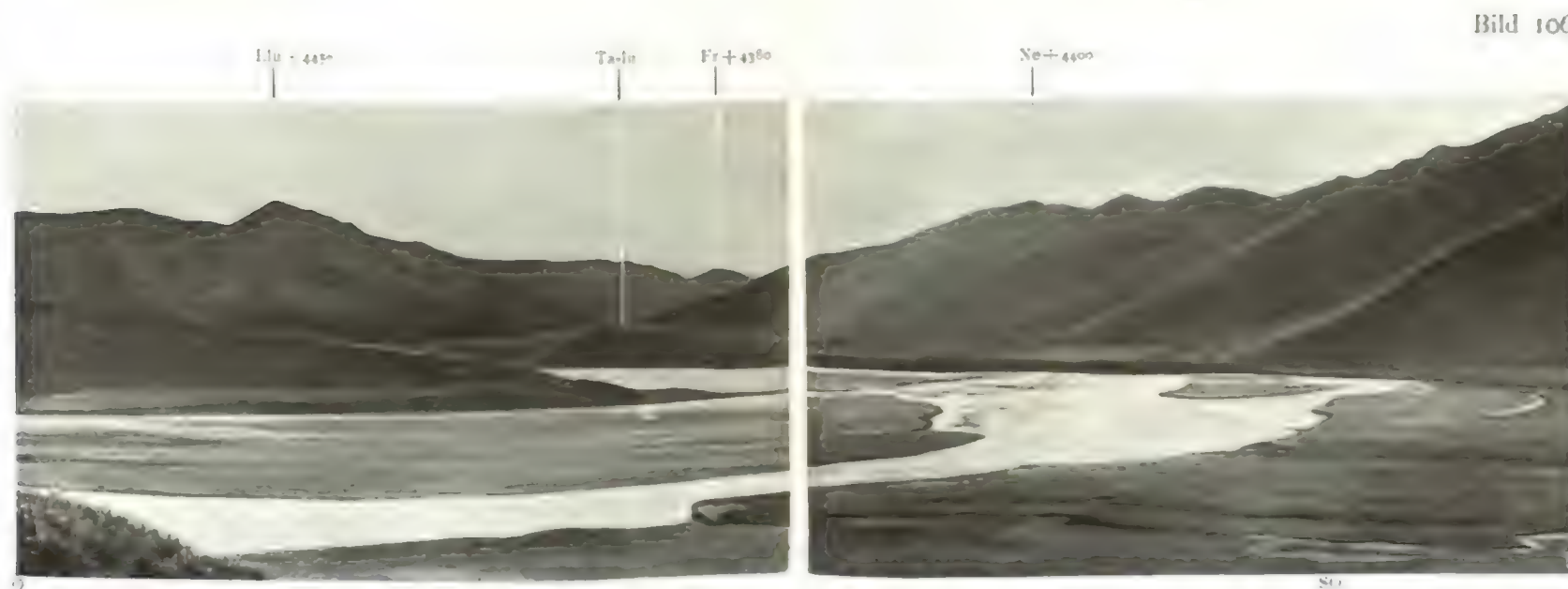


Bild 106

# Am Ma-tschu.

Aufgenommen von K. 1151—1213. Blatt 37.

gross or subtle, high or low, far or near, have all to be viewed—if their real nature is comprehended aright—as ‘not mine’, as ‘I am not this’, and as ‘this is no Self of mine’.

So viewing all these things, the instructed disciple of the Noble grows weary of visible forms and the rest of them; weariness leads him to passionlessness, and passionlessness to Deliverance, wherein he comes to know his Deliverance in the sure conviction: Rebirth is no more; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now there is no more of what I have been. Such an Almsman is known as one who is quit of bolt and bar, has filled in his moat, has got rid of the itch of wanting, is cribbed and cabined no more; he is known as the Noble who has flung away pride’s banner, has cast off his burthen, and is emancipate.

Now, how is he quit of bolt and bar?—When ignorance has passed away, grubbed up by the roots, like the cleared site where once a palm-tree grew, a thing that once has been and now can be no more.

How does he fill in his moat?—When the round of birth and rebirth has passed away . . . no more.

How does he get rid of the itch of wanting?—When craving has passed away . . . no more.

How is he cribbed and cabined no more?—When the five worldly bonds have passed away . . . no more.

How is he the Noble who has flung away pride’s banner, has cast off his burthen, and is emancipate?—When the pride in an Ego<sup>1</sup> has passed away . . . no more.

[140] When his heart is thus Delivered, not Indra or Brahmā or Pajāpati, with all their trains of gods, can succeed in tracking down aught on which depends a truth-finder’s consciousness. And why?—Because, say I, already, here and now, the truth-finder<sup>2</sup> is untrace-

<sup>1</sup> So in the earliest days of his Buddhahood, Gotama (Vinaya Texts, I, 81) preached that supreme bliss came from the putting away of the conceit which comes from the thought ‘I am.’

<sup>2</sup> Here, clearly, *tathāgata* means not a Buddha but simply an arahat.



able. Though this is what I affirm and what I preach, yet some recluses and brahmins—wrongly, erroneously, and falsely—charge me, in defiance of facts, with being an annihilationist and with preaching the disintegration, destruction and extirpation of existing creatures. It is just what I am not, and what I do not affirm, that is wrongly, erroneously, and falsely charged against me by these good people who would make me out to be an annihilationist. Both in the past and to-day, I have consistently preached Ill and the ending of Ill. If therein people denounce and abuse and revile the truth-finder,—this begets in him no resentment or annoyance or dissatisfaction. Nor, again, if people shew the truth-finder honour and reverence, devotion and worship,—does that bring him pleasure, satisfaction or elation; he only thinks that such homage is consequent on the truth he mastered long ago. Therefore, if people denounce and abuse and revile you too, let this breed in you no resentment or annoyance or dissatisfaction. Nor, if people shew you too honour and reverence, devotion or worship, let that not bring you pleasure, satisfaction, or elation; let your sole thought be that such homage is consequent on the truth you mastered long ago.

Put from you then what is not yours; and thereby you will come to lasting weal and well-being. Now what, Almsmen, is that which is not yours?—Visible forms are not yours; and so put them from you and ensure thereby your lasting weal and well-being. Similarly, put from you feelings, [141] perceptions, the plastic forces, and consciousness; and ensure thereby your lasting weal and well-being. What think you? If a man were to collect or burn or otherwise do what he liked with the grass, sticks, branches and foliage in this grove of Jeta's,—would it occur to you that it was you whom he was collecting or burning or otherwise doing what he liked with?

No, sir; and why?—Because nothing of all this is either our Self or anything of the nature of a Self of ours.



Just in the same way put from you what is not yours,—visible forms, feelings, and the rest; and ensure thereby your lasting weal and well-being.

In this wise has the Doctrine been by me set forth aright, the Doctrine which is clear, open, luminous, and flawless, wherein and whereby—

there is no tracing of the course of those Almsmen who are Arahats, in whom the Cankers are no more, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have cast off their burthens, who have won their weal, and who by utter knowledge have won deliverance;

all those who have thrown off the five fetters of this world, will all be translated to realms above, from which they will never return to earth;

all those who have thrown off the three fetters and have also reduced passion, hate and folly to a minimum will return only once more to this world and will then make an end of Ill;

all those who have simply thrown off three fetters, have entered the stream of sanctification, will escape all future states of misery, [142], have their future assured, and are destined to win the fullest enlightenment;

all those whose life accords with the Doctrine and with faith, are all destined to win the fullest enlightenment; and

all who have but faith in me and love for me, have heaven as their destiny.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXIII. VAMMĪKA-SUTTA.

### THE SMOULDERING ANT-HILL.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, the reverend Kumāra-Kassapa was staying in the Andha-vana, to whom towards dawn there came a deity of dazzling beauty, flooding the whole woodland with radiance. Standing to one side,



Bild 107



Am Ma-tschu.

Aufgenommen von 9<sup>25</sup>—57. Blatt 37.

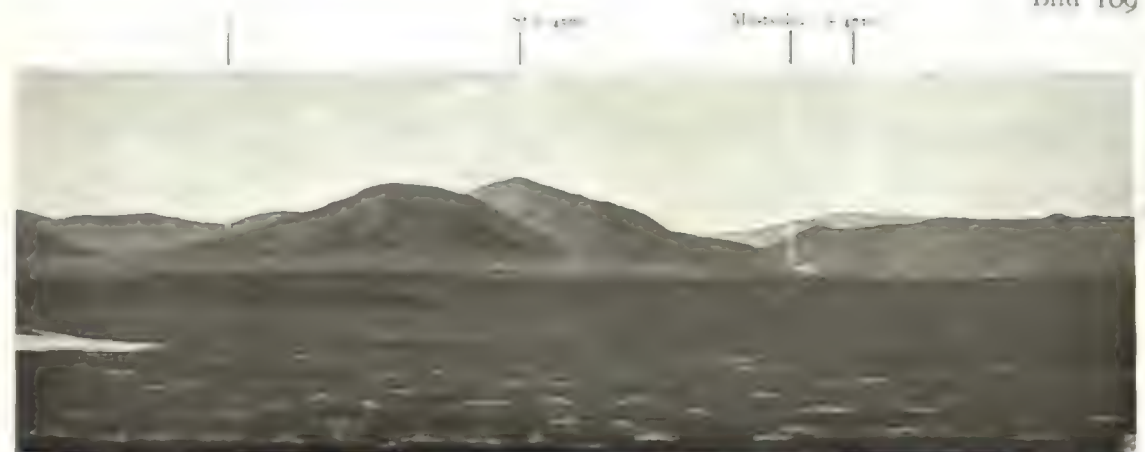
Bild 108



Blick auf Artschung-Dünang-Gukur.

Aufgenommen von 7<sup>59</sup>—8<sup>24</sup>. Blatt 37.

Bild 109



Am Ma-tschu.

Aufgenommen von 9<sup>42</sup>—10<sup>08</sup>. Blatt 37.

the deity said :—Almsman, Almsman !—There's an ant-hill which smokes by day and flames up at night. The brahmin said :—Take your tool, sage,<sup>1</sup> and dig. The sage dug away till he found a bar and cried : Here's a bar, Lord. Said the brahmin : Cast it out, sage, and dig on. As the sage dug on, he came on a frog. Cast it out, sage, and dig on, said the brahmin. As the sage dug, he came on a passage which forked. Said the brahmin : Cast it out, sage, and dig on. As he dug on, he came successively on—a strainer—[148] a tortoise—a cleaver—and a joint of meat ; all of which he was successively told to cast out and dig on. At last he came on a cobra.<sup>2</sup> Sage, leave the cobra alone, said the brahmin ; do not harm the cobra ; pay homage to the cobra.

Now, Almsman, take these questions to the Lord and treasure up his explanations. I see no one in the whole universe—with all its gods, Māras, Brahmās, with its recluses and brahmins, and all gods and mankind—whose interpretation of these questions can prove convincing, save only the Truth-finder or a disciple of the Truth-finder or from someone who has been told by him or them.

With these words the deity vanished from sight.

When the night was at an end, the reverend Kumāra-Kassapa came to the Lord and after salutations sat down to one side, there to relate the whole story and to end with the following questions :—What is the ant-hill?—What is the smoking by night?—What is the flaming by day?—Who is the brahmin?—Who is the sage?—What is his tool?—What is his digging?—What is the bar?—What is the frog?—What is the passage which forked?—What is the strainer?—What is the tortoise?—What is the cleaver?—What is the joint of meat?—What is the cobra?

<sup>1</sup> The title *Su-medha*, here used of an Almsman, is given by Brahmā to the Buddha in Sutta 26 (*infra* p. 119).

<sup>2</sup> Cobras (says Bu.) guard buried treasure for seven generations, a belief which perhaps dictated the story here turned into an allegory.



[144] The ant-hill, Almsman, typifies the body, which is made up of the four elements, starts from a mother and father, is sustained by rice and other foods, and is impermanent, being subject to attrition, abrasion, erosion, decay, and dispersal.

The smoking by night is what by night a man thinks about, and ponders on, with reference to the day's doings.

The flames by day are what, after thinking and pondering by night, a man executes by day, with body, voice, or mind.

The brahmin typifies the Truth-finder, the Arahāt all-enlightened.

The sage is an Almsman under training.

His tool is noble wisdom.

His digging is perseverance in effort.

The bar signifies ignorance, which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

The frog is the emblem of the unrest arising from wrath, which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

The passage which forked typifies doubting, which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

The strain represents the five hindrances,—of passion, ill-will, torpor, worry, and doubting.

The tortoise means the five-fold grip on continuing existence—through visible forms, feelings, perceptions, plastic forces, and consciousness—which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

The cleaver indicates the five pleasures of sense—proceeding from sights, sounds, odours, tastes, and touch, all of them pleasant, agreeable and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lust—which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

[145] The joint typifies passion's delights, which he is bidden to cast out and fling away.

Lastly, the cobra is the symbol of the Almsman in whom the Cankers are no more. Leave him alone, harm him not, pay him homage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the end of the next Sutta and of Sutta No. 5 for styling an Arahāt *nāga* (cobra or elephant); and cf. the designation of *manussa-nāga* for Mahā-Kassapa at Vinaya Texts I, 121.



Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Kumāra-Kassapa rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXIV. RATHA-VINĪTA-SUTTA.

### ON RELAYS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove where the squirrels were fed, there came to the Lord many Almsmen of the locality who had been passing the rainy season there; and these, after due obeisance, seated themselves to one side, and were thus addressed by the Lord:—Who among the Almsmen from hereabouts is by his fellows in the higher life who come also from here, esteemed—as wanting little himself and as urging Almsmen too to want but little; as being contented in himself and also preaching contentment to Almsmen; as living aloof in the inner life himself and also preaching it to Almsmen; as eschewing mundane society and also urging Almsmen to eschew it; as being strenuous himself and also inciting Almsmen to be strenuous; as leading a virtuous life himself and also inciting Almsmen to virtue; as having won rapt concentration for himself and also exhorting Almsmen thereto; as having won wisdom for himself and also exhorting Almsmen thereto; as having found Deliverance for himself and also encouraging Almsmen thereto; as having himself attained to the full Vision of Deliverance and also urging Almsmen thereto; as one who exhorts, informs, instructs, enlightens, [146] cheers onward, and helps forward his fellows on the higher life?

Puṇṇa, sir, was the answer; the venerable Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta;—he is esteemed as being all this by his fellows in the higher life who come, like him, from round here.

Now, at that time, near the Lord there was sitting the reverend Sāriputta, to whom the thought came how

Bild 110

4773



Blick auf Wäser-Düna-Ranganda.

Aufgenommen von 1 Blatt 57

Bild 111



Ma-tschu-Durchbruch.

Aufgenommen von 50 bei Lager LXX. Blatt 57

Bild 112

4774



Ma-tschu-Durchbruch.

Aufgenommen vom Lager LXX. Blatt 57



great a thing, how very great a thing, it was for the reverend Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta that, in the presence of the Master, his well-informed fellows in the higher life should thus extol him, point after point, and that the Master should so appreciate him ; it would be good to meet Puṇṇa somewhere some day and have a talk with him.

When the Lord had stayed at Rājagaha as long as he wished to, he set out on an alms-pilgrimage for Sāvattthī and, arriving there in due course, stayed in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground. Hearing of the Lord's movements, Puṇṇa packed away his bedding, took his bowl and robes, and set out on an alms-pilgrimage for Sāvattthī, and in the pleasure-ground found the Lord, by whom he seated himself after due obeisance. As he sat there, the Lord discoursed to him on the Doctrine, informing, enlightening, cheering him forward and helping him onwards, after which Puṇṇa, rejoicing greatly in what he had heard from the Lord, rose up and with deep obeisance withdrew to Andha grove, there to stay during the noontide heat.

Hereupon, an Almsman went and told Sāriputta that Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta, of whom he was always speaking so highly, had [147] just left the Lord after a heartening discourse on the Doctrine and was off to Andha grove there to stay during the noontide heat. Snatching up his mat hurriedly, Sāriputta followed Puṇṇa up closely from behind, never letting him get out of sight. Entering the grove, Puṇṇa sat down under a tree for the noontide ; and Sāriputta found a tree for himself. When at even Sāriputta rose up from his meditations, he moved towards Puṇṇa and after exchange of greetings took his seat to one side, saying—Do you, reverend sir, lead the higher life with our Lord?—Yes, reverend sir.—Is this in order to purify your life?—No, sir.—Is it to purify your heart?—No, sir.—Is it to purify your views?—No, sir.—Is it to ensure purity by dispelling doubts?—No, sir.—Is it to ensure purity by fullest insight into paths right and wrong?—No, sir.—Is it to ensure by fullest insight



into the way by which to walk?—No, sir.—What is it for then, as you answer no to all these questions?

[148] To attain absolute Nirvana, sir.

Is that purity of life?—No, sir.—Is it purity of heart?—No, sir.—Is it purity of view?—No, sir.—Is it the purity which comes from dispelling doubts?—No, sir.—Is it the purity which comes from fullest insight into paths right and wrong?—No, sir.—Is it the purity which comes from fullest insight into the way by which to walk?—No, sir.—Is it the purity which insight gives?—No, sir.—Does absolute Nirvana lack these states of mind?—No, sir.—As you answer no to all these questions, pray how is the meaning of your words to be understood?

If, sir, the Lord were to explain absolute Nirvana as purity of life or as any other of the purities you name, then he would make it contingent and not absolute; and if absolute Nirvana simply meant the lack of those states of mind, then the ordinary man would have Nirvana,—for, he has none of those states of mind.

Consequently, sir, I will give you an illustration;—by an illustration some men of understanding apprehend the meaning of a statement. It is just as if, while King Pasenadi of Kosala was in residence here in Sāvattthī, [149] some emergency were to arise in Sāketa and his people were to arrange seven carriages for him in relays along the road between Sāvattthī and Sāketa. Suppose now the King were to get into the first carriage at the palace door and to drive along in it till he came to the second carriage, and were then to dismiss the first and get into the second carriage, and so on until the seventh carriage brought him to the door of his palace in Sāketa; and suppose within the palace he were asked by his entourage and kinsfolk whether it was in that last relay he had come from Sāvattthī to the door of his palace in Sāketa,—what would be the correct answer for his majesty to give?

His correct answer would be that, on an emergency requiring him to leave for Sāketa, his people arranged seven carriages in relays for him along the road; that



at the door of his palace in Sāvattthī he got into the first carriage, in which he drove along till he came to the second carriage into which he changed, and so on till at last the seventh carriage brought him to the door of his palace in Sāketa.

In just the same way, sir, purity of life takes a man as far as purity of heart and no further ; purity of heart takes him only up to purity of views ; [150] and so on till fullest insight carries him on to absolute Nirvana,—for which it is that I lead the higher life with the Lord.

Hereupon, the reverend Sāri-putta said to the reverend Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta :—What is your reverence's name, and how are you known to your fellows in the higher life ?

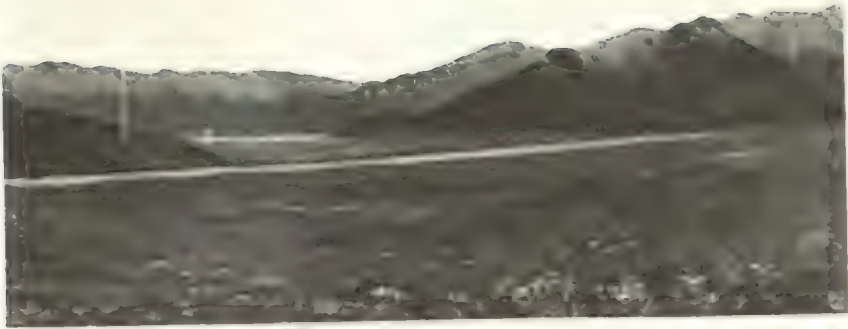
Puṇṇa, reverend sir, is my name ; and as Mantāṇi-putta (son of the brahmin lady, Mantāṇī) am I known to my fellows in the higher life.

Wonderful, sir ! Marvellous, sir ! How like a well-instructed disciple who understands the Master's teaching to the full, has the reverend Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta answered, point by point, questions deep and profound ! It is a great thing, a very great thing, that his fellows in the higher life have the reverend Puṇṇa to see and to consort with. Yes, it would be a great thing for them, a very great thing, to see and to consort with him, even if they had to carry him about upon a cushion on their heads. A great thing too, a very great thing, is it for me that it has been mine to see and to consort with the reverend Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta.

Thereupon, the reverend Puṇṇa Mantāṇi-putta said to the reverend Sāriputta :—What is your reverence's name, and how are you known to your fellows in the higher life ?

Upatissa, reverend sir, is my name ; and as Sāri-putta (son of the brahmin lady Sāri) am I known to my fellows in the higher life.

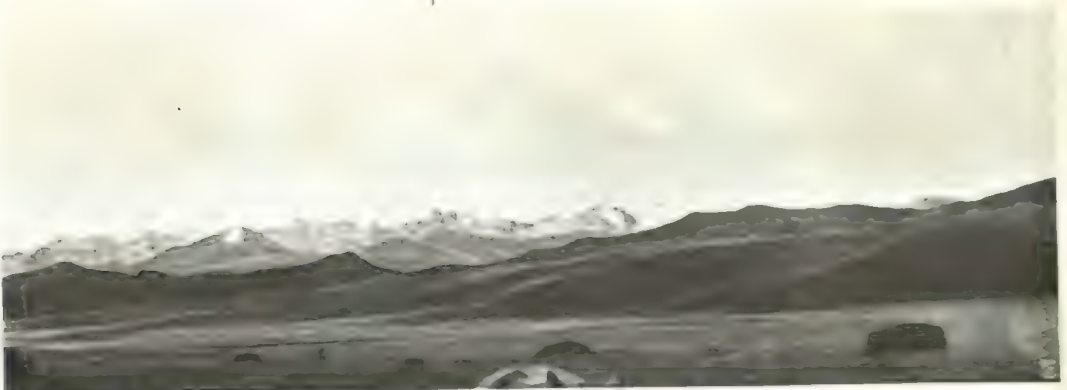
And here have I been talking, without knowing it was Sāriputta, to the disciple whom men liken to the



Ma-tschu-Durchbruch. Aufgenommen vom Lager LXXI. Blatt 37.



Ma-tschu-Durchbruch. Aufgenommen von Pab. 4165. Blatt 37.



Wäser. Aufgenommen im Lager LXXIV. Blatt 44





Master himself! Had I but known it was Sāriputta, I should certainly not have presumed to answer him at such length. Wonderful, sir! Marvellous, sir! How like a well-instructed disciple who understands the Master's teaching to the full, has the reverend Sāriputta, point by point, put questions deep and profound! It is a great thing, a very great thing, that his fellows in the higher life have the reverend Sāriputta to see and consort with. Yes, it would be a great thing for them, a very great thing, to see and to consort with him, even if they had to carry him about on a cushion on their heads. [151] A great thing too, a very great thing, is it for me that it has been mine to see and to consort with the reverend Sāriputta.

In such wise did each of that noble pair of Arahats (mahā-nāgā) applaud what the other had said so well.



## XXV. NIVĀPA-SUTTA.

### GINs AND SNARES.

THUs have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows: It is with no idea of providing deer with a crop grown solely to keep them in good condition for many a long day, that the trapper sows his crop; no, it is with the quite different object that, with an infatuated inrush on the crop, the deer will browse on the fodder, and that, as they browse, they will lose their heads and thereby get off their guard, so that being off their guard, they can be dealt with as he pleases amid the crop.

And this is just what a first herd of deer did, so that they escaped not from the trapper's mastery of craft.

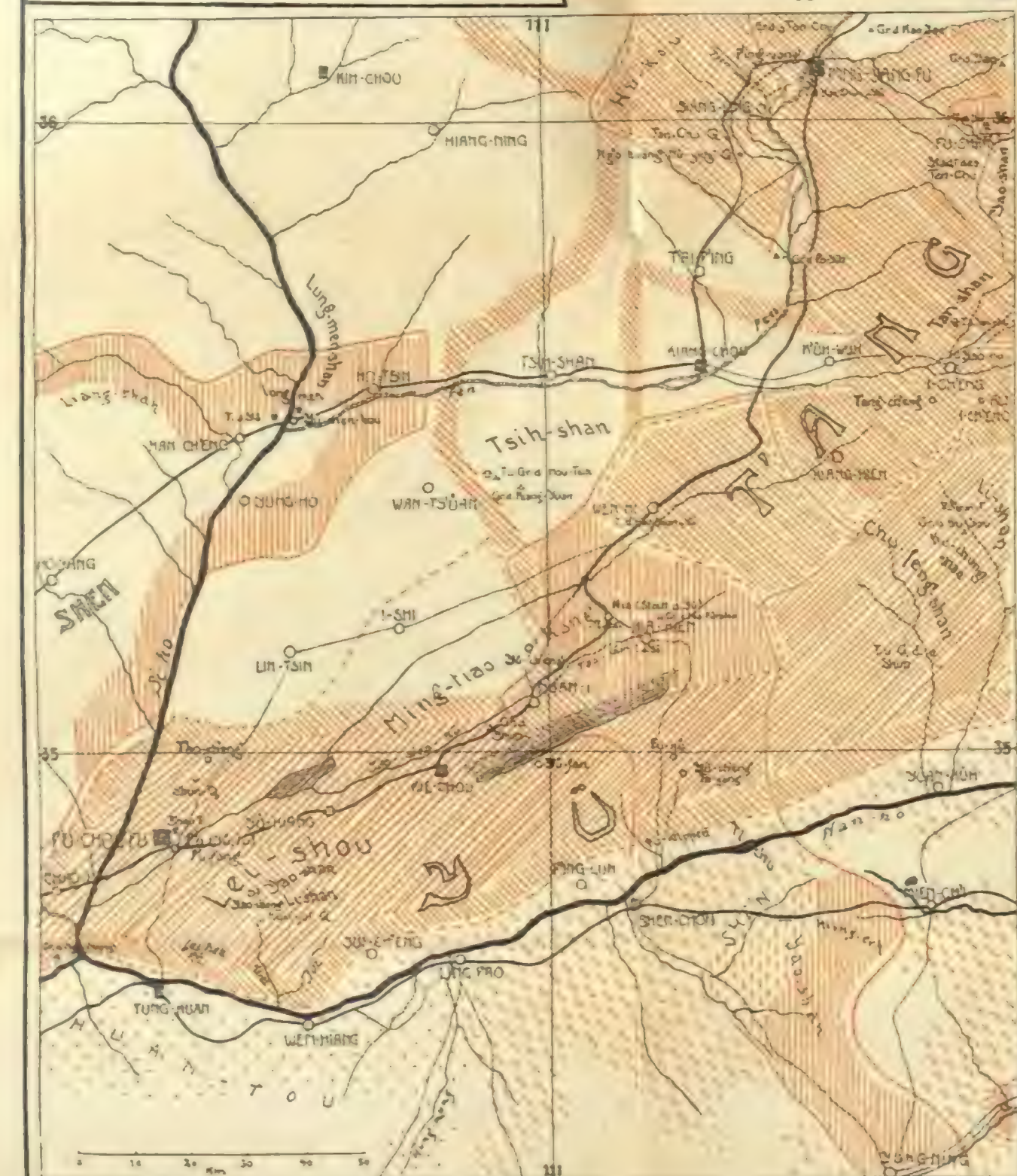
Realizing precisely how the first herd [152] had met their doom, a second herd concluded to keep quite clear of the crop and to retire to the depths of the jungle, leaving that fearsome pasturage untouched. This they did, until, with the coming of the last month of the hot season, grass and water gave out and their bodies grew emaciated in the extreme, so that their hearts and spirits failed them,—and back they came to the crop the trapper had sown. With an infatuated inrush, they fell to browsing on the fodder, and, as they browsed, lost their heads and got off their guard, so that, being off their guard, they could be dealt with by the trapper as he pleased amid the crop. That is how the second herd too escaped not from the trapper's mastery of craft.

Realizing precisely how the first and second herds had come to their doom, a third herd of deer resolved

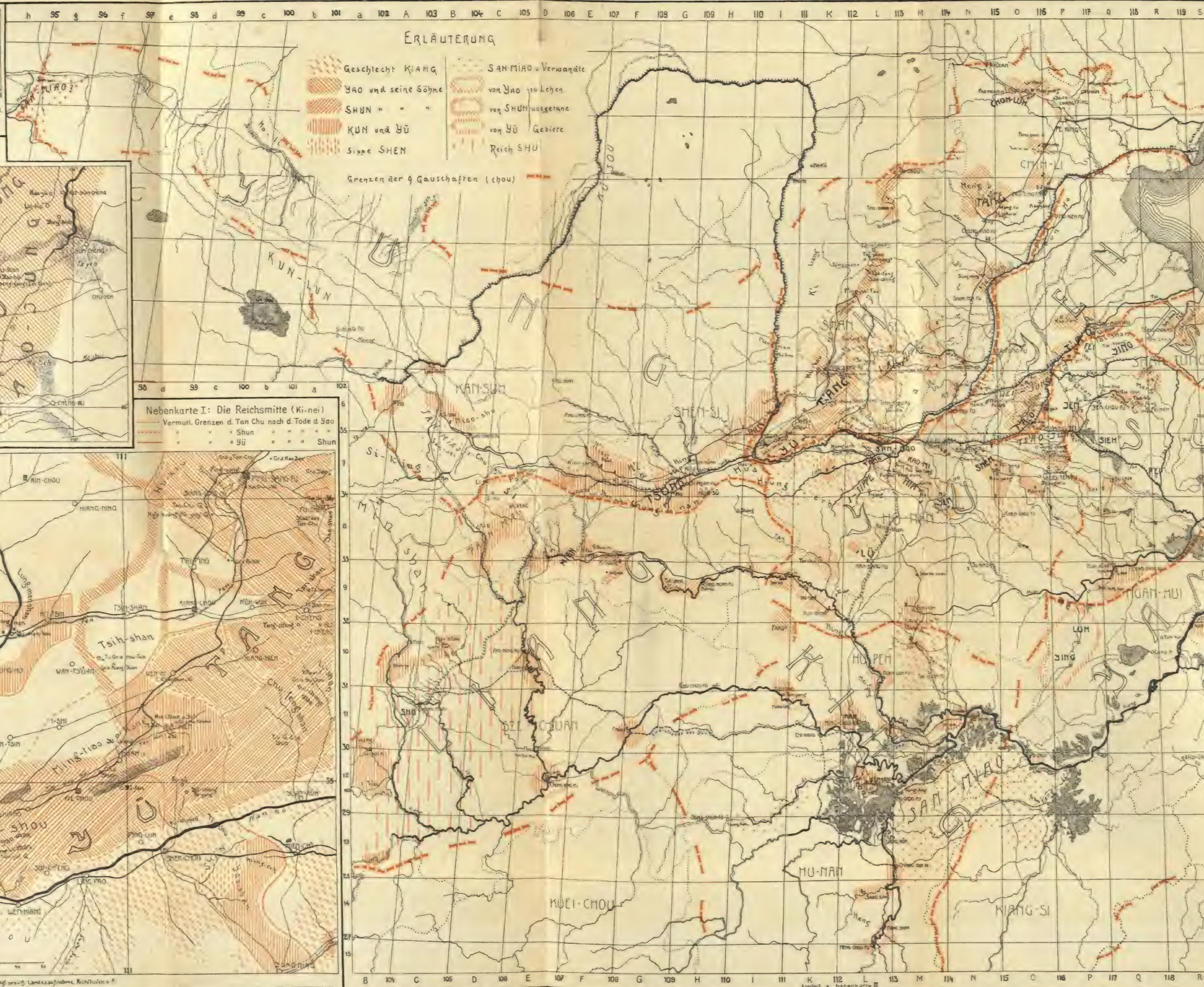




Nebenkarte III (Anschluß an Hauptk. TSANG WU u. Pi)



Situation nach Mr. Hoebel, Karten der 9. Provinz, Landesaufnahme, Reichshof u. A.



KARTE ZUR GESCHICHTE  
DER KAISER  
YAO, SHUN u. YÜ  
von  
A. WEDEMAYER  
und G. HALOUN.

Maßstab:  
1:100,000  
km

Die im Yü-kung erwähnten Gewässer  
Transportwege und die 9 Berg-  
straßen des Yü sind blau gezeichnet  
Bergnamen HO-NAN-FU, TSIN-SUN, moderne Orts-  
namen \* Tempel des Yao \* Tempel des Shun  
\* Tempel des Yü  
Grenzen der gegenwärtigen Provinzen.





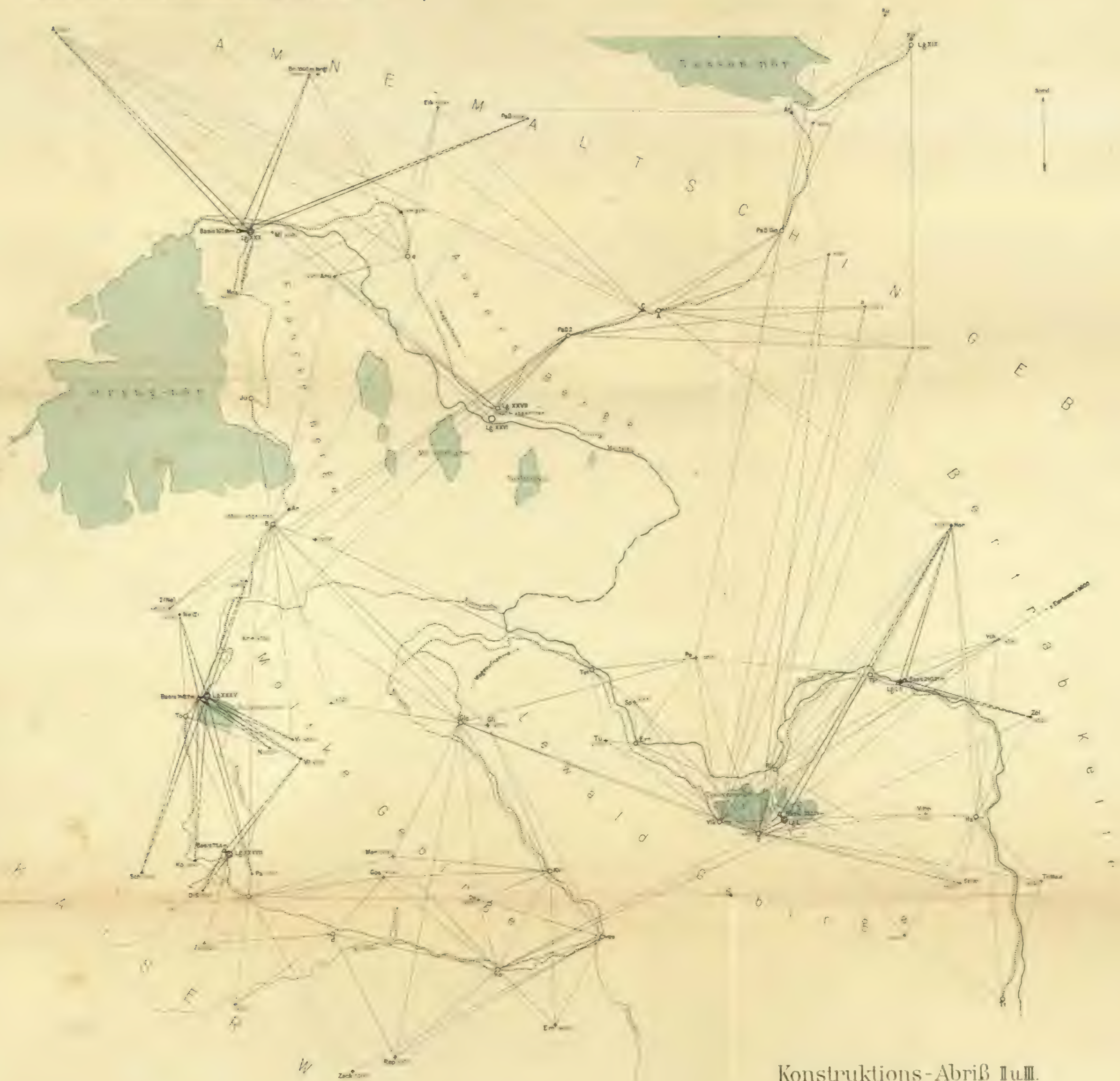
instead to [153] take up their abode hard by the standing crop, but, making no mad rush in, to browse on it with circumspection and without losing their heads and without getting off their guard,—so as not to be at the trapper's mercy amid the crop. And this they did, thereby escaping him.

Hereupon, the trapper and his people thought to themselves:—This third herd is guileful and wily, diabolically clever and outlandish; they graze on our crop, but we know nothing of their comings or of their goings; it would be well to put high stake-nets round the whole crop, to see if we can find out what lair they disappear to. So they staked in the whole crop all round about, till they discovered the lair the deer disappeared to. And that is how the third herd too escaped not from the trapper's mastery of craft.

Realizing precisely how the first three herds had respectively come to their doom, [154] a fourth herd resolved to make their lair where the trapper and his people could not penetrate, and, from this security, making no mad rush in, to browse on the crop with circumspection and without losing their heads and without getting off their guard, and so [155] not to be at the trapper's mercy amid the crop. And this they did, thereby escaping him.

Hereupon, the trapper and his people thought to themselves:—This fourth herd is guileful and wily, diabolically clever and outlandish; they graze on our crop, but we know nothing of their comings or of their goings; it would be well to put high stake nets round the whole crop, to see if we can find out what lair they disappear to. So they staked in the whole crop all round about,—but failed to discover the lair the deer disappeared to. Then the trapper and his people thought to themselves:—If we upset this fourth herd, they in turn will upset their neighbours and so on all along the line, so that no deer at all will ever come near our crop; we had better take no notice of them at all. So they took no notice of that fourth herd,—which thus succeeded in escaping the trapper's mastery in craft.





## Konstruktions-Abriß II u. III.

Gebiet: Tossou-nör-Kiangtschu-Yach-tschu.  
Blatt 1. 55.

Maßstab 1:500 000.

Zeichen - Erklärung

[illegible]

This is an allegory, Almsmen, framed by me to illustrate my meaning, which is as follows :—The crop typifies the five pleasures of sense ; the trapper stands for Māra, the Evil One ; the trapper's people are Mara's train ; and the deer represent recluses and brahmins.

Here, a first set of recluses and brahmins, wildly rushing in on the crop Māra had sown and on what the world can bestow, [156] have taken their fill thereof, thereby losing their heads and thus getting off their guard, so that, being off their guard, they can be dealt with by Māra as he pleases amid the crop he has sown and amid what the world can bestow. And this is how the first set of recluses and brahmins failed to escape from Māra's mastery of craft ;—they, say I, are like the first herd of deer.

Realizing precisely how the first set of recluses and brahmins came by their fate, a second set resolved to keep quite clear of the lure of what the world could bestow, leaving untouched so fearsome a diet, and to retire to the forest, there to subsist on green herbs, the grain of wild millets and paddy, snippets of hides, water-plants, the red dust that lines the rice husk, the discarded scum of boiling rice, the flour of oil-seeds, grass, cowdung, wild roots and fruits, or on windfalls alone. This they did until, with the coming of the last month of the hot season, when grass and water gave out and their bodies grew emaciated in the extreme, their heart's Deliverance failed, and back they came to the crop Māra had sown and what the world can bestow. With an infatuated inrush, they took their fill, thereby losing their heads and getting off their guard, so that, being off their guard, they could be dealt with by Māra as he pleased amid the crop he had sown and amid what the world had to bestow. That is how the second set of recluses and brahmins failed [157] to escape from Māra's mastery of craft ;—they, say I, are like the second herd of deer.

Realizing precisely how the first and second sets of





recluses and brahmins had come by their fate, a third set resolved instead to take up their abode hard by the crop Māra had sown and what the world could bestow, but, making no mad rush in, to partake thereof with circumspection and without losing their heads and without getting off their guard, so as not to be at Māra's mercy amid the crop he had sown and amid what the world could bestow. This they did. But they came to entertain such speculative views as the following:—The world is everlasting,—the world is not everlasting,—the world is finite,—the world is infinite, the body is the life (jīva),—the body is one thing and the life another,—a truth-finder exists after death,—a truth-finder does not exist after death,—he both exists and does not exist after death,—he neither exists nor does not exist after death. [158] That is how the third set of recluses and brahmins failed to escape from Māra's mastery of craft ;—they, say I, are like the third herd of deer.

Realizing precisely how the first three sets of recluses and brahmins had respectively come by their fate, a fourth set resolved instead to take up their abode where Māra and his train could not penetrate, and, from this security, making no mad rush in, to partake of Māra's crop and what the world could bestow, but with circumspection and without losing their heads and without getting off their guard, so as not to be at Māra's mercy amid the crop he had sown and what the world had to bestow. This they did. [159] And that is how the fourth set of recluses and brahmins succeeded in escaping Māra's mastery of craft ;—they, say I, are like the fourth herd of deer.

But, how find a retreat where Māra and his train cannot penetrate?

Take an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of mind, has entered on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Such a Brother is said to have hoodwinked Māra and to have



put Māra's sight out of gear, so as to have passed out of range of vision of the Evil One.—Further, by rising above observation and reflection the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Second Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of rapt concentration, above all observation and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by shedding the emotions of zest and satisfaction, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Third Ecstasy with its poised equanimity, mindful and alive to everything, feeling in his frame the satisfaction of which the Noble say that poise and mindfulness bring abiding satisfaction. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that knows neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant, the clarity that comes of poised equanimity and alert mindfulness. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by passing altogether beyond perception of visible forms, by ceasing from perception of sense-reactions, by not heeding perception of diversified impressions, he enters on, and abides in, the plane of infinity of space. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by passing altogether beyond the plane of infinity of space, he enters on, and abides in, the plane of infinity of consciousness. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by passing altogether beyond the plane of infinity of consciousness, [160] he enters on, and abides in, the plane of Naught. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by passing altogether beyond the plane of Naught, he enters on, and abides in, the plane of neither perception nor non-perception. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked . . . the Evil One.—Further, by





passing altogether beyond the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, he enters on, and abides in, the plane where feeling and perception cease, and where, because wisdom gives him vision, the Cankers become eradicated. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked Māra and to have put Māra's sight out of gear, so as to have passed out of range of vision of the Evil One and to have passed—here and now—beyond desires.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

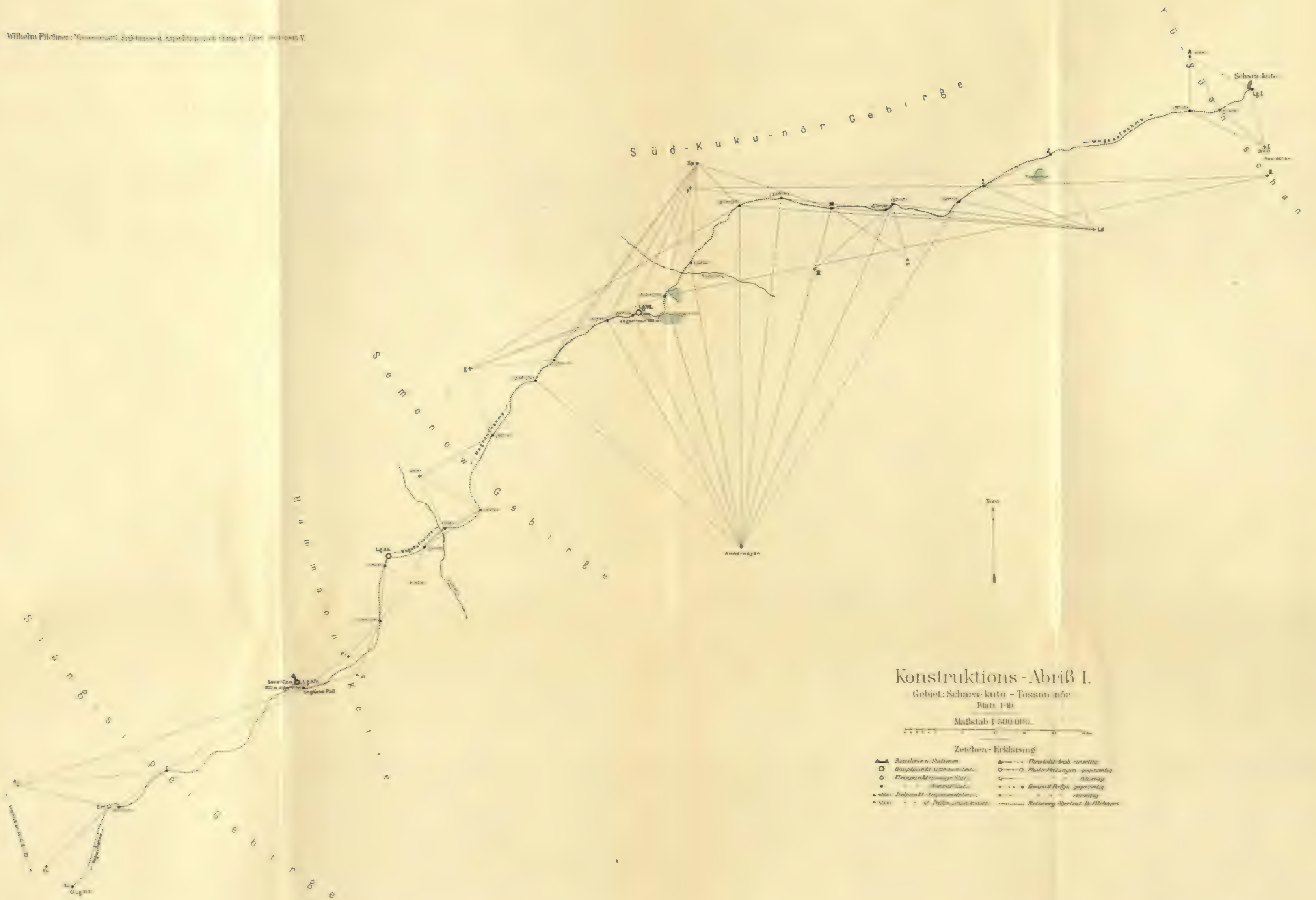
## XXVI. ARIYA-PARIYESANA-SUTTA.

### THE NOBLE QUEST.

THUS have I heard. Once, when staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, the Lord, early in the morning, duly robed and bowl in hand, went into the city for alms. To the reverend Ānanda there came a number of Almsmen to represent that it was a long time since they had heard a discourse on the Doctrine from the Lord and that they would like to listen to one from his own lips. In reply, Ānanda told them to repair to the hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka, where their wishes might perhaps be gratified; and to this they assented.

Having gone his round for alms in Sāvattthī, the Lord, on his return after his meal, said to Ānanda that they would go to the Eastern pleasaunce and the mansion of (Visākhā) the Mother of Migāra. Yes, sir, said Ānanda in assent. [161] So thither the Lord went with Ānanda to pass the noontide.

Rising towards evening from his meditations, the Lord told Ānanda they would now go to the Eastern bath to bathe. Ānanda assenting, they went there; and, after bathing, the Lord came out of the water and stood in a single garment to dry himself. Then said Ānanda:—The hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka is



# Konstruktions-Abriß I.

Gebiet: Schara-kuto - Tosson-nör

Blatt 1-10

Maßstab 1:500 000.

## Zeichen-Erklärung

○ Ausgangspunkt Stationen	— Durchfuhr nach Schara-kuto
○ Hauptpunkt Stationen	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Endpunkt Stationen	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Ausgangspunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Hauptpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Endpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Ausgangspunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Hauptpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Endpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Ausgangspunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Hauptpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert
○ Endpunkt	○ Haupt-Stationen - gesichert



hard by ; and a pleasant, agreeable place it is. Pray, sir, be pleased to proceed thither. Silently consenting, the Lord went to the hermitage, in which a number of Almsmen were then seated, discoursing of the Doctrine. Standing outside the door till he knew their discourse was at an end, the Lord coughed and tapped on the bar of the door. They opened unto him, and he went in, seating himself on the seat set for him. Being seated, he asked them what had been their theme and what was the topic of their previous talk. They answered that it was on the Lord himself that their discourse about the Doctrine had centred,—when he arrived in person.

Quite right, Almsmen, said he ; it is meet that you young men who have gone forth on Pilgrimage from home to homelessness for faith's sake should sit talking of the Doctrine. When you meet together, you have the choice of two things,—either to talk about the Doctrine or else to preserve a noble silence.

There are two quests, Almsmen,—the noble and the ignoble. First, what is the ignoble quest?—Take the case of a man who, being in himself subject to rebirth, pursues what is no less subject thereto ; who being in himself subject to decay, [162] pursues what is no less subject thereto ; who, being himself subject thereto, pursues what is subject to disease—death—sorrow—and impurity. What, you ask, is subject to the round of rebirth?—Why, wives and children, bondmen and bondwomen, goats and sheep, fowls and swine, elephants, cattle, horses and mares, together with gold and coins of silver. Although subjection to birth marks all these ties, yet a man—himself subject to birth—pursues these things with blind and avid appetite.

[The same applies (i), in full, to decay and impurity and also (ii) to disease, death and sorrow, with the exception of inanimate gold and coins of silver.]

Secondly, what is the noble quest?—Take the case of a man who, being himself subject to the round of rebirth—decay—disease—death—sorrow—and impurity,



sees peril in what is subject thereto, and so [168] pursues after the consummate peace of Nirvana, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity.—This is the Noble Quest.

Yes, I myself too, in the days before my full enlightenment, when I was but a Bodhisatta, and not yet fully enlightened,—I too, being subject in myself to rebirth, decay and the rest of it, pursued what was no less subject thereto. But the thought came to me :—Why do I pursue what, like myself, is subject to rebirth and the rest? Why, being myself subject thereto, should I not, with my eyes open to the perils which these things entail, pursue instead the consummate peace of Nirvana,—which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity?

<sup>1</sup> There came a time when I, being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of my early prime—despite the wishes of my parents, who wept and lamented—cut off my hair and beard, donned the yellow robes and went forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage. A pilgrim now, in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came to Ālāra Kālāma and said :—It is my wish, reverend Kālāma, to lead the higher life in this your Doctrine and Rule. Stay with us, venerable sir, was his answer; my Doctrine is such that ere long an intelligent man [164] can for himself discern, realize, enter on, and abide in, the full scope of his master's teaching. Before long, indeed very soon, I had his Doctrine by heart. So far as regards mere lip-recital and oral repetition, I could say off the (founder's) original message and the elders' exposition of it, and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Suttas Nos. 36, 85, and 100 for this biographical record, which—as is noted at page 118 *infra*—is in part repeated in the Vinaya and Dīgha. The austerities of our 12th Sutta presumably preceded his study under Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta; but they may be the austerities practised at Uruvelā with the Five Brethren (see *infra*, p. 122).



could profess, with others, that I knew and saw it to the full. Then it struck me that it was no Doctrine merely accepted by him on trust that Ālāra Kālāma, preached, but one which he professed to have entered on and to abide in after having discerned and realized it for himself; and assuredly he had real knowledge and vision thereof. So I went to him and asked him up to what point he had for himself discerned and realized the Doctrine he had entered on and now abode in.

Up to the plane of Naught, answered he.

Hereupon, I reflected that Ālāra Kālāma was not alone in possessing faith, perseverance, mindfulness, rapt concentration, and intellectual insight; for, all these were mine too. Why, I asked myself, should not I strive to realize the Doctrine which he claims to have entered on and to abide in after discerning and realizing it for himself? Before long, indeed very soon, I had discerned and realized his Doctrine for myself and had entered on it and abode therein. Then I went to him and asked him whether this was the point up to which he had discerned and realized for himself the Doctrine which he professed. He said yes; and I said that I had reached the same point for myself. It is a great thing, said he, a very great thing for us, that in you, reverend sir, we find such a fellow in the higher life. That same Doctrine which I for myself have discerned, realized, entered on, and profess, — that have you for yourself discerned, realized, entered on and abide in; and that same [165] Doctrine which you have for yourself discerned, realized, entered on and profess,—that have I for myself discerned, realized, entered on, and profess. The Doctrine which I know, you too know; and the Doctrine which you know, I too know. As I am, so are you; and as you are, so am I. Pray, sir, let us be joint wardens of this company! In such wise did Ālāra Kālāma, being my master, set me, his pupil, on precisely the same footing as himself and show me great worship. But, as I bethought me that his Doctrine merely led to attaining the plane of Naught

and not to Renunciation, passionlessness, cessation, peace, discernment, enlightenment and Nirvana,—I was not taken with his Doctrine but turned away from it to go my way.

Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came to Uddaka Rāmaputta and said :—It is my wish, reverend sir, to lead the higher life in this your Doctrine and Rule. Stay with us, . . . vision thereof. So I went to Uddaka Rāmaputta and asked him up to what point he had for himself discerned and realized the Doctrine he had entered on and now abode in.

Up to the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, answered he.

Hereupon, I reflected that Uddaka Rāmaputta was not alone in possessing faith [166] . . . show me great worship. But, as I bethought me that his Doctrine merely led to attaining the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, and not to Renunciation, passionlessness, cessation, peace, discernment, enlightenment and Nirvana,—I was not taken with his Doctrine but turned away from it to go my way.

Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came, in the course of an alms-pilgrimage through Magadha, to the Camp township at Uruvelā and there took up my abode. Said I to myself on surveying the place :—Truly a delightful spot, with its goodly groves and clear flowing river with ghāts and amenities, hard by a village for sustenance. What more for his striving can a young man need whose heart is set on striving? So there I sat me down, needing nothing further for my striving.

Subject in myself to rebirth—decay—disease—death—sorrow—and impurity, and seeing peril in what is subject thereto, I sought after the consummate peace of Nirvana, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity ;—this I pursued, and this I won ; and there arose within me the conviction, the insight, that now





my Deliverance was assured, that this was my last birth, nor should I ever be reborn again.

<sup>1</sup> I have attained, thought I, to this Doctrine profound, recondite, hard to comprehend, serene, excellent, beyond dialectic, abstruse, and only to be perceived by the learned. But mankind delights, takes delight, and is happy in what it clings on to, so that for it, being thus minded, it is hard to understand casual relations and the chain of causation,—hard to understand the stilling of all plastic forces, or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace, and Nirvana. [168] Were I to preach the Doctrine, and were others not to understand it, that would be labour and annoyance to me! Yes, and on the instant there flashed across my mind these verses, which no man had heard before :—

*Must I now preach what I so hardly won?  
Men sunk in sin and lusts would find it hard  
to plumb this Doctrine,—up stream all the way,  
abstruse, profound, most subtle, hard to grasp.  
Dear lusts will blind them that they shall not see,  
—in densest mists of ignorance befogged.*

As thus I pondered, my heart inclined to rest quiet and not to preach my Doctrine. But, Brahmā Sahampati's<sup>2</sup> mind came to know what thoughts were passing within my mind, and he thought to himself :—The world is undone, quite undone, inasmuch<sup>3</sup> as the heart of the Truth-finder<sup>4</sup> inclines to rest quiet and not

<sup>1</sup> Here the Vinaya (I, 4, translated at S.B.E. XIII, 84) and the Dīgha Nikāya (II, 36, translated at *Dialogues* II, 29) have versions practically identical with this. All agree, as do later compilations like the Introduction to the Jātakas, in recording the initial reluctance of Gotama to preach his new gospel to others.

<sup>2</sup> The Dīgha speaks merely of one of the Great Brahmās,—the specific reference to Sahampati being regarded as a later gloss by Rhys Davids (*Dialogues* II, 70), though there is no justification for assigning seniority here to the Dīgha over the Majjhima and Vinaya versions.

<sup>3</sup> Bu. understands *yatra hi nāma as yasmim nāma* loke.

<sup>4</sup> This, the first use of the term Tathāgata in the Buddha's

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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to preach his Doctrine! Hereupon, as swiftly as a strong man might stretch out his arm or might draw back his outstretched arm, Brahmā Sahampati vanished from the Brahmā-world and appeared before me. Towards me he came with his right shoulder bared, and with his clasped hands stretched out to me in reverence, saying:—May it please the Lord, may it please the Blessed One, to preach his doctrine! Beings there are whose vision is but little dimmed, who are perishing because they do not hear the Doctrine;—these will understand it! And Brahmā Sahampati went on to say:

*<sup>1</sup>An unclean Doctrine reigns in Magadha,  
by impure man devised. Ope thou the door  
of Deathless truth. Let all the Doctrine hear  
from his pure lips who first conceived its thought.  
As from a mountain's rocky pinnacle  
the folk around are clear to view, so, Sage,  
from thy truth's palace, from its topmost height,  
survey with eye all-seeing folk beneath,  
—poor thralls of birth and swift decay, whose doom  
is that same sorrow thou no more wilt know.  
[169] So up, great hero, victor in the fight!  
Thy debt is paid. Lead on thy Pilgrim train  
through all the world. Thy Doctrine preach;  
—among thy hearers some will understand.*

Thereupon, Almsmen, heeding Brahmā's entreaties and moved by compassion for all beings, I surveyed the world with the eye of Enlightenment and therewith saw beings with vision dimmed little or much, beings with acute or dull faculties, beings of dispositions good or bad, beings docile or indocile, with some among

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life-history, follows immediately on his attaining Buddhahood and is designedly put into the mouth of Mahā-Brahmā himself, the supreme deity of the superseded cosmology.

<sup>1</sup> These verses are somewhat differently arranged in D. II, 39, and Vin. I, 5,—the Dīgha version omitting the first four lines. In the Dīgha and Vinaya versions, Brahmā thrice repeats his entreaties, in stereotyped fashion.

them alive to the terrors hereafter, of present wrongdoing. As in a pond of lotuses, blue or red or white, some lotuses of each kind are born and grow in the water, never rising above the surface but flourishing underneath; while others, born and growing in the water, either rise level with the surface or stand right out of the water and are not wetted by it;—even so with the eye of Enlightenment did I see beings with vision dimmed . . . wrongdoing now. Thereon, I made answer to Brahmā Sahampati in these verses:

*Nirvāṇa's doors stand open wide to all  
with ears to hear. Discard your outworn creeds!  
The weary task ahead made me forbear  
to preach to men my Doctrine's virtues rare.*

Mine has it been to secure from the Lord the preaching of the Doctrine! said Brahmā Sahampati, and, so saying, with due obeisance and reverently keeping his right side towards me as he passed, he vanished there and then.

I now asked myself to whom first I should preach the Doctrine, and who would understand it quickly. The thought came to me that there was Ālāra Kālāma, who was learned, able, and intelligent, whose vision had long been but little dimmed; suppose I chose him [170] to be my first hearer, for he would be quick to understand? Word, however, was brought to me by deities that he had died seven days before, and insight assured me this was so. Great nobility, thought I, was his! Had he heard my Doctrine, he would have understood it quickly.

Again I asked myself to whom first I should preach the Doctrine, and who would understand it quickly. The thought came to me that there was Uddaka Rāmaputta, who was learned . . . Word, however, was brought me by deities that he had died yesterday at midnight, and insight . . . understood it quickly.

Again I asked myself to whom first I should preach the Doctrine and who would understand it quickly. The thought came to me that there were the five

Almsmen who had served me so well in my struggles to purge myself of self; suppose I chose them to be my first hearers? Wondering where they were dwelling now, I saw with the Eye Celestial—which is pure and far surpasses the human eye—those Five Almsmen dwelling at Benares in the Isipatana deer-park. So, when I had stayed as long as pleased me at Uruvelā, I set out on an alms-pilgrimage for Benares.

On the highway from the Bo-tree to Gayā, Upaka the Mendicant (ājīvika) saw me and said:—Reverend sir, your faculties are under control, and your complexion is clear and bright. To follow whom have you gone forth on pilgrimage? Or who is your teacher? Or whose Doctrine [171] do you profess? Him I answered in these verses:—

*All-vanquishing, all-knowing, lo! am I,  
from all wrong thinking wholly purged and free.  
All things discarded, cravings rooted out,  
—whom should I follow?—I have found out all.  
No teacher's mine, no equal. Counterpart  
to me there's none throughout the whole wide world.  
The Arahāt am I, teacher supreme,  
utter Enlightenment is mine alone;  
unfever'd calm is mine, Nirvāna's peace.  
I seek the Kāsis' city, there to start  
my Doctrine's wheel, a world purblind to save,  
sounding the tocsin's call to Deathlessness.*

According to your claim, sir, said Upaka, you should be the Universal Conqueror.

*Like me, those conquer who the Cankers quell; '  
—by conquering bad thoughts, I'm Conqueror. .*

When I had thus answered, Upaka the Mendicant said: Mebbe,<sup>1</sup> sir, and, shaking his head, took a different road and went his way.

In the course of my alms-pilgrimage, I came at last

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<sup>1</sup> Huveyya is a dialectical form for bhaveyya.



to Benares and the deerpark of Isipatana, in which were the Five Almsmen. From afar the five saw me coming and agreed among themselves as follows:—Here come the recluse Gotama, the man of surfeits, who has abandoned the struggle and reverted to surfeiting. We must not welcome him, nor rise to receive him, nor relieve him of bowl and robes. Yet let us put out a seat; he can sit on it if he wants to. But, as I drew nearer and nearer, those Five Almsmen proved less and less able to abide by their compact;—some came forward to relieve me of my bowl and robes; others indicated my seat; while others brought water for me to wash my feet. But they addressed me by my name and by the style of reverend. So I said to the Five Almsmen: Almsmen, do not address the Truth-finder by his name or by the style of reverend. Arahāt all enlightened is the Truth-finder. [172] Hearken to me, Almsmen. The Deathless has been won; I teach it; I preach the Doctrine. Live up to what I enjoin, and in no long time you will come—of yourselves, here and now—to discern and realize, to enter on and to abide in, that supreme goal of the higher life, for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage.

Said the Five Almsmen:—Reverend Gotama, the life you led, the path you trod, and the austerities you practised,—all failed to make you transcend ordinary human scope and rise to special heights of discernment of the truly Noble Knowledge. How now shall you rise to those heights when you surfeit, abandon the struggle, and revert to surfeiting? To which I made answer:—Arahāt all enlightened is the Truth-finder. Hearken to me, Almsmen. The Deathless has been won; I teach it; I preach the Doctrine. Live up to what I enjoin, and in no long time you will come—of yourselves, here and now—to discern and realize, to enter on and to abide in, that supreme goal of the higher life, for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage.

A second time did the Five Brethren repeat their

words to me ; and a second time did I return them the same answer. But when they repeated their words yet a third time, I asked these Five whether they agreed that I had never heretofore spoken like that ; and they admitted that I had not.

Arahat all enlightened—repeated I—is the Truth-finder. Harken . . . homelessness on Pilgrimage.

[173] I succeeded in convincing the Five. I instructed two of their number, while the three others went abroad for alms ; and what those three brought back from their round, maintained all six of us. Or, I instructed three, while two went abroad for alms ; and what those two brought back from their round, maintained all six of us.

In the course of receiving this teaching and instruction from me, those Five Almsmen—being themselves subject to rebirth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, and impurity—saw peril in what is thereto subject, and so sought after the consummate peace of Nirvana, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity ; and there arose within them the conviction, the insight, that their Deliverance was now assured, that this was their last birth, nor would they ever be reborn again.

Fivefold are the pleasures of sense, Almsmen, namely, visible shapes apparent to the eye, sounds apparent to the ear, odours apparent to the nostrils, tastes apparent to the tongue, touch apparent to the body ;—all of them pleasant, agreeable, and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lusts. All recluses or brahmins who partake of these pleasures with avid greed and blind appetite, without seeing the perils which dog them and without realizing that they afford no refuge,—all such people are to be conceived of as having fallen into misery and into calamity, and as being at the mercy of the Evil One. Even as a deer of the forest in the toils of the baited trap it has found, would be conceived of as having fallen into misery and into calamity, as being at the trapper's mercy, and as being unable to escape at will when the

trapper comes,—even so are all recluses or brahmins who . . . mercy of the Evil One. But all those other recluses or brahmins who partake of the fivefold pleasures of sense without avid greed and blind appetite, but with discernment of the perils which dog them and [174] with a realization that these things afford no refuge,—all these are to be conceived of as not having fallen into misery or into calamity and as not being at the mercy of the Evil One. Even as a deer of the forest which is not in the toils of the baited trap it has found, would be conceived of as having fallen into no misery or calamity, and as not being at the trapper's mercy, but as being able to escape at will when the trapper comes;—even so all these other recluses or brahmins who . . . and as not being at the mercy of the Evil One.

Even as a deer of the forest roaming the forest's fastnesses is confident and secure as it walks or stands, reclines or slumbers,—because the trapper cannot get to it, even so, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of mind, an Almsman enters on and abides in the First Ecstasy, with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked Māra . . . (etc., as at pp. 111-3 of Sutta 25) . . . [175] the Cankers become eradicated. Such an Almsman is said to have hoodwinked Māra and to have put Māra's eyes out of gear, so as to have passed out of range of vision of the Evil One and to have passed—here and now—beyond desires. He is confident and secure as he walks or stands, sits or slumbers,—because the Evil One cannot get to him.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXVII. CŪĻA-HATTHI-PADOPAMA-SUTTA.

## THE SHORT TRAIL.

THUS have I heard. Once while the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi was coming out of the city early in the day in a carriage which was all white and was drawn by four white mares, when at a distance he espied the Wanderer Pilotika returning to the city and asked:—Whence, pray, comes Vacchāyana so early in the day?

I am on my way back from the recluse Gotama.

And what is your view of him, Vacchāyana? Has he got depth of thought? Is he learned, do you think?

Who, who am I to comprehend the depth of the recluse Gotama's thought? Only his peer could comprehend that.

It is lofty praise indeed that you accord him.

Who, who am I to praise him? Naught but praise upon praise is his, that foremost among gods and men.

What rich blessing did you find in the recluse Gotama to make you so ardent an adherent of his?

It is as if to an elephant forest there came an expert elephant-tracker, who should see there [176] a long and broad footprint of an elephant and should conclude it indicated a really big elephant. Even so, when I saw the four footprints of the recluse Gotama, I concluded that the Lord was all-enlightened, that he had well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walked aright.

What are his four footprints?

From the class of learned Nobles there have come, as I have seen, keen and tried disputants, verbal archers skilled in hair-splitting, and journeying about to split in twain by their lore, methinks, any views propounded. These, hearing that the recluse Gotama would be at this or that village or township, frame a question to ask him, calculating to confute him one way if his answer be in this sense, and another way if

his answer be in that sense. When they hear that he has come, they go to him ; and then, he, by a discourse on his Doctrine, so informs and enlightens them, so cheers them forward and helps them onwards, that in the end they never put their question at all, much less do they confute him, but actually become Gotama's disciples.—When I saw this first footprint of the recluse Gotama, I concluded that the Lord was all-enlightened, that he had well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walked aright.

From the class too of learned brahmins there have come . . . become Gotama's disciples.—When I saw this second footprint . . . walked aright.

From the class of learned heads of houses there have come . . . become Gotama's disciples.—When I saw this third footprint . . . walked aright.

From the class of learned recluses there have come . . . [177] much less do they confute him, but have actually begged him to let them leave home for homelessness as Pilgrims ; and he has admitted them as such. So admitted, and dwelling alone and aloof, strenuous, ardent, and purged of self, they, after no great while, come—of themselves, here and now—to discern and realize, to enter on and abide in, that supreme goal of the higher life, for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage. Say they : We were near to being undone, quite undone ! For, we that before were no true recluses, now know we are recluses indeed ; we that before were no true brahmins, now know we are brahmins indeed ; we that before were 'un-worthy' (anarahants) now know we have 'Worth' indeed (are Arahats). To-day we are in very truth recluses and brahmins of real Worth.—When I saw this fourth footprint of the recluse Gotama, I concluded that the Lord was all-enlightened, that he had well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walked aright.

Such were the four footprints of the recluse Gotama, the sight of which led me to this conclusion.

Thereupon, the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi alighted from his carriage so white, and, with right shoulder reverently bared and with clasped hands stretched out towards the Lord, thrice burst forth with this utterance : 'Homage to the Lord, the Arahāt all-enlightened ! Homage to the Lord, the Arahāt all-enlightened ! Homage to the Lord, the Arahāt all-enlightened ! May it be mine some day [178] and somewhere to meet the reverend Gotama and to have speech with him !'

Then the brahmin proceeded to the Lord and, after friendly greetings, related the talk he had had with the Wanderer Pilotika.

Said the Lord :—At this point, brahmin, the allegory of the elephant's footprint is not complete in all its details. Give ear and hearken, and I will tell you what will complete it. Certainly, sir, said the brahmin in assent ; and the Lord spoke as follows :—

It is as if to an elephant forest there came an elephant-tracker, who should see there long and broad footprints of an elephant, but, being an expert in tracking elephants, should not conclude that this indicated a really big elephant. And why ?—Because in an elephant forest there are stunted cow-elephants who have large feet ; and it might also be their footprints. So on he goes till he comes on long and broad footprints making a deep lane through the underwood. Still the expert tracker does not conclude that this indicates a really big elephant. And why ?—Because in an elephant forest there are cow-elephants with tushes, who have large feet ; and it might be one of these. So on he goes till he comes on long and broad footprints making a deep lane through the underwood and with marks of slashing tusks high up. Still he does not conclude that this indicates a really big elephant. And why ?—Because in an elephant forest there are cow-elephants with stumpy tusks, who have large feet ; and it might be one of these. So on he goes till he comes on long and broad footprints making a deep lane through the underwood and with marks of



slashing tusks high up and also with high branches torn off; and there he espies that elephant beneath a tree or in the open, walking or standing still, couching or reclining. Then at last he concludes that here is his big elephant.

Even so, [179] brahmin, there arises in the world here a Truth-finder, Arahāt all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment. This universe—with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind,—all this he has discerned and realized for himself, and makes known to others. He preaches his Doctrine, which is so fair in its outset, its middle, and its close, with both text and import; he propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure. This Doctrine is heard by the head of a house or his son or by one of other birth, who hearing it puts his trust in the Truth-finder, and in this trust bethinks him that—A hole and corner life is all a home can give, whereas Pilgrimage is in the open; it is hard for a home-keeping man to live the higher life in all its full completeness and full purity and perfection; what if I were to cut off hair and beard, don the yellow robes, and go forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim? Later, parting from his substance, be it small or great, parting too from the circle of his kinsfolk, be they few or many, he cuts off hair and beard, dons the yellow robes, and goes forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim.

✓ A Pilgrim now, schooled in the Almsmen's precepts and way of life, he puts from him all killing and abstains from killing anything. Laying aside cudgel and sword, he lives a life of innocence and mercy, full of kindness and compassion for everything that lives. Theft he puts from him and eschews; taking only what is given to him by others, and waiting till it is given, he lives an honest and clean life. Putting from him all that does not belong to the higher life, he leads the higher life in virtue, abstaining from low sensuality.

Putting from him and abstaining from all lying, he speaks the truth, cleaves to the truth, and is staunch and leal, never deceiving the world with his lips. Calumny he puts from him and eschews, not repeating elsewhere to the harm of people here what he hears there, nor repeating here to the harm of people elsewhere what he hears elsewhere; thus he heals divisions and cements friendship, seeking peace and ensuing it; for in peace is his delight and his words are ever the words of a peacemaker. Reviling he puts from him, and abstains from reviling people; his words are without gall, pleasant, friendly, going home to the heart, courteous, agreeable and welcome to all. [180] Tattle he puts from him and abstains therefrom, he speaks, in season and according to the facts, words of help concerning the Doctrine and the Rule, words to be stored in the heart, words duly illustrated, fraught with purpose, and pithy. He sedulously avoids hurting the seeds or plants of a village. He takes but one meal a day, never eating at night or after hours. He refrains from looking on at shows of dancing, singing, and music. He eschews all use and employment of smart garlands, scents and perfumes. He sleeps on no tall or broad beds. He refuses to accept gold or coins of silver,—uncooked grain or meat,—women or girls,—bondwomen or bondmen,—sheep or goats,—fowls or swine,—elephants or cattle or horses or mares,—fields or land. He refrains from the practice of sending or going on messages. He neither buys nor sells. He never cheats with weights, coins, or measures. He takes no part in bribery, cozening, cheating, or other crooked ways. He never joins in wounding, murdering, and manacling, or in highway robbery, brigandage, and fraud. Contented is he with whatever robes are given him as clothing, and with whatever alms are given for his belly's needs. Wheresoever he goes, he takes all his belongings with him. Just as a winged bird, wheresoever it goes, carries with it its feathers and all,—so, wheresoever he goes, he takes all his belongings with him.'

A master of this noble code of virtue, he enjoys unsullied well-being within.—When with his eye he sees a visible shape, he is not absorbed by either its general appearance or its details ; but, since the eye uncontrolled might lead to covetousness and discontent, to evil and wrong states of mind, he schools himself to control it, to keep watch and ward over it, and to establish control. And he does the like with his five other faculties of sense.

[181] A master of this noble control over his faculties, he enjoys unalloyed well-being within. Purposeful is he in all his doings,—whether in coming in or going out, in looking ahead or around, in stretching out his arm or in drawing it back, in wearing his clothes or carrying his bowl, in eating or drinking, in chewing or savouring food, in attending to the calls of nature, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in speech or in silence ;—he is always purposeful in all he does.

A master of this noble code of virtue, a master of this noble code of control of his faculties of sense, and a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he does, he resorts to a lonely lodging,—in the forest under a tree, in the wilds in cave or grot, in a charnel-ground, in a thicket, or on bracken in the open. After his meal, when he is back from his round for alms, he seats himself cross-legged and with body erect, with his heart set on mindfulness. His life is purged (i.) of appetite for things of the world, for he has put from him all appetite therefor ;—(ii.) of all spiteful thoughts, ✓ for he is filled only with loving-kindness and compassion for all that lives ;—(iii.) of all torpor, for all torpor has left him, driven out by clarity of vision, by mindfulness, and by purpose in all he does ;—(iv.) of all flurry and worry, for he is serene, and his heart within is at peace and quit of all worries ;—and (v.) of all doubts, for his life is unclouded by doubt, he is troubled by no questionings, right states of mind have purged his heart of all doubting. When he has put from him these Five Hindrances, those defilements of

the heart which weaken a man's insight, then, divested of pleasures of sense and divested of wrong states of consciousness, he enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection.

This, brahmin, is known as the Truth-finder's footprint, the Truth-finder's track, the Truth-finder's slash.

But it is not yet that the disciple of the Noble [182] concludes that the Lord is all-enlightened, that he has well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walks aright.

Nor does he so conclude as he successively attains to the three other Ecstasies,—each of which is called the Truth-finder's footprint, the Truth-finder's track, the Truth-finder's slash.

With heart thus stedfast . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . divers existences of the past in all their details and features. This too is called the Truth-finder's footprint, the Truth-finder's track, the Truth-finder's slash. But not yet does he conclude that the Lord is all-enlightened, that he has well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walks aright.

[183] That same stedfast heart he now applies . . . (etc., as in Sutta 4) . . . appeared after death in states of bliss and in heaven. This too is called the Truth-finder's footprint . . . walks aright.

That same stedfast heart he next applies to the knowledge of the eradication of the Cankers . . . (etc., as in Sutta 4) . . . course that leads to their cessation. This too is called . . . walks aright.

When he knows this and sees this, his heart is [184] delivered from the Canker of sensuous pleasure, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance; and to him thus delivered comes the knowledge of his Deliverance in the conviction—Rebirth is no more; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now for me there is no more of what I have been.

This is known as the Truth-finder's footprint, the Truth-finder's track, the Truth-finder's slash. And now at last the disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is all-enlightened, that he has well and truly revealed his Doctrine, and that his Confraternity walks aright.

And now at last, brahmin, the allegory of the elephant's footprints has been completed in all its details.

Thereupon, the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi said to the Lord :—Excellent, Gotama ! most excellent ! Just as if a man should set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what was hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has Gotama made his Doctrine clear. I come to the reverend Gotama as my refuge, and to his Doctrine, and to his Confraternity. May the reverend Gotama accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

## XXVIII. MAHĀ-HATTHI-PADOPAMA-SUTTA.

### THE LONG TRAIL.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapindika's pleasure-ground, the reverend Sāriputta addressed the Almsmen, saying, Reverend sirs! Yes, reverend sir, said they in response. The reverend Sāriputta spoke as follows:—Just as the foot of every creature that walks the earth will go into the elephant's footprint, which is pre-eminent for size,—even so, sirs, are all right states of mind comprised within the Four Noble Truths,—which are the Noble Truth of Ill, [185] the Noble Truth of the origin of Ill, the Noble Truth of the cessation of Ill, and the Noble Truth of the way that leads to the cessation of Ill.

This is the Noble Truth of Ill:—Ill is birth, Ill is decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, depression of body and of mind, failure to get what one desires,—together, in brief, with all that makes up the Five Attachments to existence, namely, the Attachments of visible shapes, of feeling, of perception, of the plastic forces, and of consciousness.

What makes up the Attachment of visible shapes?—The four principal elements (i.e. earth, water, fire, and air) and whatever visible shapes are derivative therefrom.

Now, as to the nature of the earth-element; it is either personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything personal and referable to an individual which is hard or solid or derived therefrom,—such as the hair of the head or body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, pleura,



spleen, lungs, inwards, bowels, stomach, fæces, together with everything else personal and referable to an individual which is hard or solid or derived therefrom. All this is called the personal earth-element, and, in combination with the external earth-element, makes up the totality of the earth-element. The right way to regard this as it really is, and to comprehend it aright, is to say : This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. So regarding and so comprehending it, a man turns from it in disgust and loathing of heart. There comes a time when the external water-element is wroth and the external earth-element disappears before it. Then will this external earth-element, ancient though it be, reveal how transient is its nature, how subject to dissolution and decay, how mutable ! And what of this short-lived body, bred of cravings ? No 'I' is here, no 'mine,' no 'I am,'—nothing at all. Therefore, if others revile or defame, assail or harry an Almsman, he knows well that it is through his sense of hearing that he has experienced these painful feelings, and that they come to him as effects, with a cause behind them [186],—which cause is Contact. He is clear that Contact is transient. So are feelings ; so are perceptions ; so are the plastic forces ; and so is consciousness. This relativity of the elements attracts and satisfies him ; he takes his stand on it and holds to it. If others act harshly, unpleasantly, and disagreeably towards an Almsman, if they deal him blows with fist or clod or cudgel or sword, he is clear that the nature of this body of his is such that it is affected by such blows. He remembers that in the Saw Homily (Sutta 21) the Lord taught that, even if villainous bandits were to carve us limb from limb with a two-handled saw, even then the mind that should harbour enmity would not be obedient to his teaching. He resolves, therefore, that indomitable and unflagging shall his resolution be, with a steady mindfulness that knows no distraction, with a tranquil body that has found rest, and with a steadfast heart that never wavers ;—let them deal their blows, if they

will, with fist, clod, cudgel, or sword ; the commandments of the Buddhas are being fulfilled ! If, with this present remembrance of the Buddha<sup>1</sup> and his Doctrine and his Confraternity, there is not strong within him the equanimity which is founded on the right, then is he deeply moved and in his emotion he cries :—Failure is mine, instead of success ; I have failed and not succeeded, in that, with this present remembrance of the Buddha and his Doctrine and his Confraternity, equanimity is not strong within me. Just as a young wife is deeply moved in the presence of her husband's father, so if, with the present remembrance . . . not strong within me. But if, with that same present remembrance of the Buddha and his Doctrine and his Confraternity, there is strong within him the equanimity which is founded on the right, then [187] he rejoices thereat. At this stage the Almsman has achieved much.

Next as to the nature of the water-element, which may be either personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything personal and referable to an individual which is water or watery or derived therefrom,—such as bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, synovial fluid and urine, together with everything else personal and referable to an individual, which is water or watery or derived therefrom. All this is called the personal water-element, and, in combination with the external water-element, makes up the totality of the water-element. The right way to regard this as it really is, and to comprehend it aright, is to say : This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. So regarding and so comprehending it, a man turns from it in disgust and loathing of heart. There comes a time when the external water-element is wroth, sweeping away village, township and city, countries and whole continents.

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<sup>1</sup> Here, it will be noted, the style of 'Buddha' is used by Sāriputta of his master (who does not use it of himself) in lieu of Tathāgata, etc. (See Dialogues II, 6.) The plural is used in the line immediately above.

There comes a time when the ocean will be a hundred leagues deep, yea, two, three . . . seven hundreds of leagues deep. There comes a time when the depth of ocean's waters will equal only seven, six . . . two palmyra-trees' height, or a single tree. There comes a time when the depth of ocean's waters will equal only seven, six . . . two men's height, or the height of but one man. There comes a time when ocean's waters will reach only to a man's waist, then only to his loins, then only to his knees, then only to his ankles. There comes a time when ocean's waters will not cover a single joint of a man's finger. Then will this external water-element, ancient though it be, [188] reveal how transient is its nature, how subject to dissolution and decay . . . (etc., as above) . . . he rejoices thereat. At this stage too the Brother has achieved much.

Next as to the nature of the fire-element, which may be personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything personal and referable to an individual which is fire or fiery or is derived therefrom,—such as whatever heats, consumes or burns up, or whatever wholly transmutes food and drink in digestion; together with everything else that, being personal and referable to an individual, is fire or fiery or is derived therefrom. All this is called the personal fire-element, and, in combination with the external fire-element, makes up the totality of the fire-element. The right way to regard this as it really is, and to comprehend it aright, is to say: This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. So regarding and so comprehending it, a man turns from it in disgust and loathing of heart. There comes a time when the external fire-element is wroth and burns up village, township and city, countries and whole continents; nor will it stop till, spreading to green growths or roads or rocks or water or verdant scenes, it fails for lack of sustenance. There comes a time when people try to light fires with fowls' feathers or snippets of sinews and shrivelled hide. Then will the external fire-element, ancient though it be, reveal how transient . . . he rejoices

thereat. At this stage too the Almsman has achieved much.

Next as to the nature of the air-element, which may be either personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything personal and referable to an individual which is air or airy or derived therefrom,—such as wind discharged upwards or downwards, wind in the abdomen or belly, vapours that traverse the several members, inhalings and exhalings of breath, together with everything else that, being personal and referable to an individual, is air or airy or derived therefrom. All this is called the personal air-element, and, in combination with the external air-element, makes up the totality of the air-element. The right way to regard this as it really is, and to comprehend it aright, is to say: This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. So regarding and so comprehending it, a man turns from it in disgust and with loathing of heart. [189] There comes a time when the external air-element is wroth and sweeps away before it village, township, and city, countries and whole continents. There comes a time when, in the last month of the hot season before the rains break, men try to create a current of air with fans and the like, nor do they now look to see grass growing even on the thatch. Then will the air-element, ancient though it be, reveal how transient . . . [190] he rejoices thereat. At this stage too an Almsman has achieved much.

Just as it is by and because of wattle and withies, grass and clay, that a space is enclosed which is called a house, so it is by and because of bones and sinews, flesh and skin that a space is enclosed which is called a visible shape. If the eye within is intact but if visible shapes external to it do not come to focus and there is developed no pertinent material to sustain it, then there is developed no manifestation of the pertinent section of consciousness. If the eye within is intact and visible shapes external to it do come to focus, but if there is developed no pertinent material to

sustain it, again there is developed no manifestation of the pertinent section of consciousness. But when the eye within is intact and visible shapes external to it do come to focus, and when there is developed pertinent material to sustain it, then there is developed a manifestation of the pertinent section of consciousness. Any visible shape that appertains to a man so conscious, unites with all that goes to make up the Attachment of Form ; feelings unite with all that goes to make up the Attachment to feelings ; and so too with perceptions, plastic forces, and consciousness.

And what is true of visible objects, is equally true of sounds, smells, tastes, touch, and mind.

Thus the Almsman recognizes that :—This is how all that makes up the Five Attachments is collected, assembled, and brought together. Now, the Lord has laid it down that whoso sees the Chain of Causation [191] sees the Doctrine, and whoso sees the Doctrine sees the Chain of Causation. It is the Chain of Causation which entails all that makes up these Five Attachments. The origin of Ill is the yearning for, and the resort to, these Five, the appetite for them and the cleaving to them. And the cessation of Ill is the avoidance and the rejection of all such yearnings and appetites. At this stage too the Almsman has achieved much.

Thus spoke the reverend Sāriputta. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the reverend Sāriputta had said.

## XXIX. MAHĀ-SĀROPAMA-SUTTA.

### TIMBER: OR DISCOVERIES

[192] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha on the heights of the Vulture's Peak, not long after Devadatta's secession,<sup>1</sup> he addressed the Almsmen on the subject of Devadatta :

<sup>1</sup> See Vinaya Texts III, 238 et seqq.

Take the case, Almsmen, of a young man who for faith's sake goes forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage,—feeling himself beset by birth and decay and death, by sorrow and lamentation, by ills of body and of mind, and by tribulation ; feeling himself beset by ills, spent with ills ; and asking to be shewn how to make an end of all that makes up Ill. A Pilgrim now, he finds himself the recipient of presents, esteem, and repute, all of which things so rejoice him and so satisfy his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others. It is I, says he to himself, who get things given to me and who am thought so much of, while these other Almsmen are little known and rank nobodies. Intoxicated, very much intoxicated, with the presents, esteem, and repute which he enjoys, he grows remiss and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill.

It is just as if a man who was in need, search, and quest of the best of wood, were to come on just the fine upstanding tree for his purpose, but were to disregard not only the best but also the poorer timber and the bark and the wood that had fallen to the ground, and were to cut the leafy foliage and go off with that in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say this good man understood nothing about grades of wood and had gone off with the twiggage to the disregard of all the rest,—in the vain belief that he had got the pick of the wood ;—nor would what he had got ever be any good to him where the best of wood was needed.—Just the same is it with our Pilgrim who finds himself the recipient . . . . [193] a prey to Ill. Of such an Almsman it is said that he has got the twiggage of the higher life and has ended there.

Take now the case of a young man who for faith's sake goes forth . . . that makes up Ill. A Pilgrim now, he finds himself the recipient of presents, esteem, and repute, none of which things either rejoices his heart or satisfies his aspirations, or makes him puffed-up to the disparagement of others ; nor is he so intoxicated therewith as to grow remiss ; with unremitting zeal he



succeeds in living the life of virtue. This success in living the life of virtue so rejoices him and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I am the man of virtue, I am the man of fine character, while these other Almsmen lack virtue and are of evil character. Intoxicated, very much intoxicated, with his success in the life of virtue, he grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill.

It is just as if a man who was in need, search, and quest . . . and the bark, and were to cut up the wood that had fallen to the ground and were to go off with this in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say that the good man knew nothing about grades of wood and had gone off with the fallen wood to the disregard of all the rest, in the vain belief that he had got the pick of the wood ;—nor would what he had got ever be of any good to him where the best of wood was needed. —Just the same is it with our second Pilgrim who for faith's sake . . . intoxicated with his success in the life of virtue, he grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill. [194] Of such an Almsman it is said that he has got the windfalls of the higher life and has ended there.

Take next the case of a young man who for faith's sake goes forth . . . succeeds in living the life of virtue. This success in living the life of virtue does not so rejoice him and so satisfy his aspirations as to make him puffed-up to the disparagement of others, nor is he so intoxicated therewith as to grow remiss ; with unremitting zeal he succeeds in winning rapt concentration. This success so rejoices him and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I am the man of steadfastness, I am the man with focussed heart, while these other Almsmen are not steadfast but all in a whirl. Intoxicated, very much intoxicated, with winning rapt concentration, he grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill.

It is just as if a man who was in need, search, and quest . . . but also the poorer timber, and were to cut off the bark and go off with this in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say the good man knew nothing about grades of wood and had gone off with the bark in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood ; nor would what he had got ever be any good to him where the best of wood was needed. Just the same is it with our third Pilgrim who for faith's sake . . . intoxicated with winning rapt concentration, he grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill. Of such [195] an Almsman it is said that he has got the bark of the higher life and has ended there.

Take next the case of a young man who for faith's sake . . . succeeds in winning rapt concentration. This success rejoices him but does not so satisfy his aspirations as to make him puffed-up to the disparagement of others, nor is he so intoxicated therewith as to grow remiss ; with unremitting zeal he succeeds in winning Mystic Insight.<sup>1</sup> This success so rejoices his heart and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I know and see, while these other Brethren neither know nor see. Intoxicated, very much intoxicated, with winning this Insight, he grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill. It is just as if a man who was in need, search, and quest . . . were to disregard the best timber, and were to cut out the poorer timber and go off with this in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say the good man knew nothing about grades of wood and had gone off with the poorer timber in the belief that he had got the pick

<sup>1</sup> Bu. explains *nāṇa-dassana* in this Sutta as meaning the Eye Celestial of Sutta 6, i.e. the highest of the five Psychic Powers, of which (alone) Devadatta was master. See Vinaya Texts III, 230 for the ignoble *iddhi* of Devadatta; and cf. Dialogues I, 56-64.

of the wood ; nor would what he had got ever be any good to him where the best of wood was wanted. [196] Just the same is it with our fourth Pilgrim who for faith's sake . . . intoxicated with winning Mystic Insight, grows remiss, and, having become remiss, lives a prey to Ill. Of such an Almsman it is said that he has got the poorer timber of the higher life and has ended there.

Next, take the case of the young man who for faith's sake . . . succeeds in winning Mystic Insight. This success rejoices him but does not so satisfy his aspirations as to make him puffed-up to the disparagement of others, nor is he so intoxicated therewith as to grow remiss ; with unremitting zeal he succeeds in attaining Temporary<sup>1</sup> Deliverance. But it is possible he may fall from this Temporary Deliverance. It is just as if a man who was in need, search, and quest of the best of timber were to come on just the fine upstanding tree for his purpose and were to cut out the heart of the timber and to go off with this in the sure knowledge that he had got the heart of the timber. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say that this good man knew quite well what was the heart of the timber, what was the poorer timber, what was the bark, what was fallen wood, and what was leafy foliage ; that, being in need, search, and quest of the heart of timber, [197] he had cut out only the choicest timber and had gone off with that, in the full knowledge it was the really best ; and that what he had got would be of good to him where the best of timber was needed. Just the same is it with the young man who goes forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage,—feeling himself beset by birth and decay and death, by sorrow and lamentation, by ills of body and of mind, and by

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<sup>1</sup> This, according to Bu., consists of the Four Ecstasies and the four (other) arūpa-samāpattis of the next Sutta. The Four Noble Paths and the four fruits of the life of the recluse (see 2nd Digha Sutta), together with Nirvana, make the nine constituents of the timeless or Eternal Deliverance mentioned *infra*. See Dialogues I, 56-64.

tribulation ; feeling himself beset by ills and spent with ills ; and asking to be shewn how to make an end of all that makes up Ill. A Pilgrim now, he finds himself the recipient of presents, esteem, and repute, none of which so rejoices his heart and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others. Not intoxicated with his presents, esteem, and repute, he grows not remiss but with unremitting zeal wins success first in the life of virtue, next in rapt concentration, and then in Mystic Insight ; but his success herein, while it rejoices his heart, does not satisfy his aspirations or puff him up or lead him to disparage others ; it does not intoxicate him or make him remiss ; with unremitting zeal he succeeds in winning the Deliverance which is Eternal. Now it is wholly impossible that he should fall from Eternal Deliverance.

Therefore, Brethren, the guerdon of the higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and repute, nor in a life of virtue, nor in rapt concentration, nor in Mystic Insight. It is immutable Deliverance which is the prize and the heart and the goal of the higher life.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

### XXX. CUḶA-SĀROPAMA-SUTTA.

#### MORE ABOUT TIMBER.

[198] Thus have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, there came to him the brahmin Pingala-Koccha, who, after exchange of courteous greetings, took his seat to one side, saying :—As touching those recluses and brahmins with Confraternities and followings, who are known and famous teachers of followers, and are founders of sects<sup>1</sup> of wide-

<sup>1</sup> Tittha-karo (explained by Bu. here, as at Sum. Vil. I, 143, by laddhi-karo or tenet-maker) literally means one who makes a ford across a stream ; the figurative sense is set out in

spread renown,—such as Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesa-Kambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatthi-putta and Nāta-putta the Nigaṇṭha,—is it by reason of their own professed creed that all of them have, or have not, discerned truth, or that some have discerned it, while others have not?

Let be, brahmin ; let that question pass. I will expound the Doctrine to you. Hearken and pay attention, and I will speak. Then to the listening brahmin the Lord spoke as follows :—

It is just as if a man in need, search, and quest of the best of wood, were to come on just the fine up-standing tree for his purpose, but were to disregard not only the best but also the poorer timber and the bark and the wood that had fallen to the ground, and were to cut the leafy foliage and go off with that in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood. At the sight, an observer with eyes to see would say the good man understood nothing about grades of wood and had gone off with the twiggage to the disregard of all the rest,—in the vain belief that he had got the pick of the wood ; nor would what he had got ever be any good to him where the best of wood was needed.

And the observer with eyes to see would pass the same judgment if he saw the man going off [199] either with fallen wood—or with the bark—or with the poorer timber,—in the vain belief that he had secured the pick of the wood ;—nor would the observer say that what the man had got could ever be any good to him where the best of wood was needed.

But if the man were to go off with the best of the wood, in the knowledge that it was really the best, then the observer with eyes to see would say the good

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e.g. the 34th Sutta *infra*. To the Jain, *tittha-kara* is equivalent to *tathāgata* in Buddhism.

For these six contemporary teachers and their respective tenets, see the Introduction, and the second Sutta of the Digha at Dialogues I, 58-64. Here Bu. simply reproduces verbatim what he says about these six teachers at Sum. Vil. I, 142-4.

man really understood about grades of wood and had [200] gone off with the choicest timber, in the knowledge that it was really the best;—and what he had got would be of good to him where the best of timber was needed.

Even so, brahmin, is the case of an individual who for faith's sake goes forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage,—feeling himself beset by birth and decay and death, by sorrow and lamentation, by ills of body and of mind, and by tribulation; feeling himself beset by ills, spent with ills, and asking to be shewn how to make an end of all that makes up Ill. A Pilgrim now, he finds himself the recipient of presents, esteem, and repute, all of which things so rejoice him and so satisfy his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others. It is I, says he to himself, who get things given to me and who am thought so much of, while these other Brethren are little known and rank as nobodies. Consequently, he fails to develop either desire for, or effort to realize, those other states of mind which are higher and more excellent than mere presents and esteem and repute;—he grows reprobate and slack. He is like the man who—being in need, search, and quest of the best of wood, and coming on just the fine upstanding tree for his purpose—disregarded not only the best but also the poorer timber and the bark and the fallen wood, but cut the leafy foliage and went off with that in the belief that he had got the pick of the wood, though what he had got could never be any good to him where the best of timber was needed.—That, brahmin, is my similitude for this first individual.

Take next the case of an individual who for faith's sake goes forth . . . presents, esteem, and repute, none of which things either rejoices his heart or satisfies his aspirations. He develops desire for, and effort to realize, those other states of mind which are higher and more excellent than mere presents and esteem and repute;—he does not grow reprobate or slack. He succeeds in living the life of virtue, and his success



therein so rejoices his heart and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I am the man of virtue, I am the man of fine character, while these other Almsmen lack virtue and are of evil character. So here he fails to develop desire for, and effort to realize, those other [201] states of mind which are higher and more excellent than a life of virtue ;—and here he grows reprobate and slack. He is like the man who went off with wood that had fallen down, though what he had got could never be any good to him where the best of timber was needed. —That, brahmin, is my similitude for this second individual.

Now take the individual who, though rejoiced at heart by his success in the life of virtue, is not thereby satisfied in his aspirations but still presses onward till he succeeds in attaining rapt concentration, and his success therein so rejoices his heart and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I am the man of steadfastness, I am the man with focussed heart, while these other Almsmen are not steadfast but are all in a whirl. So here he fails to develop desire for, and effort to realize, those other states of mind which are higher and more excellent than rapt concentration ;—and here he grows reprobate and slack. He is like the man who went off with the bark, though what he had got could never be any good to him where the best of timber was needed.—That, brahmin, is my similitude for this third individual.

Take now the individual who, [202] though rejoiced at heart by his success in rapt concentration, is not thereby satisfied but still presses onward till he succeeds in winning Mystic Insight, and his success therein so rejoices his heart and so satisfies his aspirations that thereby he becomes puffed-up and disparages others, saying—I know and see, while these other Almsmen neither know nor see. So here he fails to develop desire for, and effort to realize, those other states of mind which are higher and more excellent than Mystic

Insight. He is like the man who went off with the poorer timber, though what he had got could never be any good to him where the best of timber was needed. —That, brahmin, is my similitude for this fourth individual.

Lastly, take the individual [208] who, though rejoiced at heart by his success in winning Mystic Insight, is not thereby satisfied in his aspirations, nor does it puff him up and make him disparage others. He develops desire for, and effort to realize, those other states of mind which are higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight; he is neither reprobate nor slack.

Now, what are the states of mind which are higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight?

Take an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of consciousness, enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy—and then the Second—and then the Third—[204] and lastly the Fourth Ecstasy.—Each of these four states of mind is higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight. Or, again, by passing altogether beyond perceptions of material objects, and by ceasing from perceptions of sense-reactions, and by withdrawing attention from multiplicity, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the plane of infinity of space, or, successively, the planes of infinity of mind—or of Naught—or of neither perception nor non-perception.—Each of these planes too represents a state of mind higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight. Or, lastly, by passing altogether beyond the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, the Almsman enters on, and dwells in, the cessation of all perception of things felt. Plenitude of knowledge gives him vision, and the Cankers within him are extirpated.—This too is a state of mind higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight.

Such are the states of mind which are higher and more excellent than Mystic Insight.

He is like the man who, being in need, search, and quest of the best of timber, came on just the fine up-

standing tree for his purpose and cut out the heart of the timber, going off with this in the sure knowledge that he had got the heart of the timber ; and what he had got would be of good to him where the best of timber was needed.—That, brahmin, is my similitude for this fifth individual.

Therefore, brahmin, the guerdon of the higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and repute, nor in a life of virtue, nor in rapt concentration, nor in Mystic Insight. It is [205] immutable Deliverance which is the prize and the heart and the goal of the higher life.

Thereupon the brahmin Pingala-Koccha said to the Lord :—Excellent, Gotama ; most excellent ! Just as if a man should set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what was hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear ! I come to Gotama as my refuge, and to his Doctrine, and to his Confraternity. I ask the reverend Gotama to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

### XXXI. CŪĻA-GOSINGA-SUTTA.

#### IN GOSINGA WOOD.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in the Giṇṇjak-āvasatha (brick-hall) at Nāḍika, the reverend Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila<sup>1</sup> were staying in Gosinga wood where the sāḷ-trees stand. At eventide the Lord, rising up from his meditations, went to Gosinga, but the keeper, seeing

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<sup>1</sup> These three were living together (elsewhere) at III, 155. See also I, 462 and the Vinaya account (S.B.E. XX, 228) of Gotama's six early converts (including his cousins Ānanda and Devadatta) from his own clan.

him approaching at a distance, said to the Lord: Don't go into this wood, recluse. Three young men are living there for their souls' good. Do not disturb them. Hearing the keeper cautioning the Lord, Anuruddha said: Good keeper, do not warn off the Lord. It is the Lord, our master, who has come! Then Anuruddha went and told the two others to come along, for their master, the Lord, [206] had come. So all three advanced to meet him,—one relieving him of his bowl and robe, while another set a seat for him, and the third brought water for his feet. Sitting down on the seat set for him, the Lord bathed his feet; and when, after due obeisance, the three had taken their seats to one side, the Lord spoke thus to the reverend Anuruddha:—Pray, is all well with you three? Are you getting on all right? Is there no shortage of alms?

Yes, Lord; all is well with us; we are getting on all right; there is no shortage of alms.

Pray, do you all live together in concord and amity, without quarrels, in harmony and unison, viewing one another with eyes of affection?

Yes, sir, we do.

How?

I feel, sir, that it is a great thing for me, a very great thing, to have such fellows in the higher life. I minister to my two reverend associates—both openly and in secret—with acts of love, with words of love, and with thoughts of love. My yearning—and indeed my practice, too—is to surrender my own will and to live according to the will of my reverend associates. We have more than one body but only one will, methinks.

And the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila answered the Lord's question in precisely the same words.

[207] Good, very good, said the Lord to the three,—going on to ask whether their lives were strenuous and ardent and purged of self.

Yes, sir, was their answer.

How?

<sup>1</sup> Among us, the first back from collecting alms in the village sets the seats ready, and gets water to drink and to wash up with, together with the bowl for the pieces. Should he find any rice over, the last back eats it if he wants to, or, if he does not want to, throws it away where no grass grows or in water where there are no living creatures. He puts away the seats and the water and the bowl for the pieces, and sweeps the refectory. Whoso sees empty the vessels for water to drink, or to wash up with, or for ablution after an occasion, sees to filling them; but if the weight is too heavy for him alone, we sign with our hands for another to help, without uttering a word for this purpose.—This is how our lives are strenuous, ardent, and purged of self.

Good, very good, said the Lord to the three. But, tell me, he added, in living lives thus strenuous, ardent, and purged of self, have you risen beyond the ordinary to any wholly noble excellence of well-being?

How, sir, could it be otherwise with us? For as long as we will, it is ours, divested of pleasures of sense and divested of wrong states of consciousness, to enter on, and abide in, the First—[208] the Second—the Third—and the Fourth Ecstasy.—Each of these is, beyond the ordinary, a wholly noble excellence of well-being, each in turn superior to its forerunner.

Pressed further by question after question, the three told how, by passing altogether beyond perceptions of material objects, and by ceasing from perceptions of sense-reactions, and by withdrawing attention from multiplicity, it was theirs, for as long as they would, to enter on, and abide in, the plane of infinity of space, [209] or, successively, the planes of infinity of mind—or of Naught—or of neither perception nor non-perception;—or, lastly, by passing altogether beyond the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, to enter on, and abide in, the cessation of all perception of

<sup>1</sup> For this paragraph, see S.B.E. XIII, 325, where the slightly fuller account in the Vinaya of procedure during the rainy season is given.

things felt, plenitude of knowledge giving them vision and the Cankers within them being extirpated.—Each of these, said they, is, beyond the ordinary, a wholly noble excellence of well-being, each in turn superior to its forerunner. But beyond the last we discern no other stage of well-being higher or more excellent.

Good, very good, said the Lord ;—higher stage there is none. Then he proceeded by homily to instruct, inform, help onward, and cheer forward those three,—after which he arose and went his way. After they had escorted the Lord on his way and had come back again, Nandiya[210] and Kimbila said to Anuruddha:—Have we ever told the reverend Anuruddha of our reaching this or that attainment, that he represented all this to the Lord up to the extirpation of the Cankers?

No ; you never told me of your attainments, but my heart read the secrets of your hearts and saw that it was so. Moreover, deities reported it to me. So I announced the fact to the Lord, when questioned by him.

There came to the Lord the outlandish fairy named Dīgha,<sup>1</sup> who, after due obeisance, stood to one side, saying:—It is a great thing for the Vajjians, a very great thing for the Vajjian race, to have dwelling (in their country) the Truth-finder, Arahāt all-enlightened, and these three young men, the venerable Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila! These words of his were taken up in turn and shouted aloud by the gods of earth, by the gods of the Four Great Regents, by the gods of the Thirty-three, by the gods of Yāma, by the Tusita gods, by the Nimmāna-rati gods, by the Paranimmita-Vasavatti gods, and lastly by the train of gods in the world of Brahmā.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in that single moment, in that very instant,

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps Dīgha (i.e. long) means a snake. Bu. thinks para-jana (outlandish) was the yakkha's name. The rendering fairy for yakkha is borrowed from Dialogues III, 188, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Dialogues I, 280 for this list.



these three reverend men became known right up to the world of Brahmā.

Quite so, Dīgha; quite so. If the family from which they went forth from home to homelessness, will remember these three with believing hearts, then long will that family too enjoy weal and welfare,—as also will their group of families, [211] their village, their township, their city, and their country; yea, also the whole of the Nobles, and of the brahmins, and of the middle-classes (vessa), and of the peasantry (sudda); yea, the whole universe with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind. See, Dīgha, how, walking for the weal and welfare of folk and in compassion for the world, these three young men enure to the good and weal and welfare of gods and men.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the outlandish fairy named Dīgha rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXXII. MAHĀ-GOSINGA-SUTTA.

### THE SHINING LIGHT.

[212] THUS have I heard. Once the Lord was staying in Gosinga wood where the sāl-trees stand, in the company of the reverend Sāriputta, the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna, the reverend Mahā-Kassapa, the reverend Anuruddha, the reverend Revata, the reverend Ānanda, and many other Elders and disciples of eminence. Rising up at eventide from his meditations, Mahā-Moggallāna went to Mahā-Kassapa with the suggestion that they should go to hear Sāriputta expound. Accordingly, with Anuruddha, these went off; and Ānanda, seeing their reverences start off, got Revata to follow with him to hear Sāriputta. Seeing Ānanda and Revata approaching at a distance, Sāriputta bade Ānanda draw near, welcoming him as the Lord's attendant and companion, and saying :—Fair is Gosinga wood in the clear moonlight, with the sāl-trees loaded with blossom, with heaven's perfumes, methinks, wafted around! What type of Almsman would illumine Gosinga wood?

Take [218] an Almsman, answered Ānanda, who has been taught much, who treasures and hoards what he has been taught, who learns and knows by heart the ideas which, beginning aright and proceeding aright and ending aright, both in letter and in spirit, declare the higher life in all its perfection and purity, who with his lips repeats these ideas, scrutinizes them with his mind, plumbs them with his philosophy, and preaches them both to Almsmen and Almswomen and to the faithful laity of both sexes with an exposition which is at once comprehensive, precise, and fluent, so as to eradicate propensities. — Such an Almsman, reverend Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

Hereupon, Sāriputta said to Revata :—Ānanda has expressed his view ; what would be your answer to my question ?

Take an Almsman, answered Revata, who delights in meditation and whose delight is therein, who is set on tranquillizing his heart within him, who scorns not the Ecstasies, who is endowed with discernment, and has his habitation in the abodes of solitude ;—such an Almsman, reverend Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

With the same question put to him, Anuruddha made this answer :—Take an Almsman who with the Eye Celestial, which is pure and excels the human eye, surveys a thousand worlds, even as a man with eyes to see might mount to the topmost height of a palace and survey thence a thousand concentric distances girdling him round ;—such an Almsman, reverend Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

In his turn, Mahā-Kassapa made this answer :—  
[214] Take an Almsman who, himself living in the forest, commends the forest life to others ; who, himself subsisting on alms begged, commends subsistence on alms to others ; who, himself clad in rags from the dust-heap, commends to others the wearing of such rags ; who, himself owning but three garments, commends the like limitation to others ; who, himself having few wants, commends the like temperance to others ; who, contented himself, commends contentment to others ; who, a solitary himself, commends solitude to others ; who, himself shunning lay society, commends the like reserve to others ; who, strenuous himself, commends the strenuous life to others ; who, virtuous himself, commends the life of virtue to others ; who, having won rapt concentration for himself, exhorts others to win it too ; who, having won wisdom for himself, exhorts others to win it too ; who, having won Deliverance for himself, exhorts others to win it too ; who, having himself won the knowledge and the vision which Deliverance gives, exhorts others to win

the same.—Such an Almsman, reverend Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

Lastly, turning to Mahā-Moggallāna, Sāriputta put the same question to him, and he made this answer :—Take two Almsmen who hold discourse on quintessential Doctrine (*abhidhamma*) ; they put questions one to the other, furnishing answers and not collapsing, but gaining edification by their talk on doctrine ;—such an Almsman, reverend Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

Moggallāna added that, now all of them had expressed their views, they would like to hear Sāriputta's.

Moggallāna, said he, let us take an Almsman who is master of his heart and is not under its mastery. He chooses the plane of thought in which he wishes [215] to dwell in the morning, and in that precise plane in the morning he dwells ;—and so for the midday and for the eventide. It is just as if a King or great noble, with a clothes-chest filled with clothes of divers colours, were in the morning to wear the suit he had selected for morning wear ; at midday to wear the suit he had selected for midday wear ; and at eventide to wear the suit he had chosen for the evening ;—in just the same way the Almsman is master of his heart . . . for the eventide.—Such an Almsman, reverend Moggallāna, would illumine Gosinga wood.

Now that we have all of us expressed our views, added Sāriputta, let us go to the Lord and lay the matter before him, treasuring up as final what he may declare. The others assenting, to the Lord they went and after due obeisance took their seats to one side, while Sāriputta described the visit of the others to hear him expound, and [216] repeated his question to Ānanda as to the Brother who would illumine Gosinga wood, together with Ānanda's answer.

Good, Sāriputta, very good. Ānanda has given the best answer he could. For, Ānanda is one who has been taught much, who treasures . . . to eradicate propensities.

Then Sāriputta gave Revata's answer, and the Lord

said :—Good, Sāriputta, very good. Revata has given the best answer he could. For, Revata is one who delights in meditation . . . abodes of solitude.

[217] Next, Sāriputta gave Anuruddha's answer, and the Lord said :—Good, Sāriputta, very good. Anuruddha has given the best answer he could. For, Anuruddha is one who with the Eye Celestial . . . girdling him round.

Hereupon, Sāriputta gave Mahā-Kassapa's answer, and the Lord said :—[218] Good, Sāriputta, very good. Kassapa has given the best answer he could. For, Kassapa is one who, himself living in the forest, . . . exhorts others to win the same.

Lastly, Sāriputta gave Mahā-Moggallāna's answer, and the Lord said :—Good, Sāriputta, very good. Moggallāna has given the best answer he could. For, Moggallāna expounds doctrine.

Then Mahā-Moggallāna related to the Lord how, when they had all expressed their several views, they had asked Sāriputta for his own answer ; and he repeated to the Lord the answer Sāriputta had given. Said the Lord :—Good, Moggallāna, very good. Sāriputta has given the best answer he could. For, Sāriputta is master of his heart . . . [219] for the eventide.

At this point the venerable Sāriputta asked who had spoken well.

All of you, said the Lord, have spoken well, each in his turn. Now hear from me what type of Almsman would illumine Gosinga wood. Take an Almsman who, after his meal on return from his round for alms, seats himself, with legs crossed, with body upright, with mindfulness on the alert, and with the resolve not to leave his seat till, by starving them of subsistence, his heart is Delivered from Cankers.—Such an Almsman, Sāriputta, would illumine Gosinga wood.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, these reverend ones rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XXXIII. MAHĀ-GOPĀLAKA-SUTTA.

## PASTORAL DUTIES.

[220] THUS have I heard. Once, when staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, the Lord addressed the listening Almsmen as follows:—Eleven qualities disable a herdsman from looking after his herd and from promoting its increase; and here are the eleven:—A herdsman (i) is ignorant of form, (ii) has no eye for marks, (iii) does not get out ticks, (iv) does not dress sores, (v) does not smoke out (the lairs), (vi) knows nothing either of fords or (vii) watering-places or (viii) roads or (ix) pastures, (x) milks dry, and (xi) fails to tend with special attention the bulls that are the sires and leaders of the herd.

So too eleven qualities disable an Almsman from shewing growth, increase, and progress in this Doctrine and Rule; and here are the eleven:—An Almsman (i) is ignorant of form, (ii) . . . (xi) fails to tend with special attention those of the Brotherhood who are experienced and senior Elders, the sires and leaders of the Confraternity.

How is an Almsman ignorant of form?—Why, by not really comprehending that each and every form consists of the four prime elements or is derivative therefrom.

How has an Almsman no eye for marks?—Why, by not really comprehending what marks the doings of the fool and the doings of the wise.

How does an Almsman not get out ticks?—Why, either by giving in to a thought that has arisen about sensuous pleasures—or about hurt—or about cruelty,—or by giving in to evil and wrong states of mind as they arise from time to time, [221] instead of putting them from him, instead of discarding and destroying them so as to make them cease to exist.

How does an Almsman not dress sores?—Why, when, seeing with his eye a visible shape, he is taken



up with its detailed characteristics and marks, and—albeit, if he lives with eye uncontrolled, appetite and depression, together with evil and wrong states of mind, might stream in upon him—he yet lives not to control his faculty of sight, keeps no watch and ward over it, and fails to develop control over his faculty of sight. [And so likewise with the other five senses.]

How does he not smoke out the lairs?—Why, by not expounding to others the Doctrine which he has himself heard and learned.

How does he know nothing of fords?—Why, by not going from time to time to learned Almsmen—the channels of the word and the repositories of the Doctrine and Rule and text—to ask and enquire of them how this is, or what that means. In consequence, they do not open up what is closed to him, do not clear up for him what was not clear, nor remove his doubts in divers ideas of perplexity.

How does he know nothing of watering-places?—Why, by failing, when there is preaching of the Truthfinder's Doctrine and Rule, to take in knowledge of welfare and of the Doctrine, or to get the gladness which the Doctrine brings.

How does he know nothing of roads?—Why, by having no real comprehension of the Noble Eightfold Path.

How does he know nothing of pastures?—Why, by having no real comprehension of the fourfold mustering up of mindfulness.

[222] How does he milk dry?—Why, when believing householders bring out and offer him robes and the other requisites, he knows no bounds in what he takes.

How does he fail to tend with special attention those of the Brotherhood who are experienced and senior Elders, the sires and leaders of the Confraternity?—Why, by not ministering to them—both openly and in secret—with acts of love, with words of love, and with thoughts of love.

Eleven qualities bring the herdsman success in

looking after his herd and in promoting its increase ; and here are the eleven :—A herdsman (i) has knowledge of form (ii) has an eye for marks, (iii) gets out ticks, (iv) dresses sores, (v) smokes out the lairs, (vi) knows about fords and (vii) watering-places and (viii) roads and (ix) pastures, (x) does not milk dry, and (xi) tends with special attention the bulls that are the sires and leaders of the herd.

So too eleven qualities enable an Almsman to shew growth, increase, and progress in the Doctrine and Rites ; and here are the eleven :—An Almsman (i) has [228] knowledge of form, (ii) . . . (xi) tends with special attention those of the Brotherhood who are experienced and senior Elders, the sires and leaders of the Confraternity. [In each and every one of these respects he is, and does, the precise opposite of the foregoing Brother.]

[224] Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

### XXXIV. CŪḶA-GOPĀLA-KA-SUTTA.

#### PASTORS, GOOD AND BAD.

[225] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Vajjians at Ukkā-celā on the banks of the Ganges, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—

In bygone days an incompetent herdsman of Magadha, in autumn when it was the very last month of the rainy season, without considering either the hither or the further shore of the Ganges, started—from where there was no ford at all—to drive his cattle across to the Videha side. Huddled together in midstream, they came there to trouble and disaster,—all because of this incompetence of the herdsman. It is just the same with any recluses and brahmins who are wrong about this world and the hereafter, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Māra, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of

Death ;—all who imagine they ought to hearken to, and trust in, such recluses and brahmins, will long suffer and smart for it.

In bygone days, a competent herdsman of Magadha, in autumn when it was the very last month of the rainy season, after due scrutiny of both the hither and the further shores of the Ganges, started—from where there was a ford—to drive his cattle across to the Videha side. First of all he drove over the bulls, the sires and leaders of the herd, who crossed the stream to the further shore in safety. Next he drove over the sturdy steers and cows, who also crossed the stream to the further shore in safety. Then he drove over the half-grown bull-calves and heifers, who also crossed the stream to the further shore in safety. Then he drove over the weaker calves, who also crossed the stream to the further shore in safety. In those bygone days there was a tiny new-born bull-calf, which, helped along by the lowing of its mother, also crossed the stream to the further shore in safety. And why ?—Because that [226] competent herdsman of Magadha had carefully considered both banks before he drove his herd across the stream of the Ganges. It is just the same with any recluses or brahmins who are right about this world and about the hereafter, right about what is and what is not the realm of Māra, right about what is and what is not the realm of Death ; —all who imagine they ought to hearken to, and trust in, these recluses and brahmins, will long enjoy weal and welfare.

Just as those bulls, sires and leaders of the herd, crossed the stream of the Ganges to the further shore in safety, so too those Almsmen who are Arahats, in whom the Cankers are no more, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have cast off their burthens, who have won their weal, and who, fettered no more to existence, have by utter knowledge won Deliverance,—these have crossed the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. Just too as those sturdy steers and cows crossed the stream of the Ganges in

safety, so also those Almsmen who, having destroyed the Five Fetters of this world, will be translated hereafter to realms from which they will never be reborn to earth,—these too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. Just too as the half-grown bull-calves and heifers crossed the stream of the Ganges to the further shore in safety, so also those Almsmen who, having destroyed the Three Fetters and having reduced passion, hate and folly to a minimum, will return but once more to this world and then will make an end of Ill ;—these too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. Just too as those weaker calves crossed the stream of the Ganges to the further shore in safety, so also those Almsmen who, having destroyed the Three Fetters and entered the stream, will escape all future states of misery, possess an assured future, and are destined to win Enlightenment ;—these too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety. Just too as that tiny new-born bull-calf, helped along by the lowing of its mother, crossed the stream of the Ganges to the further shore in safety, so also those Almsmen who live in accord with the Doctrine and trust therein,—these too will cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety.

It is I, Almsmen, [227] who am right about this world and about the hereafter, it is I who am right about what is and what is not the realm of Māra, it is I who am right about what is and what is not the realm of Death. All who imagine they ought to hearken to, and trust in, me, will long enjoy weal and welfare.

Thus spoke the Lord ; and when the Blessed One had thus spoken he went on, as the Master, to say this :—

*This world and worlds beyond, where Māra reigns  
and where Death comes not,—this I knew and preached ;  
in utter knowledge and Enlightenment,  
I opè'd Nirvana's door of deathless peace.  
At last o'er Māra's stream, death's roots uplorn,  
—rejoice ! rejoice ! Nirvana's peace is won !*

## XXXV. CŪḶA-SACCAKA-SUTTA.

## SACCAKA'S ONSLAUGHT.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Vesālī in the Gabled Hall in Great Wood, there was living in that city Saccaka, son of the Jain (woman), a great controversialist, who gave himself out as learned and was held in high popular repute. He used to go about Vesālī, saying to people there :— I see no recluse or brahmin—founder of a Confraternity or following, with followers to teach, even though he be hailed as 'Arahat all-enlightened'—who, when taken in hand by me point by point, would not fall a-trembling and be all of a tremble, and quake, with the sweat streaming from his arm pits. Why, if I were to take in hand, point by point, an insensate post, even that would fall a-trembling and be all of a tremble and quake,—let alone a human being.

Now early one morning the reverend Assaji, duly robed and bowl in hand, went into Vesālī for alms. Seeing him coming some way off, Saccaka, who was wandering up and down the city, [228] went up to him and, after exchange of civil greetings, stood to one side, saying :—How does the recluse Gotama train his disciples? In what divisions does his teaching mostly run?

After this wise and in the following divisions, Aggivessana<sup>1</sup> :—Visible shape, Almsmen, is impermanent; feeling is impermanent; perception is impermanent; the plastic forces are impermanent; and consciousness is impermanent. There is no Self in visible shapes, feelings, perceptions, plastic forces, or

<sup>1</sup> The Agnivesyāyanas were a brahmin gotra; and Kshatriyas who were so styled doubtless took the name from their brahmin purohitas. Cf. Suttas Nos. 74 and 125 and Anguttara II, 180 (Aggivessa). This Saccaka, who boasts of success in controversy with the great Jain, Nāta-putta himself, was of Jain parentage on both sides according to Bu. The v.l. Niganthi-putta (the *lectio difficilior*) indicates that his *mother* was a Jain.

consciousness. All plastic forces are impermanent, and there is no Self in any mental states.—After this wise and in those divisions does the Lord's teaching mostly run.<sup>1</sup>

I am sorry to hear that the recluse Gotama holds this. Perhaps, some time or other, I may meet your worthy Gotama and have a talk with him; I might wean him from those wrong views of his.

Just then five hundred of the Licchavis were met together in their moot-house on some business or other, and to them came Saccaka, saying:—Come along, good Licchavis; come along with me! To-day I am going to have a talk with the recluse Gotama. If he takes up his stand against me on the lines taken up by his well-known follower, the Almsman Assaji,—why, point by point, I will shake him to and fro and haul him about even as a lusty fellow would tug and haul about a fleecy ram he had got by its fleece; or, as a lusty brewer, with his crate plunged into a deep pool of water, would take it by its handles and shake it to and fro as he hauled it about; or, as a brewer's lusty varlet [229], holding his rinser by its handle, would shake it up and down and toss it about;—even so, point by point, will I shake up and down and toss about the recluse Gotama; or, as in a deep tank a full-grown elephant in his prime disports himself as with what is called 'the merry washing day', so will I disport myself with the recluse Gotama. So come along, good Licchavis, come along with me! To-day I am going to have a talk with the recluse Gotama.

Some Licchavis said Saccaka was bound to win; but others said the Lord would triumph over the inflated Saccaka. So, with a following of five hundred Licchavis, Saccaka came to the Gabled Hall in Great Wood, and, finding a number of the Almsmen pacing up and down in the open air, went up to them, asking—Where is the reverend Gotama at the present time? We should like to see him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S.B.E. XIII, 100 for this doctrine as preached to Gotama's first five converts,—of whom Assaji was one.



The Lord, was the answer, is in Great Wood, sitting under a tree during the heat of the day, Aggivessana.

Thereupon Saccaka, with his great train of Licchavis, went into Great Wood to the Lord, and, after exchange of civil greetings, took a seat to one side,—as also did the Licchavis, some after obeisance, some after greetings, some with joined palms outstretched in salutation, some with mention of their names and clans, and others again in silence.

From his seat Saccaka said to the Lord :—There is a small point on which I should like to question the reverend Gotama, if he will allow me.

Ask, Aggivessana, [280] whatever you will.

How, then, does the reverend Gotama train his disciples? In what divisions does his teaching mostly run?

After this wise and in the following divisions, Aggivessana: Visible shape, Almsmen, is impermanent; feeling is impermanent; perception is impermanent; the plastic forces are impermanent; and consciousness is impermanent. There is no Self in visible shapes, feelings, perceptions, plastic forces, or consciousness. All plastic forces are impermanent, and there is no Self in any mental states.—After this wise and in those divisions my teaching mostly runs.

A comparison occurs to me, Gotama.

Pray let us hear it, Aggivessana.

Just as the growth, increase, and development of every seed and of all vegetation depends always on the earth and is based on the earth; just as the accomplishment of all tasks involving strength depends always on the earth and is based on the earth;—just the same is it with an individual's material Self (*rūpattā*) which, because it is based on matter, produces merit or demerit; and the same applies to the individual Self of feeling, of perception, of the plastic forces, and of consciousness.

Do you not affirm, Aggivessana, that your material shape is your Self, that your feelings are your Self, that

your perceptions are your Self, that your plastic forces are your Self, and that your consciousness is your Self?

Yes, that is precisely what I do affirm ;—and so does this great gathering.

What will 'this great gathering' avail? Pray, Aggivessana, confine yourself to your own argument.

I affirm that my material shape is my Self, that my feelings are my Self, that my perceptions are my Self, that my plastic forces are my Self, and that my consciousness is my Self.

Then, Aggivessana, I will here ask you a return question, to which you will make such answer as seems good to you. What say you?—[281] Would a Noble, being an anointed King, like King Pasenadi of Kosala or like King Ajātasattu of Magadha, the son of the Videha lady, have power—within his own realm—to put to death or to mulct or to exile those of his own subjects who deserve those respective punishments?

Yes, he would. Why, even confederations and federations such as the Vajjians or Mallians possess this power—within their own realms—; and of course a monarch like King Pasenadi or King Ajātasattu, possesses it; he would have this power and ought to have it.

What say you, Aggivessana?—When you say your material shape is your Self, have you the power to make it become, or not become, what you order?<sup>1</sup>

On this Saccaka became silent.

A second time the Lord asked the question, but still Saccaka was silent.

Answer, said the Lord; this is no time to be silent. If thrice a person is asked a doctrinal question by the Truth-finder and answers not, his skull is then and there cloven into seven pieces.

At that moment (Sakka) the fairy of the thunderbolt.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Second Sermon to the Five Brethren at Vinaya Texts, and see Old Creeds and New Needs (1923), by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

grasping his iron thunderbolt all afire, all a-glow, all a-blaze, took his stand in the air over Saccaka, to cleave his head into seven pieces if he failed the third time to return an answer to the Lord's question. And this fairy of the thunderbolt was visible to the Lord and to Saccaka. In dread and dismay, with every hair on his body standing erect, Saccaka [282]—now seeking protection and shelter and refuge with the Lord!—said:—Let the reverend Gotama put his question to me, and I will answer it.

What say you, Aggivessana?—When you say your material shape is your Self, have you the power to make it become, or not become, what you order?

No.

Think before you answer, Aggivessana; for your former utterance does not accord with your last, nor your last with the former.

[Similar paragraphs about feelings, perceptions, the plastic forces, and consciousness.]

What say you, Aggivessana?—Is material shape permanent or impermanent?

Impermanent.

Is that which is impermanent an Ill or the reverse?  
An Ill.

Is it proper to regard what is impermanent and an Ill and the creature of change, as being mine, or I, [288] or my Self?

No.

[Similar paragraphs about feelings and the rest.]

What say you, Aggivessana?—Can a man who so clings to Ill, who has so gone over to Ill, and who so cleaves to Ill, that he regards Ill as mine, I, my Self,—can he either of himself fathom Ill or cast it out of his life?

How could that be? It is not the fact.

It is just like, Aggivessana, a man in need, search and quest of the best of timber, who should go with a keen axe into the forest and there, seeing a great banana-tree, straight and young and towering aloft, should cut its roots through, chop off its head, and then

proceed to unroll the ensheathing leaves, yet should never come on even second-rate timber, much less on the best of timber;—just in the same way, when examined and pressed and interrogated on your own statements, you are found empty and vain and faulty. What you said to people in Vesāli was this :—I see no recluse or brahmin—founder of a Confraternity or following, with followers to teach, even though he be hailed as ‘Arahat all-enlightened’—who, when taken in hand by me point by point, would not fall a-trembling and be all of a tremble and quake, with the sweat streaming from his arm-pits. Why, (you went on to observe) if I were to take in hand, point by point, an insensate post, even that would fall a-trembling and be all of a tremble and quake,—let alone a human being. It is from your brow that the sweat has streamed down your robe on to the ground; while I have no sweat at all on my body. And so saying the Lord bared his golden body to the gaze of the assemblage.

[284] At these words Saccaka sat silent and upset, with his shoulders hunched up and with his eyes down-cast, much exercised in his mind but finding no words to utter.

Seeing Saccaka's sorry plight, the Licchavi Dummukha said to the Lord that a comparison occurred to him, and, being bidden to state it, said :—It is just like a crab in a pond near a village or township, which is fished out on to dry land by the neighbouring boys or girls who with sticks and stones break and smash and pound each successive claw that the crab thrusts forth in turn, until, when all his claws have been broken, smashed and pounded, the crab is unable to get to his pond as he used. Just in the same way the Lord has broken, smashed and pounded Saccaka's every successive trick, wriggle, and squirm until Saccaka can never again come to the Lord as a controversialist.

Go away, Dummukha! go away! I am conferring with Gotama, not with you, said Saccaka,—who went on to say to the Lord :—Let us pass from what I, with many other recluses and brahmins, have said on these

lines,—all so much idle chatter, methinks. In what respects, now, does a disciple of yours carry out your doctrines and practise your teaching, living by the Doctrine of his master and of no one else, beyond doubts and perplexities, in confident assurance?

Take the case, Aggivessana, of a disciple of mine who sees in the plenitude of knowledge and reality that no material shape whatsoever,—past, present, or future, internal or external, gross or delicate, lowly or choice, far or near—is mine, or I, or my Self; and [235] who sees the like concerning feelings—perceptions—the plastic forces—and consciousness. These are the respects in which a disciple of mine carries out my doctrines and practises my teaching, living by the Doctrine of his master and of no one else, beyond doubts and perplexities, in confident assurance.

In what respects does an Almsman become an Arahāt,—in whom the Cankers are no more, who has greatly lived, who has shed his burthen and won his weal, who is no longer fettered to existence, and who by utter knowledge has won Deliverance?

Take the case of a Brother who, from seeing, in the plenitude of knowledge and reality, that no material shape—or feeling and so forth—is mine or I, or my Self, becomes Delivered in absolute emancipation.—These are the respects in which an Almsman becomes an Arahāt . . . has won Deliverance. The Almsman whose heart is thus Delivered possesses three excellences,—excellence in vision, excellence in practice, excellence in Deliverance. So Delivered, he pays to the Truth-finder alone honour and reverence, devotion and worship, saying:—Enlightened himself, the Lord preaches the doctrine for enlightenment. Self-controlled himself, the Lord preaches the doctrine for self-control. At peace himself, the Lord preaches the doctrine for finding peace. Having crossed the flood himself, he preaches the doctrine for crossing. Winner of Nirvana for himself, he preaches to others the doctrine for winning Nirvana.

This said, Saccaka said to the Lord:—[236] I was

arrogant and presumptuous to imagine that, point by point, I could cope with the reverend Gotama. A man might perhaps face with impunity a rutting elephant,—but not the reverend Gotama. With impunity perhaps a man might face a blazing conflagration,—but not the reverend Gotama. With impunity perhaps a man might face a deadly venomous snake,—but not the reverend Gotama. Yes; I was arrogant and presumptuous to imagine that, point by point, I could cope with the reverend Gotama,—who, I beg, will, with the Confraternity, take his meal with me to-morrow.

By his silence the Lord intimated his assent, whereupon Saccaka informed the Licchavis and asked them to make due provision. Accordingly, when night had passed away, they furnished him with five hundred cauldrons of boiled rice as a gift; and Saccaka made ready in his pleasance an excellent meal of food both hard and soft, and sent word to the Lord that the repast was now ready. Thither in the morning came the Lord, duly robed and bowl in hand, and sat down on the seat set for him, he and the Confraternity. Then with his own hands Saccaka served the Confraternity, headed by the Buddha, with that excellent meal without stint till all had eaten their fill, after which he sat himself down on a lower seat to one side of the Lord, saying :—May the merit of this gift, and of this field for reaping merit, bring welfare to the donors!

Unto them, Aggivessana, shall accrue whatsoever merit attaches to a recipient of gifts like yourself—not free from passion, hate, and delusion. [237] Unto thee shall accrue whatsoever merit attaches to a recipient like myself who am free from passion, hate, and delusion.

## XXXVI. MAHĀ-SACCAKA-SUTTA.

## SACCAKA AGAIN.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Vesālī in the Gabled Hall in Great Wood, he had dressed himself early and was minded to go, duly robed and bowl in hand, into the city for alms, when Saccaka, son of the Jain (woman), came, in the course of his wanderings, to the Gabled Hall in Great Wood. Having seen him coming some way off, the venerable Ānanda had said to the Lord:—Sir, here comes Saccaka, son of the Jain (woman), that great controversialist, who gives himself out as learned and is held in high popular repute; his aim is to discredit the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Confraternity. Pray, sir, be so good as to be seated awhile. The Lord sat down on the seat set for him, and up came Saccaka, who, after civil greetings, took his seat to one side, saying to the Lord:—There are some recluses and brahmins, Gotama, who are always schooling their bodies, but not their minds,—experiencing feelings of bodily pain, which may paralyse the legs, or burst the heart, or make warm blood gush from the mouth, or render men demented and distraught. Here we have the mind conforming to the body and being dominated by the body. And why?—[238] Because the mind is left unschooled. Or again there are some recluses and brahmins who are always schooling their minds, but not their bodies,—experiencing feelings of mental pain, which may paralyse . . . and distraught. Here we have the body conforming to the mind and being dominated by the mind. And why?—Because the body is left unschooled. My belief is that the reverend Gotama's disciples are always schooling their minds, but not their bodies.

What have you heard about schooling the body?

For example, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca, and Makkhali Gosāla;—all the three of them go naked, flout life's decencies, lick their hands after meals, never



heed when folk call to them to come or to stop, never accept food brought to them before their rounds or cooked expressly for them, never accept an invitation, never receive food direct from pot or pan or within the threshold or among the faggots or pestles, never from (one only) of two people messing together, never from a pregnant woman or a nursing mother or a woman *in coitu*, never from gleanings (in time of famine) nor from where a dog is ready at hand or where (hungry) flies congregate, never touch flesh or fish or spirits or strong drink or brews of grain; or they either visit only one house a day and there take only one morsel; or they visit but two or (up to not more than) seven houses a day, and take at each only two or (up to not more than) seven morsels; or they live on a single saucer of food a day, or on two, or on (up to not more than) seven saucers; or they have but one meal a day, or one every two days, or (so on, up to) every seven days, or only once a fortnight,—on a rigid scale of rationing.

And do they get along on it, Aggivessana?

No, Gotama. At times they partake of very good food both hard and soft, with very good curries and very good drinks, which strengthen their bodies and build them up and put fat on them.

So they revert subsequently to what they had eschewed before, and so there is this ebb and flow in bulk. What have you heard about schooling the mind?

But concerning schooling of the mind [239] Saccaka did not succeed in answering the Lord's question.

Then said the Lord to Saccaka:—The schooling of the body to which you referred just now, is no schooling of the body according to doctrine in the Rule of the Noble. You did not understand the schooling of the body; much less can you know the schooling of the mind. Hear now how body and mind, respectively, either go unschooled, or are schooled. Pay attention and I will speak. Then to the assenting Saccaka the Lord spoke as follows:

First, as to the unschooled body and mind. Take an ordinary uninstructed man who has a pleasant feeling, so that he gets a passion for things pleasant and is passionately attached to them. Later, that pleasant feeling passes; and with its passing there arises an unpleasant feeling, at the advent of which he grieves, mourns, laments, beats his breast and gets distraught. The pleasant feeling takes possession of his mind, because his body is not schooled; it is because his mind is not schooled that the unpleasant feeling takes possession of it;—and the man to whom both these things happen is neither schooled in body nor schooled in mind.

Next, as to the schooled body and mind. Take an instructed disciple of the Noble who has a pleasant feeling but gets therefrom no passion for things pleasant nor is passionately attached to them. Later, that pleasant feeling passes; and with its passing there arises an unpleasant feeling, but at its advent he does not grieve, mourn, lament, beat his breast, or get distraught. It is because his body is schooled that the pleasant feeling does not take possession of his mind; it is because his mind is schooled that the unpleasant feeling does not take possession of it;—and the man to whom these two things happen [240] is both schooled in body and schooled in mind.

The reverend Gotama, I feel sure, is schooled both in body and in mind.

Offensive though your insinuation undoubtedly is, Aggivessana, nevertheless I will give you an answer.—From the day I cut off my hair and beard and donned the yellow robes to pass from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim, it is simply not the fact that either any pleasant or any unpleasant feeling could take possession of my mind.

Could it perhaps be that you have never had feelings, either pleasant or unpleasant, which were such as to take possession of your mind?

How could there be no such feelings? In the days before my Enlightenment, when as yet I was but a

Bodhisatta without fullest Enlightenment, I bethought me that—A hole-and-corner life is all a home can give, whereas Pilgrimage is in the open ; it is hard for a home-keeping man to live the higher life in all its full completeness and full purity and perfection ; what if I were to cut off hair and beard, don the yellow robes, and go forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim ? Then came a time when I—being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey . . . (etc., as in Sutta 26) . . . needing nothing further for my striving.

Howbeit, there flashed in on me spontaneously three allegories, unknown till then :—

It is just as if there were a green sappy stick in the water, and a man came along with his drill-stick, set on lighting a fire and making a blaze. Do you think he could succeed by rubbing with his drill-stick that green sappy stick from the water ?

[241] Toil and moil as he may, he couldn't ;—because the stick is green and sappy in itself, and moreover had been in the water.

It is just the same with all recluses or brahmins whose life is not lived aloof from pleasures of sense in the matter of their bodies, and who have not inwardly discarded and rightly quelled the appetite, taste, infatuation, thirst, and feverish longing for pleasures of sense ;—they are alike incapable of understanding, vision, and the plenitude of Enlightenment, whether or not paroxysms of unpleasant, acute, and painful feelings assail them. This was the first allegory, unknown till then, which flashed in on me.

The second allegory was of a green sappy stick lying on dry land. Do you think the man could light his fire with that ?

Toil and moil as he may, he couldn't ;—because, though the stick had been thrown not into the water but on dry land, yet it is green and sappy in itself.

It is just the same with all recluses or brahmins whose life is not lived aloof . . . painful feelings assail

them. This was the second allegory, till then unknown, which flashed in on me.

The third allegory was [242] of a dry stick, with the sap out of it, lying on dry ground, with a man coming along with his drill-stick, bent on lighting a fire and making a blaze. Do you think he could light his fire with that dry stick?

Yes, he could ;—because the stick is dry and sapless in itself and moreover had not been in the water but was lying on dry ground.

It is just the same with all recluses or brahmins whose life is lived aloof from pleasures of sense in the matter of their bodies, and who have inwardly discarded and rightly quelled the appetite, taste, infatuation, thirst, and feverish longing for pleasures of sense ;—they are alike capable of understanding, vision, and the plenitude of Enlightenment, whether or not paroxysms of unpleasant, acute and painful feelings assail them. This was the third and last of the three allegories, till then unknown, which flashed in on me.

Thought I then to myself :—Come, let me, with teeth clenched and with tongue pressed against my palate, by sheer force of mind restrain, coerce, and dominate my heart. And this I did, till the sweat streamed from my armpits. Just as a strong man, taking a weaker man by the head or shoulders, restrains and coerces and dominates him, even so did I, with teeth clenched and with tongue pressed against my palate, by sheer force of mind restrain, coerce, and dominate my heart, till the sweat streamed from my armpits. Resolute grew my perseverance which never quailed ; there was established in me a mindfulness which knew no distraction,—though my body was [243] sore distressed and afflicted, because I was harassed by these struggles as I painfully struggled on.—Yet even such unpleasant feelings as then arose did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself :—Come, let me pursue the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I stopped breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose ; and

then great was the noise of the air as it passed through my ear-holes, like the blast from a smith's bellows. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself:—Come, let me pursue further the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I stopped breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent winds wracked my head, as though a strong man were boring into my skull with the point of a sword. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself:—Come, let me pursue still further the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping all breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent pains attacked my head, as though a strong man [244] had twisted a leather thong round my head. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself:—Come, let me go on pursuing the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent winds pierced my inwards through and through,—as though an expert butcher or his man were hacking my inwards with sharp cleavers. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself:—Come, let me still go on pursuing the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping all breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then there was a violent burning within me,—as though two strong men, taking a weaker man by both arms, were to roast and burn him up in a fiery furnace. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

[245] At the sight of me, some gods said I was dead; others said I was not dead but dying; while others again said that I was an Arahāt and that Arahats<sup>1</sup> lived like that!

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 2 (n.) and *Dial.* III, 3-6 for the history and use of this pre-Buddhist term, adopted with changed connotation by Gotama

Thought I to myself :—Come, let me proceed to cut off food altogether. Hereupon, gods came to me begging me not so to do, or else they would feed me through the pores with heavenly essences which would keep me alive. If, thought I to myself, while I profess to be dispensing with all food whatsoever, these gods should feed me all the time through the pores with heavenly essences which keep me alive, that would be imposture on my part. So I rejected their offers, peremptorily.

Thought I to myself :—Come, let me restrict myself to little tiny morsels of food at a time, namely the liquor in which beans or vetches, peas or pulse, have been boiled. I rationed myself accordingly, and my body grew emaciated in the extreme. My members, great and small, grew like the knotted joints of withered creepers . . . (etc., as in Sutta 12) . . . [246] rotted at their roots ; and all because I ate so little.

At the sight of me, some men said I was black ; others said I was brown ; while others again said I was neither black nor brown, but dusky like a fish. To such a sorry pass had my pure clear complexion been reduced,—all because I ate so little.

Thought I to myself :—Of all the spasms of acute and severe pain that have been undergone through the ages past—or will be undergone through the ages to come—or are now being undergone—by recluses or brahmins, mine are pre-eminent ; nor is there aught worse beyond. Yet, with all these severe austerities, I fail to transcend ordinary human limits and to rise to the heights of noblest understanding and vision. Could there be another path to Enlightenment ?

A memory came to me of how once, seated in the cool shade of a rose-apple tree on the lands of my father the Sakyan,<sup>1</sup> I, divested of pleasures of sense

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(cf. Suttas 26 and 27). The passage here is a significant instance of the vogue of the term, before Buddhism, to indicate a man of worth, and therefore an ascetic Saint.

<sup>1</sup> The amplified legend of the *infant* Gotama's Ecstasy will be found at Jātaka I, 57.

and of wrong states of mind, entered upon, and abode in, the First Ecstasy, with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Could this be the path to Enlightenment? In prompt response to this memory, my consciousness told me that here lay the true path to Enlightenment.

Thought I to myself:—[247] Am I afraid of a bliss which eschews pleasures of sense and wrong states of mind?—And my heart told me I was not afraid.

Thought I to myself:—It is no easy matter to attain that bliss with a body so emaciated. Come, let me take some solid food, rice and junket; and this I ate accordingly.

With me at the time there were the Five Almsmen, looking for me to announce to them what truth I attained; but when I took the rice and junket, they left me in disgust, saying that luxuriousness had claimed me and that, abandoning the struggle, I had reverted to luxuriousness.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus eaten solid food and regained strength, I entered on, and abode in, the First Ecstasy.—Yet, such pleasant feelings as then arose in me did not take possession of my mind; nor did they as I successively entered on, and abode in, the Second, Third, and Fourth Ecstasies.

With heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, stedfast and immutable,—[248] it was thus that I applied my heart to the knowledge which recalled my earlier existences. I called to mind . . . (etc., as in Sutta 4) . . . purged of Self.—Yet, such pleasant feelings as then arose within me did not take possession of my mind.

That same stedfast heart I now applied to knowledge of the passage hence and re-appearance else-

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<sup>1</sup> Here, as against Sutta 26, the Five Brethren pass their stricture on Gotama (and indeed here actually quit him in disgust), not after his attainment of Buddhahood, but before the Four Ecstasies.



where of other creatures. With the Eye Celestial . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4*) . . . [249] purged of Self.—Yet, such pleasant feelings as then arose within me did not take possession of my mind.

That same steadfast heart I next applied to knowledge of the eradication of Cankers. I comprehended . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4*) . . . purged of Self.—Yet, such pleasant feelings as then arose within me did not take possession of my mind.

I am aware, Aggivessana, that, when I preach the Doctrine to some hundreds of people, each individual imagines I am preaching for his separate behoof. But that is not the way to look at it, when the Truthfinder is preaching the Doctrine to people for general edification. At the close of my discourse, I still and compose my heart, focus and concentrate it, with all the marks of that precedent rapture of concentration in which I always dwell, unceasingly.

That may be believed for the recluse Gotama, as an Arahāt all-enlightened. But, does he admit that he ever sleeps in the daytime?

I am aware that, in the last month of the hot season, before the rains set in, when, after my meal, I am back from my round for alms, my robe is folded in four for me and I, lying on my right side, pass into slumber,—but in full mindfulness, and fully alive to what I am doing.

This is what some recluses and brahmins call stupor.

[250] So far, Aggivessana, stupor is neither present nor absent. Now hear how there is, and how there is not, real stupor. Give me your attention and I will speak.

Certainly, said Saccaka in assent.

The Lord said:—The man who has not put from him the Cankers—which are of impurity, lead to re-birth, entail suffering, ripen unto sorrow, and leave a heritage of birth, decay, and death,—this is the man who is in a real stupor; for his stupor comes from not being quit of the Cankers. But the man who is quit of them, is in no stupor, because he is beyond stupor

by being quit of the Cankers. In the Truth-finder, Aggivessana, all these Cankers have been put away, have been grubbed up by the roots, like a bare cleared site where once a palm-tree grew, things that once have been and now can be no more. Just as a palm with its head chopped off is incapable of growing, so in the Truth-finder all the Cankers—which are of impurity, lead to re-birth, entail suffering, ripen unto sorrow, and leave a heritage of birth, decay, and death—have been grubbed up by the roots, like a bare cleared site where once a palm-tree grew, things that once have been and now can be no more.

After these words, Saccaka, son of the Jain (woman), said to the Lord :—It is wonderful, it is marvellous, how, while you were being spoken to so offensively and with such insinuations, you have not changed colour nor has your countenance altered ;—quite like an Arahāt all-enlightened. I am aware, Gotama, that I have taken in hand, point by point, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesambala, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatṭhi-putta, and Nāta-putta the Jain ; and each in turn, being taken in hand by me point by point, [251] wandered off from one thing to another, switching the discussion on to something else, exhibiting annoyance, bad temper, and resentment. But the reverend Gotama, while he was being spoken to so offensively and with such insinuations, never changed colour nor did his countenance alter ;—quite like an Arahāt all-enlightened.

And now, he added, I ought to go ; for, I have much to do and attend to.

At your good pleasure, Aggivessana.

Having expressed his gratification and thanks for what he had heard, Saccaka got up and went his way.

## XXXVII. CŪḶA-TANHĀ-SANKHAYA-SUTTA.

### DELIVERANCE FROM CRAVINGS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in the Old Pleasaunce in the palace of Migāra's Mother, there came to him Sakka, king of gods, who, taking a seat to one side after salutations, asked how, briefly, an Almsman became Delivered by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, consummate in his union with peace, consummate in the higher life, consummate in his bourne,<sup>1</sup> foremost among gods and men.

Take the case, king of gods, of an Almsman who has been taught that there should never be any inclination towards any mental state whatsoever. So taught, he apprehends all such mental states, and, by apprehending, comprehends them, and, by comprehending, views every feeling which he experiences—be it pleasant, or unpleasant or neither—with a sense of its impermanence, without passion for them, with an eye to their cessation, and with an eye to renouncing them all, so that, in the result, he clings on to nothing in the world and thereby is undismayed, and, being undismayed, individually wins Nirvana for himself [252]—with the conviction that for him re-birth is no more; that he has greatly lived; that his task is done; and that there is no more of what he has been.

That, king of gods, is how, briefly, an Almsman

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dīgha* II, 283 for the like question by Sakka, amplified at *Saṃyutta* III, 13 by the five words which conclude this sentence (words usually reserved to describe *the* Tathāgata, or Truthfinder as a supreme Buddha).

becomes Delivered . . . foremost among gods and men.

Hereupon, expressing satisfaction and gratitude for what he had heard, Sakka, king of gods, saluted the Lord with deep reverence and vanished then and there.

The reverend Mahā-Moggallāna, who at the time was seated near the Lord, inwardly wondered whether or not that fairy, in expressing gratitude, had really grasped what the Lord had told him, and resolved to find out. Swiftly as a strong man might stretch out his arm or draw back his outstretched arm, Moggallāna vanished from the palace of Migāra's Mother and appeared among the Thirty-Three gods. Sakka, who at the moment was taking his pleasure in the Lotus Pleasaunce with five hundred instruments discoursing heavenly music around him, no sooner saw the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna in the distance than he stopped the music and going towards him said:—Approach, Your Excellency; welcome to Your Excellency; it is a long time since Your Excellency managed to come here; pray be seated, Your Excellency; here is a seat set for you. Moggallāna took his seat accordingly, and then Sakka, king of gods, seated himself on a lower seat to one side.

When they were thus seated, Moggallāna said to Sakka:—How did the Lord, Kosiya,<sup>1</sup> briefly expound to you Deliverance by the extirpation of cravings? Pray let me too share in that discourse so that I may hear it.

I have much to do and attend to, Your Excellency, both on my own account and on that of the Thirty-Three. I duly heard it all and took it in; [253] I duly pondered it over and stored it up in my memory; nor will it soon fade away. Time was, Your Excellency, when war arose between the gods and the

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<sup>1</sup> For this (? tribal) designation of Sakka see Dialogues II, 296 and 305; the word also means an owl. Bu. adds a long account of the vicissitudes in the conflict of the Devas with the Asuras.

Asuras (titans); and in the conflict the gods won, and the Asuras were worsted. On my triumphant return from that conflict, I called into being the Palace of Victory (Vejayanta),—which has a hundred towers, each seven hundred stories high, and in each story there are seven nymphs, each with her seven attendants.—Would not Your Excellency like to see the delights of the Palace of Victory?

Moggallāna having expressed assent by silence, Sakka, king of gods, and King Vessavaṇa,<sup>1</sup> preceded by Moggallāna, proceeded to the Palace of Victory. At the sight of Moggallāna in the distance, Sakka's handmaidens fled in fear and shame each to her own apartment,—just as a young wife is filled with fear and shame at the sight of her husband's father. Then Sakka and Vessavaṇa conducted Moggallāna through the palace and walked him all over it, pointing out its successive delights to His Excellency.

Yes, said Moggallāna, it is as splendid as it should be, in view of the venerable Kosiya's merit in the past. Mortals, too, jubilantly exclaim, at sight of anything delightful, that it is as splendid as the Thirty-Three; and this is as splendid as it should be, in view of the venerable Kosiya's merit in the past.

Then thought Moggallāna:—This fairy is inflated (about his palace); I had better give him a shock. So he wrought a work of magic whereby his big toe set the Palace of Victory shaking and quaking and rocking. [254] At this, Sakka, King of gods, and King Vessavaṇa, and all the gods of the heaven of the Thirty-Three, wondered and marvelled, saying:—A wonder and a marvel indeed is the magic power and potency of this recluse, who with his big toe can set this heavenly mansion shaking and quaking and rocking.

Marking how agitated Sakka was and how his hair was standing on end, Moggallāna said:—Now how did

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dīgha* II, 220 and 257, and III, 194 for this Regent of the North, Kuvera, the ruler over yakkhas or fairies.

the Lord, Kosiya, briefly expound to you Deliverance by the extirpation of cravings? Pray let me too share in that discourse so that I may hear it.

Then, at last, Sakka, king of gods, told—word for word—how he had gone to question the Lord and what answer had been given him. Hereupon, the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna [255], after expressing his satisfaction and thanks to Sakka, vanished away to reappear in the Old Pleasaunce in the palace of Migāra's Mother,—as readily as a strong man might stretch out his arm or draw back his outstretched arm.

Soon after Moggallāna had gone, Sakka's handmaidens asked the king of gods, whether that was the Lord, his master.

No, he replied; it was one who is a fellow with me in the higher life.

It is a great thing, Your Excellency, to have in the higher life a fellow-seeker of such magical power and potency. Ah! what a Master you have in the Lord!

Approaching and saluting the Lord, Moggallāna took his seat to one side, asking whether the Lord was aware of having briefly expounded lately to a fairy of distinction Deliverance by the extirpation of cravings. Yes, the Lord remembered it quite well; and . . . recounted—word for word—to Moggallāna Sakka's question and the answer he had himself given—to shew how, briefly, an Almsman becomes Delivered . . . [256] foremost among gods and men.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

### XXXVIII. MAHĀ-TAÑHĀ-SANKHYA-SUTTĀ.

#### CONSCIOUSNESS A PROCESS ONLY.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, an Almsman named Sāti, a fisherman's son,

came to entertain the pernicious view that, as he understood the Lord's teaching of the Doctrine, our consciousness runs on and continues without break of identity.

Hearing of this, a number of Almsmen went to ask Sāti whether he was correctly reported as entertaining a view so pernicious. Certainly he did, was his avowal. Then those Almsmen plied Sāti with question, enquiry, and argument so as to wean him from his error. Do not, they said, do not say this; do not misrepresent the Lord; there are no grounds whatever for such a charge; the Lord would not say such a thing. (On the contrary), in many a figure has it been laid down by the Lord that consciousness only arises by causation and that, [257] without assignable conditions, consciousness does not come about. But, say what they would, Sāti would not yield to their expostulations but stoutly held and clung to his pernicious view that, as he understood the Lord's teaching of the Doctrine, our consciousness ran on and continued without break of identity.

So when they had failed to wean Sāti from his error, the Almsmen went to the Lord and laid the whole of the facts before him; and he sent an Almsman [258] to summon Sāti to his presence.

When Sāti had duly come and had taken his seat to one side after due obeisance, the Lord asked him whether he was correctly reported as entertaining this pernicious view. Yes, Sāti certainly did hold it. Said the Lord :—What, Sāti, is the nature of this consciousness?

Sir, it is that speaking and sentient (Self) which experiences the ripened fruits of good and bad conduct in this or that earlier existence.

Pray, to whom, foolish man, do you aver that I ever so taught the Doctrine? Have I not, foolish man, laid it down in many a figure that consciousness only arises by causation and that, without assignable conditions, consciousness does not come about? And yet you, foolish man, employ what you have misunderstood



not only to misrepresent me but also to undermine yourself and breed for yourself a store of demerit,—to your lasting hurt and harm.

Turning then to the Almsmen, the Lord said:—What think you? Has this Sāti, the fisherman's son, got even a spark of illumination in this Doctrine and Rule?

How could he, sir? For, it is not the fact.

Hereat, Sāti sat silent and glum, with his shoulders hunched up and eyes downcast, much exercised in his mind but finding no words to utter. Seeing him in this plight, the Lord said to him:—And now, foolish man, you shall be shewn up in respect of this pernicious view of yours; I will question the Almsmen.

Accordingly, the Lord said to them:—Do you understand me ever to have preached the Doctrine in the sense of this Almsman Sāti, [259] who employs what he has misunderstood not only to misrepresent me but also to undermine himself and to breed for himself a store of demerit,—to his lasting hurt and harm?

No, sir. For in many a figure has the Lord taught us that consciousness only arises by causation and that, without assignable conditions, consciousness does not come about.

Quite right; you rightly understand my teaching; for, indeed, I have, as you say, so taught in many a figure. Yet here is this Sāti, the fisherman's son, who employs . . . hurt and harm.

Whatsoever form of consciousness arises from an assignable condition, is known by that condition's name.—If the eye and visible shapes condition consciousness, that is called visual consciousness; and so on with the senses and objects of hearing, smelling, tasting, and touch, and of mind with its mental objects. It is just like a fire, where that which makes the fire burn gives the fire its name. Wood makes a wood-fire, sticks a stick-fire, grass a grass-fire, cowdung a cowdung-fire, husks a husk-fire, and rubbish a rubbish-fire. In just the same way, every form of consciousness

arising from an assignable cause is known by that condition's name.

[260] Do you recognize, Almsmen, an organism as such ?

Yes, sir.

Do you recognize it as the product of a particular sustenance ?

Yes, sir.

Do you recognize that, by the cessation of its particular sustenance, the organism's nature makes for cessation ?

Yes, sir.

Does doubt of the fact of each of these three points lead to perplexity thereon ?

Yes, sir.

Does recognition of the fact as it really is, in the fulness of knowledge, dispel that perplexity in each case ?

Yes, sir.

In each of the three cases, is there right recognition, if it be in the fulness of knowledge of the fact as it really is ?

Yes, sir.

If you insist on hugging and cherishing this pure and undefiled conception and if you refuse to relinquish or part with it,—could you realize a state of consciousness to cross with, but not to keep, as (*Sutta 22*) in the Allegory of the Raft ?

No, sir.

Could you realize that Allegory, if, while hugging and cherishing your conception, you were yet ready to relinquish and part with it ?

[261] Yes, sir.

There are four Sustenances which either maintain existing organisms or help those yet to be. First of these is material sustenance, coarse or delicate ; Contact is the second ; cogitation is the third ; and perception is the fourth. The derivation, origin, birth, and production of all four Sustenances alike is Craving. Craving in its turn arises from feeling, feeling from Contact, Contact from the sensory domains, sensory

domains from Name and Form, Name and Form from consciousness, consciousness from plastic forces, and these latter from ignorance. Thus, ignorance conditions plastic forces, which condition consciousness, which conditions Name and Form, which condition the sensory domains, which condition Contact, which conditions feeling, which conditions Craving, which conditions dependence, which conditions becoming, which conditions birth, which conditions decay and death, with the distractions of grief, tribulation, and pain of body and mind.—This is the uprising of all that makes up the sum of Ill.

I have said that birth conditions decay and death. Does it, or does it not, condition them? Or how stands the matter?

Birth, sir, does condition decay and death; and that is how the matter stands.

I have said that becoming conditions birth. Does it, or does it not? Or how stands the matter?

[262] Becoming, sir, does condition birth; and that is how the matter stands.

[Similar paragraphs for dependence, etc., *down to* ignorance.] Good, Almsmen; very good. You and I then agree in affirming that:—<sup>1</sup>*This* being so, *that* comes about; [263] if *this* arises, so does *that*;—thus, ignorance conditions plastic force . . . (etc., as above) . . . the sum of Ill.

So too it is by the entire and passionless cessation of ignorance that the plastic forces cease . . . (etc., for the successive links in the chain, down to) . . . the distractions of grief, tribulation, and pain of body and mind.—This is the cessation of all that makes up the sum of Ill.

I have said that by the cessation of birth, decay and death cease. Do they, or do they not? Or how stands the matter?

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<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps no more succinct statement than this of the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of the *process* of things. Cf. II, 32 and Assaji's stanza (which converted Sāriputta and Moggallāna) at S.B.E. XIII, 146.

By the cessation of birth, decay and death also cease, sir ; and that is how the matter stands.

[Similar paragraphs for becoming, etc., down to ignorance.] [264] Good ; very good. You and I then agree in affirming that :—*This* not being so, *that* comes not about ; if *this* ceases, so does *that* ;—thus with the cessation of ignorance the plastic forces cease . . . (etc., for the successive links in the chain, down to) . . . cessation of all that makes up the sum of Ill.

Now, Almsmen, would you, knowing and seeing all this, [265] hark back to the past, wondering (i) whether you were, or whether you were not, in existence during bygone ages, (ii) what you were in those ages, (iii) how you fared then, and (iv) from what you passed on to what else ?

No, sir.

Or, would you, knowing and seeing all this, hark forward to the future, wondering (i) whether you will, or whether you will not, be in existence during the ages to come, (ii) what you will be in those ages, (iii) how you will fare then, and (iv) from what you will pass on to what else ?

No, sir.

Or, again, would you, knowing and seeing all this, be perplexed in the present about whether or not you exist, what and how you are, whence your being came, and whither it will go ?

No, sir.

Would you, knowing and seeing all this, say :—We revere our teacher, and it is because of our reverence for him that we affirm this ?

No, sir.

Would you, knowing and seeing all this, say :—Oh, we were told this by a recluse or recluses ; we do not affirm it ourselves ?

No, sir.

Would you, knowing and seeing all this, look out for another teacher ?

No, sir.

Would you, knowing and seeing all this, frequent

the ritual and shows and functions of the ordinary run of recluses and brahmins as being of the essence ?

No, sir.

Do you not affirm only what you have of yourselves known, seen, and discerned ?

Yes, sir.

Quite right, Almsmen. You have by me been introduced to this Doctrine, which is immediate in its gifts here and now, which is open to all, which is a guide Onwards, which can be mastered for himself by every intelligent man. All I have said was to bring out that this Doctrine was immediate in its gifts here and now, open to all, a guide Onwards to be mastered for himself by every intelligent man.

It is by the conjunction of three things that conception comes about. If there is coitus of parents but if that is not the mother's period and if there is no presiding deity of generation (*gandhabba*) present,—then [266] no conception takes place. Or if there be coitus of parents at the mother's period but with no presiding deity present,—again there is no conception. But if there be a conjunction of all three factors, then and only then does conception take place. For nine or ten months the mother carries the heavy burden of the foetus in her womb with great anxiety ; and with great anxiety does she at the end of her time bring forth her child. When it is born, she feeds it with her life-blood,—as a mother's milk is termed in the Rule of the Noble. As the boy grows and develops his faculties, he plays childish games—such as toy ploughs, tip-cat, head-over-heels, windmills, pannets, little carts, and toy bows.<sup>1</sup> As he grows older and as his faculties develop, pleasures of sense take hold and possession of him, visible shapes through the eye, sounds through the ear, and so on for odours, tastes, and touch,—all of them desirable, agreeable, pleasing and attractive. The sight of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. I, 6 and D.A. I, 86 for these (and other) games (Dial. I, 9-11).

shapes awakens a passion for attractive shapes and a repugnance to the unattractive; his life has no collectedness as regards the body, and mental poverty is his; he knows not that real Deliverance of heart and mind whereby evil and wrong states of consciousness cease. A prey thus to fascinations and to dislikes, he rejoices in, and welcomes, and cleaves to, every feeling—pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent—which he experiences, so that feelings bring delight; delight brings dependence; dependence conditions becoming; becoming conditions birth; birth conditions decay and death, with the distractions of grief, tribulation, and pain of body and mind.—This is the uprising of all that makes up the sum of Ill.

And as with visible shapes, so too . . . with sounds, odours, tastes, touch and mental objects.

[267] Take the case, Almsmen, that here in the world there appears a Truth-finder, Arahāt all-enlightened, . . . [268-9] . . . (*etc. as in Sutta 27, down to*) . . . right states of consciousness have purged his heart of all doubting.

[270] When he has put from him the Five Hindrances, those defilements of the heart which weaken a man's insight, then, divested of pleasures of sense and divested of wrong states of mind, he enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. And in succession he wins the Second, the Third, and the Fourth Ecstasies.

No shapes, or sounds, or odours, or tastes, or touch, or mental objects now awaken in him either likes or dislikes; he neither rejoices in, nor welcomes, nor cleaves to any feeling—pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent—which he experiences, so that feelings cease to delight him and consequently all dependence ceases and there ceases the whole succession of becoming, birth, decay, and death, with the distractions of grief, tribulation, and pain of body and mind.—This is the cessation of all that makes up the sum of Ill.

Treasure in your memories, Almsmen, this succinct account of Deliverance by the Extirpation of Craving,—and also Sāti, [271] the fisherman's son, fast in Craving's meshes and in the doom which Craving entails.

### XXXIX. MAHĀ-ASSAPURA-SUTTA.

#### THE IDEAL RECLUSE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in the Angas' country, where they have a township named Assapura, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—

Recluses ! Recluses !—that is the name by which people know you and by which you would describe yourselves, if asked who you were. Such being your vocation and profession as recluses, you must train yourselves to embrace and shew forth in your lives the states of consciousness which really make the recluse and brahmin—so as to prove your vocation true and your profession a reality, and to see to it that the charity you enjoy in the shape of clothing and food and other requisites enures to fruit and profit in yourselves, making your Pilgrimage not barren but fruitful unto its harvest.

What are the states of consciousness which really make the recluse and the brahmin ?—Train yourselves to be conscientious and scrupulous. It may be that, feeling yourselves to be conscientious and scrupulous, you may rest content in the idea that this is enough, that you have done enough, that you have realized the recluse's ideal, and that you have nothing still ahead of you to accomplish. But I say unto you, and rejoin, that in your quest for recluse-ship, you must not fall short of the recluse's ideal, while there is something still ahead.

What is ahead of you ?—You must train yourselves [272] in deed—in word—in thought—and in mode of livelihood—to be pure and frank and open, without flaw and without reserve, yet not so as to be puffed up



and to run down others. It may be that, feeling yourselves to be thus trained, as well as conscientious and scrupulous, you may rest content in the idea that each successive stage [273] is enough, that you have done enough, . . . something still ahead.

What is ahead?—You must train yourselves to guard the portals of the senses. When with the eye you see a visible shape, you must resolve not to be taken with its detailed marks and signs, since, uncontrolled, the eye might lead to appetite and distress, and to evil and wrong states of consciousness; your resolve will be to control the sense of sight, to keep watch and ward over it, and to bring the eye under control. . . . And similarly with all the other senses. . . . It may be that, with each fresh achievement in turn, you may rest content,—in the idea that each successive stage is enough, that you have done enough, . . . something still ahead.

What is ahead?—You must train yourselves to moderation in food, taking food with deliberate purposefulness, not for pleasure or delight, not for ostentation or display, but only to the extent required to support and maintain the body, to shield it from hurt, and to foster the higher life,—with the resolve on your part to destroy the old feelings and not to allow any new feelings to arise, to the end that the blameless lot may be yours and well-being. It may be that—feeling you are conscientious and scrupulous, pure in deed, word, thought and mode of livelihood, and moderate in food,—you may rest content in the idea that this is enough, that you have done enough . . . something still ahead.

What is ahead?—You must train yourselves to vigilance. Purge your hearts of besetting states of consciousness,—by day as you either pace to and fro or are seated,—in the first watch of the night [274] as you either pace to and fro or are seated; in the middle watch of the night as you lie couched lion-like on your right side, foot resting on foot, mindful and self-possessed, with your thoughts set on the appointed

time to get up ; or, again, during the last watch of the night when you have risen and either pace to and fro or are seated. It may be that—feeling you are conscientious and scrupulous, pure in deed, word, thought, and mode of livelihood, moderate in food, and resolute in vigilance—you may rest content in the idea that this is enough, that you have done enough . . . something still ahead.

What is ahead?—You must train yourselves to be mindful and self-possessed,—in going out or coming back, in looking ahead or around you, in stretching out your arm or in drawing it back, in wearing your robes or carrying your bowls, in eating or drinking, in chewing or savouring, in attending to nature's wants, in walking or standing or sitting, asleep or awake, in speech or in silence. It may be that—feeling you are conscientious and scrupulous, pure in deed, word, thought, and mode of livelihood, moderate in food, resolute in vigilance, and also mindful and alert—you may rest content in the idea that this is enough, that you have done enough, that you have realized the recluse's ideal, and that you have nothing still ahead of you to accomplish. But I say unto you, and rejoin, that, in your quest for recluse-ship, you must not fall short of the recluse's ideal, while there is something still ahead.

✓What is still ahead?—Take the case of an Almsman who chooses him a lonely lodging—in the forest under a tree, in the wilds in cave or grot, in a charnel-ground, in a thicket or on bracken in the open. When he is back from his round for alms, he seats himself, after his meal, cross-legged and with body erect, alert in mindfulness. Putting appetite from him, he lives without appetite for things of the world and purges his heart of appetite. Putting from him all malice, he lives without a thought of malice, [275] purging himself of malice by good-will and compassion for all that lives. All torpor has he put from him ; all torpor has gone out of his life ; by clarity of vision, mindfulness, and self-possession, he purges his heart of torpor.

Worry is his no longer, for he has put worry out of his life and his heart within is serene, with all worry purged away. Doubt he has shed and outgrown ; no question arises now as to what are right states of consciousness ; he has purged his heart of all doubt.

It is like a man who borrows money to start a business,—in which he is so successful that he can not only wipe out the original debt but have enough over to keep a wife. Reviewing his success, he would rejoice and be glad of heart.

Or, it is like a man who falls sick and becomes very ill and in grievous pain, taking no pleasure in his food, and with no strength left in his body ; but who subsequently gets over his illness, takes pleasure in his food and regains his strength. He too, reviewing his recovery, would rejoice and be glad of heart.

Or, it is like a man who is in bonds in prison but is subsequently set at liberty, safe and sound and unmulcted in estate. He too, reviewing his release from durance, would rejoice and be glad of heart.

Or, again, it is like a slave, not independent but dependent on a master, and with no liberty to go where he liked, who should subsequently be set free and become his own master with full liberty now to go wherever he liked. He too, reviewing his gain of freedom, would rejoice and be glad of heart. x

[276] Or, again, it is like a rich and wealthy man on a long journey through the wilds who should eventually emerge safe and sound, without loss of goods. He too, reviewing his safe passage, would rejoice and be glad of heart.

Just in the selfsame way an Almsman views the foregoing Five Hindrances, while they persist in him, as tantamount to the debt, the disease, the prison, the slavery, and the journey through the wilds. But, when he has put from him those Five Hindrances, he views them as tantamount to freedom from debt, disease, prison, slavery, and as tantamount to the traveller's bourne.

When he has put from him the Five Hindrances

which defile the heart and weaken insight, then, divested of pleasures of sense and of wrong states of consciousness, he enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. His very body does he so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse with the zest and satisfaction bred of aloofness, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused thereby. Just as an expert bath-attendant or his apprentice will sprinkle soap-powder on a metal slab and knead it up with the water which he keeps on sprinkling over it, until the whole of the soap-powder is one mass of lather, permeated by the lather both in and out, with not a trickle of moisture left;—in just the same way does the Almsman so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse his very body with the zest and satisfaction bred of aloofness, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused thereby.

Further, rising above observation and reflection, he enters on, and abides in, the Second Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction—a state bred of rapt concentration, above all observation and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. His very body does he so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse with the zest and satisfaction bred of rapt concentration, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused thereby. It is like a lake fed from below by a spring, [277] with no other influx of water from east or west or north or south, a lake on which the heavens should send no showers from time to time; yet from the spring below there would well up cool waters into the lake, so sluicing and drenching and permeating and suffusing that lake that there is no part of that lake which is not suffused thereby;—in just the same way does this Almsman so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse his very body with the zest and satisfaction bred of rapt concentration, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused thereby.

Further, by shedding the emotion of zest, he enters on, and abides in, the Third Ecstasy, with its poised equanimity, mindful and self-possessed, feeling in his frame that satisfaction of which the Noble say that poise and mindfulness bring abiding satisfaction. His very body does he so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse with satisfaction, without zest, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused by this satisfaction without zest. Just as in a pond of lotuses, blue or red or white, some lotuses of each kind are born and grow in the water, never rising above the surface but flourishing beneath it; and these from root to tip are so sluiced and drenched and permeated and suffused by the cool waters that there is not a lotus, blue or red or white, which is not suffused from root to tip by the cool waters:—in just the same way does the Almsman so sluice and drench and permeate and suffuse his very body with satisfaction without zest, that there is no part of his body which is not suffused thereby.

Further, by putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, he enters on, and abides in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that, knowing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, is the consummate purity of poised equanimity and mindfulness. His very body does he so suffuse with a heart made pure and clean that, as he sits, there is no single part of his body which is not suffused by his pure and clean heart. Just as if a man were sitting wrapped head and all in a garment of white, with not a single part [278] of his body not wrapped in it,—in just the same way does the Almsman so suffuse his very body with a heart made pure and clean that, as he sits, there is no single part of his body which is not suffused by his pure and clean heart.

With heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, . . . the Almsman . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4, down to*) . . . his divers existences of the past in all their details and features. Just as if a man who had passed from his own village to a second and thence to a third and finally back to his own village, might think how in

his absence from home he had visited these other villages and how in each he had stood, sat, spoken, been silent ;—in just the same way does the Almsman call to mind his former existences . . . his divers existences of the past in all their details and features.

That same stedfast heart he now applies . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4, down to*) . . . [279] in states of bliss and in heaven. Just as if there were two houses with doors and a man with eyes to see were to stand between those two houses and observe men going in and out and passing to and fro ;—in just the same way, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, does the Almsman see creatures in act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere, creatures either lowly or debonair, fair or foul to view, happy or unhappy ; and he is aware that they fare according to their deserts.

That same stedfast heart he next applies to knowledge of the eradication of Cankers . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4, down to*) . . . now for me there is no more of what I have been. Just as if on the heights there were a lake with clear pellucid waters as of crystal, and a man with eyes to see should espy from the bank where he was standing oysters and other shells, gravel and pebbles, together with shoals of fish swimming about or lying up ;—just as such a man would recognize all that was before his eyes, [280] in just the same manner does the Almsman comprehend, aright and to the full, Ill, the origin of Ill, . . . no more of what I have been.

Such an Almsman is styled (1) recluse, (2) brahmin, (3) washen (*nahātaka*), (4) versed (*vedagū*), (5) purged (*sottiyo*), (6) noble (*ariya*), and (7) saintly (*arahant*).

(i) How does an Almsman become a recluse ?—By excluding evil and wrong states of consciousness which are depraved and tend to re-birth, which are burthen-some and ripen unto Ill, and which will hereafter entail birth, decay, and death. That is how he becomes a recluse.

(ii) He becomes a brahmin by precluding evil and wrong states.

(iii) He becomes washen by washing away evil and wrong states.

(iv) He becomes versed by being versed in all about evil and wrong states.

(v) He becomes purged because he is purged of evil and wrong states.

(vi) He becomes noble, and (vii) saintly, because he keeps at bay evil and wrong states of consciousness which are depraved and tend to re-birth, which are burthensome and ripen unto Ill, and which will hereafter entail birth, decay, and death.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.



## XL. CŪLA-ASSAPURA-SUTTA.

### THE RECLUSE'S REGIMEN.

[281] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in the Angas' country, where they have a township named Assapura, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :

Recluses !—that is the name by which people know you and by which you would describe yourselves, if asked who you were. Such being your vocation and profession as recluses, you must train yourselves to embrace and shew forth in your lives the recluse's path of duty, so as to prove your vocation true and your profession a reality, and to see to it that the charity you enjoy in the shape of clothing and food and other requisites enures to fruit and profit in yourselves, making your Pilgrimage not barren but fruitful unto its harvest.

How does an Almsman not tread the recluse's path of duty ?—The Almsman who is greedy and has not put greed from him, or who is malicious of heart and has not put malice from him, or who is wrathful and has not put wrath from him, or who is revengeful and has not put revenge from him, or who is a hypocrite and has not put hypocrisy from him, or is fraudulent and has not put fraud from him, or who is jealous and has not put jealousy from him, or who is a niggard and has not put niggardliness from him, or who is treacherous and has not put treachery from him, or who is deceitful and has not put deceit from him, or whose desires are evil nor has he put evil desires from him, or who is wrong in his outlook and has not put wrong outlooks from him,—of such an Almsman I say that he fails to tread the recluse's path of duty, because

he has not put from him these dispositions which are blots and blemishes and defects in a recluse, leading to woe hereafter and to a doom of pain. It is just as if, hidden away and concealed beneath his robes, the Brother had got a deadly stiletto, two-edged and whetted keen;—unto this do I liken that Almsman's Pilgrimage.

I say it is not the robe which makes the recluse, nor nakedness, nor dust and dirt, nor bathing thrice a day, nor living under a tree, [282] nor living in the open, nor never sitting down, nor punctilio in regimen, nor intoning texts, nor a shock head of matted hair. If the mere wearing of the robe could banish greed, malice, and so forth, then, as soon as a child was born, his friends and kinsfolk would make him wear the robe and would press him to wear it, saying:—Come, thou favoured of fortune! Come, wear the robe; for, by the mere wearing of it, the greedy will put from them their greed, the malicious their malice, . . . and those of wrong outlook will put from them their wrong outlook.—It is because I see robe-wearers who are greedy and malicious . . . and wrong in their outlook, that I say the mere wearing of the robe does not make the recluse.

[Similar paragraphs about nakedness, dust and dirt . . . shock head of matted hair.]

[288] How, on the other hand, does an Almsman tread the recluse's path of duty?—The Almsman who is not greedy but has put greed from him, who is not malicious but has put malice from him . . . who is not wrong in outlook but has put wrong outlooks from him,—of such an Almsman I say that he succeeds in treading the recluse's path of duty, because he has put from him those dispositions which are blots and blemishes and defects in a recluse, leading to woe hereafter and a doom of pain. Such an Almsman realizes that he is cleansed and Delivered from all those evil and wrong states of consciousness; when he realizes this, there is bred in him gladness of heart, which in turn breeds zest, which brings tranquillity to

the body, which inspires those feelings of satisfaction whereby the heart wins rapt concentration. He dwells with radiant thoughts of good-will pervading first one quarter of the world—then the second—then the third—and then the fourth quarter ; he dwells with radiant good-will pervading the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, and everywhere,—with radiant good-will all-embracing, vast, boundless, wherein no hate or malice finds a place. And as with good-will, so, in turn, with radiant compassion, sympathy, and poised equanimity, does he pervade the whole length and breadth of the world. It is just as if there were a lake of clear bright water, limpid, easy to get down to, and in every way delightful ; [284] and as if from the east—or the west—or from the north—or from the south—there should come a man overcome and overpowered with the blazing heat of summer, exhausted and beside himself with thirst, who should quench in that lake's waters the thirst and the fever which parched his frame ;—just in the same way, if a noble—or a brahmin—or a middle-class man—or a peasant—leaving his home for homelessness as a Pilgrim and coming to the Doctrine and Rule preached by the Truth-finder, so develops good-will, compassion, sympathy and poised equanimity as to win inward peace, then, by reason of his winning such inward peace, he—say I—treads the recluse's path of duty.

If a noble—or a brahmin—or a middle-class man—or a peasant—leaves home for homelessness as a Pilgrim and if he, by extirpating the Cankers, enters on, and abides in, that Deliverance of heart and mind, from Cankers free, which he has of and for himself discerned and realized here and now,—then he becomes a recluse by the extirpation of the Cankers.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLI. SĀLEYVAKA-SUTTA.

## OUR WEIRD.

[285] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was on an alms-pilgrimage in Kosala, with a great train of Almsmen, he came to a brahmin village of the Kosalans named Sālā.

It came to the ears of the brahmin heads of families in Sālā that the recluse Gotama, a Sakyan who had gone forth as a Pilgrim from a Sakyan family, had come to their village in the course of an alms-pilgrimage in Kosala, with a great train of Almsmen. Such, they heard, was the high repute noised abroad concerning the reverend Gotama that he was said to be—The Lord, Arahāt all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment. This universe—with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind—, all this he has discerned and realized for himself and makes known to others. He preaches a Doctrine, which is so fair in its outset, its middle, and its close, with both text and import; he propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure. It is good to go and visit Arahats like him. So the brahmins of Sālā went to the Lord and, after exchanging civil greetings, took their seats to one side,—some after salutations, some after greetings, some with joined palms respectfully outstretched, some after mention of their names and family, and others again in silence. Being seated, they put this question to the Lord:—Why and wherefore is it that, after death, at the body's dissolution, some creatures come to re-birth in states of suffering or woe or purgatory, while others are reborn in some happy state or heaven?

Because, householders, they walk not in righteousness but in wickedness, some creatures pass to states of suffering; others because they walk in righteousness and in goodness, are reborn in happy states in heaven.

[286] This utterance is too condensed for us to take it in without explanation. Would the reverend Gotama be so good as to expand his utterance and bring out its meaning for us?

Listen then, sirs, and pay attention; I will speak.

So to the attentive brahmins the Lord began:—There are three forms of unrighteousness and wickedness for the body; four for speech; and three for thoughts.

As regards bodily unrighteousness, a man (i) may take life,—as a hunter with hands bathed in blood, given to killing and slaying, merciless to living creatures; or (ii) may take what is not his,—by appropriating to himself in thievish fashion the belongings of other people in village and jungle; or (iii) may be a fornicator, having intercourse with girls under the charge of mother or father or brother or sister or relations, yes, with girls affianced and plighted, and even wearing the very garlands of betrothal.

As regards unrighteousness of speech, a man (i) may be a liar;—when cited to give testimony before assembly or village-meeting or family council or royal household or his guild, he may say that he knows when he does not know, or that he does not know when he does know, or that he saw when he did not see, or that he did not see when he did see,—deliberately lying in the interests either of himself or of other people or for some trifling gain. Or (ii) he may be a slanderer;—repeating here what he has heard elsewhere so as to set one set of people by the ears, and repeating elsewhere what he has heard here so as to set another set of people by the ears; he is a dissolver of harmony and a fomentor of strife; discord prompts his utterances, discord being his pleasure, his

joy, and his delight. Or (iii) he may be bitter of tongue ;—what he says is rough and harsh, hurtful and wounding to others, provocative of anger, and leading to distraction. [287] Or (iv) he may be a tattler,—talking out of season, without heed to fact, always talking of the unprofitable, never of the Doctrine, never of the Rule, but ever of the trivial, of the ill-timed, of the frivolous, of things leading nowhere, and unprofitable.

As regards unrighteousness of thought, a man (i) may be covetous, coveting other people's gear with the yearning that it were all his own. Or (ii) he may be malevolent and wicked of heart,—wishing that creatures around him might be killed, destroyed, annihilated, or cease to be. Or (iii) he may be wrong in outlook and erroneous in his conceptions,—holding that there are no such things as alms or sacrifice or oblations, that there is no such thing as the fruit and harvest of deeds good and bad, that there is no such thing as this world or any other, that there are no such things as either parents or translation elsewhere, that there are no such things in the world as recluses and brahmins who, having trodden the right path and walked aright, have, of and by themselves, comprehended and realized this and other worlds and made it all known to others too.

Yes, it is because some creatures walk thus not in righteousness but in wickedness that they pass after death at the body's dissolution to re-birth in states of suffering or woe or purgatory.

Contrariwise, there are three forms of righteousness and goodness for the body ; four for speech ; and three for thoughts.

As regards bodily righteousness, a man (i) puts from him all killing and abstains from killing anything ; laying aside cudgel and sword, he lives a life of innocence and mercy, full of kindness and compassion for everything that lives. (ii) Theft he puts from him and eschews ; taking from others only what is given to him by them, he lives an honest life. (iii) Putting

from him all sensual misconduct, he abstains from fornication ; he has no intercourse with girls under the charge of mother or father or brother or sister or relations, no intercourse with girls affianced and plighted and with the garlands of betrothal upon them.

[288] As regards righteousness in speech, (i) a man puts lying from him and abstains from lies ; when cited to give testimony before assembly or village-meeting or family council or royal household or his guild he says that he does not know when he does not, and that he does know when he does, says that he did not see when he did not see and that he saw when he did see, —never deliberately lying in the interests of himself or of other people or for some trifling gain. (ii) All slander he puts from him and from slandering he abstains ; what he hears here he does not repeat elsewhere so as to set one set of people by the ears, nor does he repeat here what he hears elsewhere so as to set another set of people by the ears ; he is a promoter of harmony and a restorer of amity, for concord is his pleasure, his joy, and his delight. (iii) There is no bitterness in his tongue and he abstains from bitter speech ; what he says is without gall, pleasant, friendly, hearty, urbane, agreeable, and welcome to all. (iv) No tattler, he abstains from tattle, speaking in season, according to fact, always of the profitable, of the Doctrine and Rule, in speech which is seasonable and memorable, illuminating, well-marshalled, and of great profit.

As regards righteousness in thoughts, (i) a man is devoid of covetousness, never coveting other people's gear with the yearning that it were all his own. (ii) He harbours no malevolence or wickedness of thought ; his wish is that creatures around him may live on in peace and happiness, safe from all enmity and oppression. (iii) He is right in outlook and correct in his conceptions ; he affirms that there are indeed such things as alms, sacrifice, and oblations,—as the fruit and harvest of deeds good and bad,—as this and other



worlds,—as parents and translation elsewhere—as recluses and brahmins who, having trodden the right path and walked aright, have, of and by themselves, comprehended and realized this and other worlds and made it all known to others too.

It is because some creatures walk thus in righteousness and goodness that they pass after death at the body's dissolution to re-birth in some happy state in heaven.

[289] If the desire of a righteous and good man be to be reborn after death at the body's dissolution as a great noble, this may very well come to pass,—because of his righteousness and goodness here. Or, if such be his desire, he might become a magnate among brahmins or heads of houses,—because of his righteousness and goodness here. Or, again, if such be his desire, he might be reborn among the Four Regents, or the Thirty-three gods, or the Yāmas, or the Tusitas, or the Nimmānaratis, or the Paranimmita-vasavattis, the Corporeal Brahmās, the Ābhās, the Paritt-ābhās, the Appamāṇa-subhas, the Subha-kiṇṇas, the Vehapphalas, the Āvihas, the Atappas, the Sudassas, the Sudassis, the Akaṇiṭṭhas, the gods of Infinity of Space, the gods of Infinity of Mind, the gods of the Realm of Naught, the gods of the Realm of Neither Perception nor Non-perception. Or, again, if it be the righteous and good man's desire, by extirpating the Cankers, here and now to enter on, and abide in, Deliverance of heart and mind where no Cankers are, a Deliverance which he, of and by himself, has comprehended and realized,—then it may well be that to such Deliverance he will come; and all because of his righteousness and goodness here.

[290] At the close of this discourse, the brahmin householders of Sālā said to the Lord:—Excellent, Gotama; most excellent! It is just as if a man should set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness, so that those with eyes to see might

discern the things about them;—even so, in many a figure, has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear. We come to him as our refuge, and to his Doctrine, and to his Confraternity. We ask the reverend Gotama to accept us as followers who have found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

## XLII. VERAÑJAKA-SUTTA.

### OUR WEIRD.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, there were brahmins from Verañja who were stopping in Sāvattthī on some business or other; and it came to their ears that the recluse Gotama, a Sakyan who had gone forth as a Pilgrim . . . [291] (*etc., as in the foregoing Sutta, to the end*).

## XLIII. MAHĀ-VEDALLA-SUTTA.

### THE LONG MISCELLANY.

[292] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, the reverend Mahā-Koṭṭhita, rising up at eventide from his meditations, went to the reverend Sāriputta and, after greetings, took his seat to one side and spoke thus :—We speak of a man as lacking understanding. Now, in what respects does he lack understanding?

It is because he does not understand, that he is said to lack understanding.—He does not understand what Ill is, or its origin, or its cessation, or the way that leads to its cessation. That is why he is said to lack

understanding,—because he does not understand these things.

With an expression of his grateful thanks to Sāriputta, Mahā-Koṭṭhita put this further question :—We speak of a man as having understanding (*paññā*). Now, in what respects has he got understanding?

It is because he understands, that he is said to have got understanding.—He understands what Ill is, and its origin, and its cessation, and the way that leads to its cessation. That is why he is said to have got understanding,—because he understands these things.

We speak of consciousness (*viññāṇa*). Why is it so called?

It is because he is conscious, that we speak of consciousness.—He is conscious that a thing is pleasant, or unpleasant, or neither. It is because he is conscious, that consciousness is so called.

Are understanding and consciousness associated or dissociated? Can a differentia between the two states be shewn by persistent analysis?

They are associated, not dissociated; a differentia between them cannot be shewn by persistent analysis. For, what a man understands, he is conscious of; and what he is conscious of, he understands. [298] Therefore these two states are associated, not dissociated; analysis cannot shew their differentia.

What is the differentia?

In understanding we have to develop; in consciousness we have to apprehend;—that is what differentiates them.

We speak of feeling.—In what sense?

A man feels and therefore it is called feeling,—of the pleasant or unpleasant or indifferent.

We speak of perception.—In what sense?

He perceives and therefore it is called perception,—of blue, or yellow, or red, or white.

Are feeling, perception, and consciousness associated or dissociated? Can a differentia between these states be shewn by persistent analysis?

They are associated, not dissociated ; a differentia between them cannot be shewn by persistent analysis. What is felt is perceived, and there is consciousness of what is perceived ; consequently these states are associated, not dissociated ; analysis cannot shew their differentia.

What is knowable by pure mental consciousness (*mano-viññāṇa*), isolated from the five faculties of bodily sense ?

The ideas of Infinity of Space, of Infinity of Mind, and of the Realm of Naught, are knowable by pure mental consciousness, isolated from the five faculties of bodily sense.

By what are these knowable ideas known ?

By the eye of understanding (*paññā-cakkhu*).

What does understanding promote ?

The higher and precise knowledges and Renunciation.

[294] How many conditions are required to create a right outlook ?

Two, — instruction imparted, and systematized thought.

How many factors help a right outlook to win the fruit, and the guerdon of the fruit, of Deliverance alike of heart and mind ?

Five, — virtue, study, converse, tranquillization, and discernment.

How many types of re-birth are there ?

Three, — sensuous, corporeal, and incorporeal.

How does re-birth come to pass hereafter in a subsequent existence ?

By creatures — hampered by ignorance and clogged by cravings — revelling now in this object, now in that.

And how does re-birth not come to pass ?

By the disappearance of the passion that Ignorance brings, by the uprising of knowledge, and by the cessation of cravings.

What is the First Ecstasy ?

When, divested of pleasures of sense, divested of wrong states of mind, an Almsman enters on, and abides

in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection,—that is called the First Ecstasy.

How many factors are there in it ?

Five,—observation, reflection, zest, satisfaction, and a focussed heart.

How many factors has the First Ecstasy put from it, and how many does it retain ?

Five of each. Gone are lusts, malevolence, torpor, worry, [295] and doubt. Observation, reflection, zest, satisfaction, and a focussed heart persist.

Take the five senses of sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch,—each with its own particular province and range of function separate and mutually distinct. What ultimate base have they ? Who enjoys all their five provinces and ranges ?

Mind (mano).<sup>1</sup>

On what do these five faculties of sense depend ?

On vitality.

On what does vitality depend ?

On heat.

On what does heat depend ?

On vitality.

You say that vitality depends on heat ; you say that heat depends on vitality. What precisely is the meaning to be attached to this ?

I will give you an illustration ; an illustration often-times serves to bring home the meaning of a remark to persons of intelligence. Just as in the case of a lighted lamp the light reveals the flame and the flame the light,—so vitality depends on heat and heat on vitality.

Now, as to plastic forces of vitality,—are they simply objects of sense ? Or are they different from them ?

They are not sensible objects. [296] Were they sensible, then the emergence of an Almsman who had

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<sup>1</sup> See hereon Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 68-73.

passed into trance without perception and without feeling, could never be witnessed ; it can be witnessed just because the plastic forces of vitality are different from sensible objects.

How many things must quit the body before it is flung aside and cast away like a senseless log ?

Three,—vitality, heat, and consciousness.

What is the difference between a lifeless corpse and an Almsman in trance, in whom perception and feeling are stilled ?

In the corpse not only are the plastic forces of the body and speech and mind<sup>1</sup> stilled and quiescent but also vitality is exhausted, heat is quenched, and the faculties of sense broken up ;—whereas in the Almsman in trance vitality persists, heat abides, and the faculties are clear, although respiration, observation and perception are stilled and quiescent.

How many conditions are needed to produce that ecstatic state of the heart's Deliverance wherein there is neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction ?

Four.—By putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that, knowing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, is the consummate purity of poised equanimity and mindfulness.

How many conditions are needed for that ecstatic state of the heart's Deliverance which is void of phenomenal relations ?

Two,—(1) Keeping the mind off all that is phenomenal, and (2) fixing it on what is not phenomenal.

How many conditions make this Deliverance persist ?

Three,—[297] (1) Keeping the mind off all that is phenomenal, (2) fixing it on what is not phenomenal, and (3) precedent preparation.

How many conditions are needed for emerging from this Deliverance ?

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<sup>1</sup> Defined in the next Sutta as respiration, etc.

Two,—(1) fixing the mind on the phenomenal and (2) keeping the mind off the non-phenomenal.

As touching those Deliverances of the heart which are boundless (*appamāṇa*), Naught (*ākiñcañña*), emptied (*suññata*), and non-phenomenal (*animitta*),—do all these states of consciousness differ both in connotation and in denotation, or are they identical in connotation while differing in denotation?

In one sense their connotation is different, in another sense identical.

In what sense do these four states of consciousness differ in connotation as well as in denotation?

It is called boundless Deliverance of heart when an Almsman dwells with radiant good-will pervading first one quarter of the world—then the second—then the third—and then the fourth quarter; when he dwells with radiant good-will pervading the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, and everywhere, with radiant good-will all-embracing, vast, boundless, wherein no hate or malice finds a place. And as with good-will, so, in turn, with radiant compassion, and sympathy, and poised equanimity does he pervade the whole length and breadth of the world.

It is called Naught Deliverance when, wholly transcending the realm of consciousness, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Realm of Naught.

It is called emptied Deliverance when, in the wilds or under a tree or in an empty dwelling, he reflects that Emptiness is here,—no Self nor anything appertaining to a Self.

[298] It is called non-phenomenal Deliverance when by keeping his mind off all that is phenomenal, an Almsman enters on, and dwells in, the serenity of heart which is beyond the phenomenal.

The foregoing is the sense in which both the connotation and the denotation of these several Deliverances differ from one another. In what sense, now, is their connotation identical while their denotation differs?

It is passion, it is malevolence, it is illusion, which



impose bounds ; in the Arahāt who has extirpated the Cankers these three have been put away, have been grubbed and stubbed, like the bare cleared site where once a palm-tree grew,—they have been and now can be no more. In so far as boundless Deliverances are sure, the Deliverance they bring is unsurpassed,—sure because empty of passion, of malevolence, and of illusion.

It is passion, it is malevolence, it is illusion, which harbour aught which clogs ; in the Arahāt who . . . be no more. In so far as Naught Deliverances are sure . . . and of illusion.

It is passion, it is malevolence, it is illusion, which create the phenomenal ; in the Arahāt . . . be no more. In so far as non-phenomenal Deliverances are sure, the Deliverance they bring is unsurpassed,—sure because void of passion, of malevolence, and of illusion.

This is the sense in which these several Deliverances are identical in their connotation, while differing in denotation.

Thus spoke the reverend Sāriputta. Glad at heart, the reverend Mahā-Koṭṭhita rejoiced in what the reverend Sāriputta had said.

#### XLIV. CŪḶA-VEDALLA-SUTTA.

##### THE SHORT MISCELLANY.

[299] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove where the squirrels were fed, the lay-disciple Visākha came to the Almswoman Dhammadinnā<sup>1</sup>—and after salutations took his seat to one side, saying :—As regards what is known as personality (*sakkāya*), madam, how has the Lord described its nature ?

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<sup>1</sup> They had been husband and wife before his conversion, which was followed by hers. For her story see *Psalm of the Sisters*, p. 16.

He has described it, sir, as the Five Attachments to existence,—namely, visible shape, feeling, perception, plastic forces, and consciousness.

After thanking her, Visākha put to her this further question :—And what, madam, does the Lord say of the origin of personality ?

He says, sir, that the origin of personality is from cravings,—craving for pleasures of sense, craving for continued existence, craving for annihilation,—all entailing re-birth, all imbued with passion's delights, all seeking pleasure here or there.

And what, madam, does the Lord say of the cessation of personality ?

He says, sir, that its cessation is the complete and passionless cessation of just this selfsame craving,—its discarding, its abandonment, its dismissal, and its ejection.

And what does he say about the way that leads to such cessation of personality ?

He says, sir, that the way is the Noble Eightfold Path,—namely, right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right rapture of concentration.

Does attachment consist of just the Five Attachments you have particularized, madam ? Or is there attachment apart from them ?

Attachment, sir, does not consist solely of those five ; [300] nor yet is there attachment wholly apart from them ;—the desire and passion that dwells in the Five Attachments is attachment.

How, madam, does the personality theory arise ?

Take, sir, the case of an uninstructed everyday man, who has no regard for the Noble and is unversed and untrained in their Doctrine, and who pays no regard to the Excellent and is unversed and untrained in their Doctrine ;—he views material Form as Self, or Self as having Form, or Form as in Self, or Self as in Form. And these views concerning Form he extends equally to feelings, perceptions, the plastic forces, and consciousness.—That is how the personality theory arises.

And how, madam, does the personality theory not arise?

Take, sir, the case of an instructed disciple who has got regard for the Noble and is versed and trained in their Doctrine, and who has got regard for the Excellent and is versed and trained in their Doctrine;—he does not view material Form as Self, or Self as having Form, or Form as in Self, or Self as in Form; nor does he so view feelings, perceptions, and the like.—That is how the personality theory does not arise.

What, madam, is the Noble Eightfold Path?

Just this, sir,—right outlook, right aims, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right rapture of concentration.

Is the Noble Eightfold Path create or uncreate?

It is create.

[301] Are three groups included in the Noble Eightfold Path, or is the Path included in the groups?

They are not included in it; it is included in them. Right speech, right action, and right means of livelihood are included in the virtue-group; right effort, right mindfulness, and right rapture of concentration are included in the concentration-group; while right outlook and right aims are included in the knowledge-group.

What is rapt concentration? What are its phenomena? What are its requisites? What cultivates it?

Rapt concentration is the focussing of the heart; its phenomena are the fourfold mustering of mindfulness; its requisites are the four right exertions; and the practice and cultivation and increase of these states of consciousness cultivate rapt concentration.

How many plastic forces are there?

Three,—those of the body, of speech, and of the mind.

What are these, severally?

Respiration in the case of the body, observation and reflection for speech, and for the mind perception and feeling.

How is this, in each of the three cases?

Respiration is a bodily thing bound up with the body and therefore is the plastic force for the body. It is because observation and reflection precede subsequent utterance that they are the plastic forces of speech. Perception and feeling are mental things bound up with the mind and therefore are the plastic forces of the mind.

How comes the ecstatic state wherein perception and feeling cease?

It is not while an Almsman is passing into this ecstatic state that the thought comes to him that he will pass into it, or that he is passing into it, or that he has passed into it. No; ere that, he has so cultivated his mind that it leads him to this result.

While he is [802] passing into this ecstatic state, what plastic forces cease first,—those of the body or of speech or of mind?

Those of speech first, then those of the body, and lastly those of the mind.

How does he emerge from this ecstatic state?

It is not while he is emerging therefrom that the thought comes to him that he will emerge, or is emerging, or has emerged from this ecstatic state. No; ere that, he has so cultivated his mind that it leads him to this result.

While he is so emerging, what plastic forces revive first?

Those of the mind first, then those of the body, and lastly those of speech.

When he has emerged from this ecstatic state, how many Contacts affect him?

Three,—the emptied, the non-characterized, and the unsought (appanīhita).

When he has emerged, towards what is the inclination, bent and trend of his mind?

Towards inward aloofness.

How many kinds of feelings are there?

Three,—pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral.

What are they, respectively?

Whatever either mind or body has felt as pleasant

and agreeable, is a pleasant feeling ; whatever either mind or body has felt as unpleasant and disagreeable, is an unpleasant feeling ; and whatever either mind or body has felt as neither pleasant nor unpleasant, neither agreeable nor disagreeable, is [808] neutral feeling.

What kind of pleasantness or unpleasantness is there in each of the three ?

A pleasant feeling is pleasant while it lasts and unpleasant when it passes. An unpleasant feeling is unpleasant while it lasts and pleasant when it passes. A neutral feeling is pleasant if comprehended, unpleasant if not comprehended.

What propensity lurks in each of the three kinds of feeling ?

Passion in pleasant feelings, repugnance in unpleasant feelings, and ignorance in neutral feelings.

Do these several propensities always lurk in every instance of their respective feelings ?

No.

In these several feelings, what should be shed, respectively ?

In pleasant feelings, the propensity to passion ; in unpleasant feelings, the propensity to repugnance ; and in neutral feelings, the propensity to ignorance.

Have these several propensities always to be shed in every instance of their respective feelings ?

Not in every instance. Take the case of an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense and divested of wrong states of consciousness, has entered on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Thereby he sheds passion ; and here there exists no lurking propensity to passion. When, oh when, asks he of himself, shall I enter on, and abide in, that region where the Noble<sup>1</sup> are even now abiding ? He develops such a yearning for utter Deliverance [804] that by reason thereof he is distressed. Thereby he

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. Arahats. See p. 1, n. 1

sheds repugnance ; and here there exists no lurking propensity to repugnance. Or, take the case of an Almsman who, by putting from him both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and by shedding the joys and sorrows he used to feel, has entered on, and abides in, the Fourth Ecstasy,—the state that, knowing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, is the consummate purity of poised equanimity and mindfulness. Thereby he sheds ignorance ; and here there exists no lurking propensity to ignorance.

What is the counterpart to pleasant feelings ?

Unpleasant feelings.

What is the counterpart to unpleasant feelings ?

Pleasant feelings.

What is the counterpart to neutral feelings ?

Ignorance.

What is the counterpart to ignorance ?

Knowledge.

What is the counterpart to knowledge ?

Deliverance.

What is the counterpart to Deliverance ?

Nirvana.

What is the counterpart to Nirvana, madam ?

You push your question too far, sir ; you can never get to an end of your questionings. For, in Nirvana the higher life merges to find its goal and its consummation.—If you so desire, sir, seek out the Lord and ask him, treasuring up the answer he gives.

With grateful thanks to the Almswoman Dhamma-dinnā, Visākha, the lay-disciple, rose up, took his leave of her with salutations and profound homage. Coming to the Lord and taking his seat to one side after due salutation, he related the whole of the talk he had had with the Almswoman Dhammadinnā. Hereupon, the Lord said to him :—Learning and great knowledge dwell in Dhammadinnā. Had you asked me, I should make answer precisely [805] as she did. Her answer was correct, and you should treasure it up accordingly.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, Visākha, the lay-disciple, rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLV. CŪḶA-DHAMMA-SAMĀDĀNA-SUTTA

## ON LIVING UP TO PROFESSIONS—I.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasaunce, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—

There are four ways to profess a Doctrine. The first is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter ; the second is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter ; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter ; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

As touching the first of the four, there are some recluses and brahmins who maintain and hold that—There is nothing wrong in pleasures of sense. So they give way to indulgence in pleasures of sense ; they disport themselves with top-knotted girl-Wanderers ;<sup>1</sup> and they say :—Why is it that recluses and brahmins, detecting future peril from pleasures of sense, call on people to eschew them, and insist on their real nature ? Pleasant are the tender, young, downy arms of my girl-Wanderer ! So they give way to indulgence in pleasures of sense, with the result that, after death at the body's dissolution, they pass to states of woe and suffering or to purgatory, where they experience anguish and torment. Here they realize why recluses and brahmins, detecting future peril from pleasures of sense, called on people to eschew them, and insisted on their real nature ! For, here they find themselves [806] experiencing feelings of anguish and torment,—solely because, and by reason, of these pleasures of sense.

It is just as if, in the last month of the hot season of

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<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Bu., these were non-buddhist ' ascetic (tāpasa) women-paribbājikās who tied up their hair like the top-knot ' (of brahmin ascetics).



the year, a creeper's seed-pod should burst open and one of the seeds should fall at the foot of a sāl-tree,—to the great alarm and consternation of the deity residing in the tree ; and just as if that deity's friends and kinsfolk—deities resident in pleasaunce and grove, in trees and medicinal herbs and woodlands—should gather together and assemble to allay that deity's alarm with cheerful hopes that no doubt the creeper's seed would be pecked up by a peacock, or munched by a deer, or consumed by a forest fire, or be taken away by woodmen, or eaten by white ants,—or perhaps might never germinate. Suppose now that none of these things happened to that seed, and suppose that it did germinate, and that the monsoon made it grow apace, so that a creeper sprouted—tender, young, downy, and clinging—which fastened on to that sāl-tree. Why, the resident deity might then think, did my friends and kinsfolk assemble to allay my alarm with cheerful . . . might never germinate ? Pleasant indeed are the embraces of this tender, young, downy, and clinging creeper ! Suppose now that creeper should enfold the tree, growing into a canopy over the top and into a dense growth beneath, till it had strangled every mighty branch and stem. Well might that deity then think that this was what prompted his friends and kinsfolk to assemble to allay his alarm with their cheerful hopes that . . . [807] might never germinate. For, here the tree would find itself experiencing anguish and torment, all because of that creeper's seed.

It is just the same with those recluses and brahmins who maintain and hold . . . because and by reason of these pleasures of sense.—This is the first way of professing a Doctrine,—the way which is pleasant for the time being but ripens unto Ill thereafter.

As touching the second way of professing a Doctrine, the way which is unpleasant both now and hereafter, take the case of a devotee, naked, flouting the decencies of life . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 12*) . . . [808] down to the water punctually thrice before night-

fall to wash (away the evil within). After this wise, in divers fashions, does the devotee live to torment and to torture his body ; and after death at the body's dissolution he passes to states of woe and suffering or to purgatory, where he experiences anguish and torment.—This is the second way of professing a Doctrine, the way which is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter.

As touching the third way, take the case of a man by nature prone to passion—to wrath—to delusion—, who time after time suffers the pains of body and mind which each of these three things continually breeds, but yet—albeit with pain of body and mind, albeit with tears and wailing—lives the higher life in all its consummate purity. Such a man, after death, at the body's dissolution, passes to a happy state in heaven.—This is the third way of professing a Doctrine, the way which is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

Lastly, take a man who is by nature not prone to passion or wrath or delusion and who suffers therefrom no pains of body or mind, [309] but, divested of pleasures of sense, and divested of wrong states of consciousness, enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy . . . (*etc., as in Sutta 4*) . . . the Fourth Ecstasy, the state that, knowing neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, is the consummate purity of poised equanimity and mindfulness. Such a man, after death, at the body's dissolution, passes to a happy state in heaven.—This is the fourth way of professing a Doctrine, the way which is both pleasant for the time being and ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

These, Brethren, are the four ways to profess a Doctrine.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLVI. MAHĀ-DHAMMA-SAMĀDĀNA-SUTTA.

### ON LIVING UP TO PROFESSIONS—II.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—

In general, people's wishes and desires and aims are for a decrease in what is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant, and for an increase in what is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant. In people with such aims that which is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant waxes apace, while that which is desirable, agreeable and pleasant wanes.—What do you take to be the cause of this ?

[810] The Lord is the root and the guide and the basis of all our ideas. We beg that the Lord may be moved to expound the meaning of his utterance, so that we may treasure up what we hear from him.

Then listen and pay attention, and I will speak, said the Lord, who then went on to address the listening Almsmen as follows :—

Take the case of an uninstructed everyday man, who takes no count of the Noble and is unversed and untrained in Noble doctrine ; who takes no count of the Excellent and is unversed and untrained in Excellent doctrine ;—such a one does not know what to cultivate and what not to cultivate ; he does not know what to foster and what not to foster ; he cultivates and fosters what he should not, and fails to cultivate and foster what he ought to cultivate and foster,—with the result that, within him, that which is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant waxes apace, while that which is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant

wanes. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends not.

Take now an instructed disciple of the Noble, who does take count of the Noble and is trained and versed in Noble doctrine, who does take count of the Excellent and is trained and versed in Excellent doctrine;—such a one knows what to cultivate and what not to cultivate; he knows what to foster and what not to foster; and so he does not cultivate and foster what he should not, but cultivates and fosters what he ought to cultivate and foster,—with the result that, within him, that which is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant wanes, while that which is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant waxes apace. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends.

There are four ways of professing a Doctrine. The first is unpleasant for the time being and also ripens to pain thereafter; [811] the second is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter; and the fourth both is pleasant for the time being and also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

In the first case, a man knows it not, has no knowledge of it, and fails to discern its real nature as unpleasant for the time being and ripening to pain thereafter; he cultivates it, and does not shun it. The result is that what is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant waxes apace, while what is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant wanes. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends not.

[And the like is the case too with regard to the second profession, where what is pleasant for the time being ripens to pain thereafter.] And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends not.

In the third case, the man knows it not, has no knowledge of it, and fails to discern its real nature as unpleasant for the time being but ripening to be pleasant thereafter; he does not cultivate it but shuns it. The result is that what is undesirable, disagreeable, and

unpleasant waxes apace, while what is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant wanes. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends not.

[And the like happens with regard to the fourth profession, where what is pleasant for the time being also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.] [312] And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends not.

To return to the first profession. If a man knows it, has knowledge of it, and discerns its real nature as being unpleasant for the time being and ripening to pain thereafter; and if he accordingly does not cultivate it but shuns it;—the result is that what is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant waxes apace, while what is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant wanes. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends.

[And the foregoing is the case too with regard to the second profession, where what is pleasant for the time being ripens to pain thereafter.] And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends.

As regards the third profession, if a man knows it, has knowledge of it, and discerns its real nature as being unpleasant for the time being but ripening to be pleasant thereafter; and if he cultivates it and does not shun it;—the result is that what is desirable, agreeable, and pleasant waxes apace, while what is undesirable, disagreeable, and unpleasant wanes. And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends.

[And the foregoing is the case too with regard to the fourth profession, where what is pleasant for the time being also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.] And why?—Because this is what happens to one who comprehends.

[313] What is the nature of the first profession?—Take the case of a man who, to the accompaniment of pain alike of body and of mind, slays, and, as a consequence of slaying, experiences pain alike of body and of mind; or who steals—or fornicates—or lies—or slanders—or reviles—or tattles—or covets—or is

malignant of heart—or who, to the accompaniment of pain alike of body and of mind, has a wrong outlook, and, as a consequence of his wrong outlook, experiences pain alike of body and mind. Such a man, after death at the body's dissolution, passes to a state of woe and misery or to purgatory.—Such is what is called the profession of the Doctrine which is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter.

What is the nature of the second profession?—Take the case of a man who, to the accompaniment of pleasure alike of body and of mind, slays, and, as a consequence of his slaughter, experiences pleasure alike of body and mind; or who steals . . . (etc., as in the preceding paragraph) . . . [314] purgatory.—Such is what is called the profession of the Doctrine where what is pleasant for the time being ripens to pain thereafter.

What is the nature of the third profession?—Take a man who, to the accompaniment of pain alike of body and of mind, refrains from slaying and, as a result of his abstinence, experiences pain alike of body and of mind; or who refrains from stealing . . . [315] or who, to the accompaniment of pain alike of body and of mind, gets a right outlook, and, as a consequence of that right outlook, experiences pain alike of body and of mind. Such a man, after death at the body's dissolution, passes to a happy state or to heaven.—Such is what is called the profession of the Doctrine which is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

What is the nature of the fourth profession?—Take the case of a man who, to the accompaniment of pleasure of body and of mind, refrains from slaying . . . (etc., as in the preceding paragraph) . . . a happy state or to heaven.—Such is what is called the profession of the Doctrine which is both pleasant for the time being and also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

Such, Almsmen, are the four ways of professing the Doctrine.

It is just as if there were a bitter gourd with poison

in it, and a man came along who wanted to live and not to die, who wanted to be comfortable and disliked pain; and if people were to say to him:—There is poison in this bitter gourd, my good man. Drink it if you will; [816] but, in drinking it, you won't like its colour and odour and taste, and, when you have drunk it, you will come by your death or deadly pain. Suppose now that heedlessly he drank it and did not turn away from it, disliking its colour, odour, and taste while he was drinking it, and coming by his death or deadly pain when he had drunk it down.—Unto this do I liken the first profession, which is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter.

Again, it is just as if there were a goblet of liquor, all right in colour, odour, and taste, but with poison in it, and a man should come along who wanted to live and not to die, who wanted to be comfortable and disliked pain; and if people were to say to him:—This goblet of liquor is all right in colour, odour, and taste, but has poison in it. Drink it if you will . . . or deadly pain. Suppose now that heedlessly he drank it and did not turn away from it, liking its colour, odour, and taste while he was drinking it, but coming by his death or deadly pain when he had drunk it down.—Unto this do I liken the second profession, which is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter.

Again, it is just as if there were decomposing urine<sup>1</sup> with divers medicaments in it, and a man with jaundice should come along; and if people were to say to him:—This is decomposing urine with divers medicaments in it. Drink it if you will; but, in drinking it, you won't like its colour or odour or taste, but, when you have drunk it, you will get well. Suppose now that, heedfully and without turning away from it, he were to drink it, disliking its colour and odour and taste while he was drinking it, but getting well after he

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vinaya Texts (S.B.E: XIII, 174), and see Introduction supra, p. xvii.



had drunk it down.—Unto this do I liken the third profession, which is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

Lastly, it is just as if there were a mixture of curds and honey and ghee, and a man with dysentery should come along, and people were to say to him :—[317] Here is a mixture of curds and honey and ghee. Drink it if you will ; and, in drinking it, you will like its colour and odour and taste, and, when you have drunk it, you will get well.—Unto this do I liken the fourth profession, which both is pleasant for the time being and also ripens to be pleasant thereafter. Just as, at harvest time at the close of the rainy season, the sun shines forth and blazes in full glory, scattering and putting to flight the clouds of the air as he rises high in the heavens and drives before him all murk and gloom from the skies,—even so, Almsmen, does this last profession of the Doctrine, which blesses both the present and the future, shine forth and blaze in full glory as it overpowers the wrangles of the warring hosts of recluses and brahmins.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLVII. VIMAMSAKA-SUTTA.

### STUDY OF THE TRUTH-FINDER.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthi in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—The enquiring Almsman who searches the hearts of others, ought to study the truth-finder.

The Lord is the root and the guide and the basis of all our ideas. We beg that the Lord may be moved to expound the meaning of his utterance, so that we may treasure up what we hear from him.

Then listen and pay attention, [318] and I will

speak, said the Lord, who then went on to address the listening Almsmen, as follows :—The enquiring Almsman who searches the hearts of others ought to study the truth-finder in respect of the two states of consciousness which come through eye and ear, so as to ascertain whether in the truth-finder they occur in a corrupt form or not. As he studies, he comes to know that no corrupt forms of these occur. Pursuing his study, he comes to know that in the truth-finder such states do not occur in a mixed form. By pursuing his study still further, he comes to know that in the truth-finder these states of consciousness alone occur which are wholly pure. He proceeds to examine whether this reverend man<sup>1</sup> has risen long since or only recently to this excellence ; and he comes to know that he rose thereto long ago. Thence he goes on to examine whether this reverend man has grown popular and is famous, and whether certain perils beset him.—For, Almsmen, such perils do not beset an Almsman, so long as he has not grown popular and so long as he is not famous ; they beset him only after he has grown popular and is famous.—Examination shows that this reverend man is popular and famous, but that these perils do not beset him. [319] Then comes the further examination to settle whether the reverend man refrains in fearlessness or through fear, or whether it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of sense, having eradicated all passion ; and this examination shows that the eradication of passion is the reason why he eschews pleasures of sense. Should the enquiring Almsman be asked by others what facts and evidence lead him to aver that this reverend man eschews pleasures of sense in fearlessness and not from motives of fear, but because of the eradication of passion, then he would give the right answer by replying that, whether living

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the general style of āyasmā is here given to him who has previously been recognized as tathāgata, but is subsequently referred to as merely a bhikkhu—i.e. to an Arahat. Cf. supra, p. 98.

in the Confraternity or alone, this reverend man—alike in dealing with rich and poor, with teachers of confraternities, with those patently covetous or with those by covetise undefiled—never looks down on a man for that. Face to face, and from the Lord's own lips, have I been assured that he refrains in fearlessness, and not through fears, and that it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of sense, having eradicated all passion.

Moreover, the truth-finder himself should be asked the direct questions whether in him the states of consciousness which come through sight and hearing occur (*a*) in a corrupt form, (*b*) in a mixed form, or (*c*) in entire purity. And, answering aright, the truth-finder will answer that these states occur never in a corrupt or mixed form but always in entire purity;—this is the track I tread, this is the realm in which I move, and therewithal I harbour no cravings.

When such are a teacher's words, a disciple is right to go to him for instruction in his Doctrine. That teacher expounds the Doctrine,—more and more, higher still and higher, until at last it embraces all that is foul and all that is fair, with all their mutual antagonism. And as the teacher gradually thus expounds the Doctrine, so gradually therein does that Almsman, by insight into this or that state of consciousness, [320] reach perfection in them all, and win the belief in his teacher that—the Lord is all-enlightened; right well has he made his Doctrine known; his Confraternity walks in righteousness. If others should ask him on what facts and evidence he bases this belief, then, if he gives the right answer, he would reply that, as the teacher gradually expounded the Doctrine, so gradually therein had he, by insight into this or that state of consciousness, reached perfection in them all and won the belief in his teacher which made him say that the Lord was all-enlightened, that right well had he made his Doctrine known, and that his Confraternity walked in righteousness. If any man's faith in the truth-finder is planted, rooted, and

established by the foregoing researches and in the foregoing sentences and in the foregoing words, then such faith is styled reasoned, based on insight, assured,—impregnable to recluse or brahmin, god, Māra, Brahmā or anyone else in the universe.

This, Almsmen, is the way to study a truth-finder's states of consciousness ; and it is thus that the truth-finder is studied aright in the laws of his being.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLVIII. KOSAMBIYA-SUTTA.

### AMITY AND ITS ROOT.

THUS have I heard. Once, when the Lord was staying at Kosambī in the Ghosita pleasaunce, disputes were rife in Kosambī among the Almsmen, who were living in a state of uproar and contention, hurling taunts at one another ;—they could not win one another over, nor would they themselves be won over, to accord and agreement. This having been [821] reported by an Almsman to the Lord, he bade an Almsman summon those Almsmen in his name to his presence. When they had duly come and had taken their seats to one side after due salutation, he asked them whether the report of their disputes was true ; and, on their admitting it, he said :—While you are thus disputing, are you instant—both overtly and privily—in acts and in words and in thoughts of goodwill towards your fellows in the higher life ?

No, sir.

So it comes to this : that disputes are rife among you ; that you are living in a state of uproar and contention, hurling taunts at one another ; and that, meanwhile, you are not instant—both overtly and privily—in acts or words or thoughts of goodwill towards your fellows in the higher life. What, oh what, can you know and see, you foolish people, that you dispute like

this and [322] never come to accord and agreement? Long will this enure to your hurt and harm.<sup>1</sup>

Almsmen, there are six states of consciousness—the Lord went on to say—which, being in themselves endearing, friendly, and respectful, conduce to accord, harmony, concord, and unity.

(i) If an Almsman is instant in acts of goodwill—both overtly and privily—towards his fellows in the higher life,—this is a state, in itself endearing, friendly, and respectful, which conduces to accord, harmony, concord and unity.

(ii) If he is instant in words of goodwill . . . and unity.

(iii) If he is instant in thoughts of goodwill . . . and unity.

(iv) If he shares equally and without favour among all his virtuous fellows in the higher life everything given him that is lawful and lawfully received, down to the last crumb in his bowl,—this too is a state, in itself endearing, friendly, and respectful, which conduces to accord, harmony, concord, and unity.

(v) If, both overtly and privily, an Almsman lives among his fellows in the higher life in the exercise of these virtues, in their unbroken entirety, and without flaw, spot, or blemish, virtues which bestow freedom, are lauded by sages, are unmarred (by unworthy motives), and conduce to rapt concentration,—this too is a state, in itself endearing, friendly, and respectful, which conduces to accord, harmony, concord, and unity.

(vi) If—both overtly and privily—an Almsman lives, among his fellows in the higher life, seized of the noble and saving creed which guides him who lives up to it unto the utter destruction of all Ill,—this too is a state, in itself endearing, friendly, and respectful, which conduces to accord, harmony, concord, and unity.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sutta No. 128 (*infra*); and see Vinaya I, 341 and II, 1 (et seqq.) for sterner disciplinary measures against refractory Almsmen.

Such are the six states of consciousness which, being in themselves endearing, friendly, and respectful, conduce to accord, harmony, concord, and unity ; and of the six the roof-tie which on high knits the six together is the possession of the noble and saving creed which guides him who lives up to it unto the utter destruction of all Ill.

Just as in a gabled palace the gable is the roof-tie on high which knits the whole structure together,—so [323] of these six states of consciousness the roof-tie which on high knits them all together is the possession of this noble and saving creed which guides him who lives up to it unto the destruction of all Ill.

How does that noble idea affect this?—Take the case of an Almsman who—in jungle or beneath a tree or in a home of solitude—examines himself to see whether he harbours any still lurking predisposition which can so predispose his heart as to debar him from knowing and discerning things as they really are. His heart is so predisposed, if he harbours a predisposition to a passion for pleasure—to malevolence—to sloth and torpor—to worry—to doubt—to centring his thoughts on this or on other worlds—or to living in a state of disputes and uproar, contention and the hurling of taunts. He emerges convinced not only that he harbours no such predisposition as would debar him from knowing and discerning things as they really are, but also that his mind is on the right lines for enlightenment in the (Four) Truths.—This is the first knowledge he wins,—a knowledge noble and transcendental, not shared by the vulgar.

Further, the disciple of the Noble asks himself whether, by fostering and developing and enlarging this noble and saving creed, he is gaining for himself calm and gaining peace. Yes, he answers ; I am.—This is the second knowledge . . . the vulgar.

Further, the disciple of the Noble asks himself whether—outside—there is found any recluse or brahmin who has got the noble and saving creed he

has. No, he answers; not one.—[324] This is the third knowledge . . . the vulgar.

Further, the disciple of the Noble asks himself whether he comports himself like one who is seized of that noble creed. Now, one seized thereof, should he be guilty of an offence which obviously has occurred, straightway declares it and lays it open and bare to his master or to sage comrades in the higher life; and, having so confessed his offence, keeps a watch on himself thereafter. Just as a tiny babe that lies helpless on its back needs but to touch a live ember with foot or hand in order straightway to draw back the limb,—even so one seized of the noble and saving creed, should he be guilty . . . watch on himself thereafter. Thus he comes to know that he does comport himself like one who is seized of that noble creed.—This is the fourth knowledge . . . the vulgar.

Further, the disciple of the Noble asks himself (anew) whether he comports himself like one who is seized of the noble and saving creed. Now, one seized thereof, while zealous in the discharge of his several duties—great and small—towards his comrades in the higher life, also has a keen yearning to master the higher virtues, the higher thinking, and the higher love. Just as a cow with a calf always has her eye on her calf as she browses,—even so one seized of the noble creed, while zealous . . . higher love. Thus he comes to know that he does comport himself like one who is seized of that noble creed.—This is the fifth knowledge . . . the vulgar.

[325] Further, the disciple of the Noble asks himself whether his is the strength of one seized of the noble creed. Now the strength of one seized thereof consists in recognizing and appreciating, when the truth-finder's Doctrine and Law are being preached, the import and the significance of the Doctrine, with his whole heart and ears absorbed in drinking in what he hears. Thus he comes to know that he has got the strength of one seized of the noble creed.—This is the sixth knowledge . . . the vulgar.



Again, the disciple of the Noble asks himself whether his is the strength of one seized of the noble creed. Now the strength of one seized thereof consists in this that, when the truth-finder's Doctrine and Law are being preached, he takes in knowledge of welfare and of the Doctrine and gets the gladness which the Doctrine brings. Thus he comes to know that he has got the strength of one seized of the noble creed.—This is the seventh knowledge . . . the vulgar.

In this way is due examination made of the demeanour of a disciple of the Noble with his sevenfold endowment, for the realizing of conversion's fruits; and those fruits appertain to a disciple of the Noble with his sevenfold endowment.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## XLIX. BRAHMA-NIMANTANIKA-SUTTA.

### BRAHMĀ'S APPEAL.

[326] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-grounds, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows:—<sup>1</sup> While I was staying once at Ukkatṭhā in the Subhaga grove under the great sāl-tree, Baka the Brahmā conceived the pernicious view that his world was everlasting, permanent, eternal, complete in itself, with no rebirth thence; that in his world there was no birth, decay, death, rebirth thence, or further existences, nor was there any other salvation beyond it. Reading his thoughts, I vanished from beneath that sāl-tree to reappear in his particular Brahmā-world,—as readily as a strong man might stretch forth his bent arm or draw back his outstretched

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sāmyutta* I, 142 for the beginning of this Sutta (translated in Vol. I, 179-182 of *Kindred Sayings*). See also *Dialogues* I, 30 and III, 26.

arm. Seeing me coming some distance off, Baka said—Come, your Excellency ; your Excellency is welcome indeed ; it is a long time since your Excellency managed to come here. This world is everlasting, permanent . . . salvation beyond it.

In answer I said :—The worthy Baka the Brahmā is in error, quite in error, should he affirm that the transitory is everlasting, that the impermanent has permanence, that the temporal is eternal, that the incomplete is complete ; that here is no birth, decay, death, rebirth hence, or further existences,—when the exact opposite is the case ; or should he affirm that there is no other salvation beyond this,—when there is another salvation beyond it.

Hereon Māra the Evil One entered into one of the Brahmā conclave and said to me :—Almsman ! Almsman ! forbear ; forbear ; for this Brahmā is the Great Brahmā, [827] vanquisher and unvanquished, all-seeing and all-subduing lord, paramount disposer of life, abiding for ever, father of all creatures that are or are to be ! Before your time, Almsman, the world has seen recluses and brahmins who have scorned and condemned earth, water, fire, air, creatures, gods, Pajāpati, and Brahmā ;—and these, at the body's dissolution, when their lives were cut off, have passed thereafter to mean existences. Before your time, Almsman, the world has seen recluses and brahmins who have lauded and revelled in earth . . . Brahmā ;—and these, at the body's dissolution, when their lives were cut off, have passed thereafter to excellent existences. Therefore, I advise you to conform to what Brahmā has told you and not to be recalcitrant. Should you be recalcitrant, it will fare with you as with a man who with a stick tries to beat back the radiance which is enveloping him, or who strains at the earth for a foothold or handhold as he is in act to fall into hell's maw. Conform to everything Brahmā has said, and do not be recalcitrant. See you not, Almsman, his hosts seated around ?

I rejoined :—I know you, Evil One ; do not imagine

that I know you not. You are Māra, the Evil One ; you have got into your grasp and into your power Brahmā and Brahmā's host and Brahmā's conclave ; and you think to get me too into your grasp and into your power ;—but I am not in your grasp, Evil One ; I am not in your power.

Hereupon, Baka the Brahmā said to me :—I, your Excellency, affirm that the everlasting is everlasting, [828] that the permanent is permanent, that the eternal is eternal, that the complete is complete, that freedom from rebirth hence is freedom from rebirth hence ; I affirm that a realm exists where there is no birth, decay, death, rebirth thence, or further existences,—for, here is no birth, decay, rebirth hence, or further existences ; and I affirm that, there being not any other salvation beyond this, no other salvation exists. Before your time, Almsman, the world has seen recluses and brahmins who—for a term as long as the whole of your life—have devoted themselves to austerities ; and they would know whether or not there was another salvation beyond this. Therefore, Almsman, I tell you that, toil and moil as long as ever you will, you will never find any other salvation beyond this. If you will recognize earth, water, fire, air, creatures, gods, Pajāpati, and Brahmā, then will you become mine own, reposing on me, to do as I will, and to be my elect.

I too know, Brahmā, said I, that by recognizing earth, water, and the rest, I should be yours as you say. Yes, and also I know full well how you have progressed to your pomp and state as the mighty, powerful, and sovereign Baka the Brahmā.

What knowledge has your Excellency of this ?

*The realms of sun and moon, where'er their rays illumine,—yea, a thousand worlds thy sway acknowledge. But,—is't thine to know the lot of beings good and bad, their whence and where ?*

—I have this knowledge, Brahmā, of your progress to your pomp and state as the mighty, [829] powerful, and sovereign Baka the Brahmā.

Now, there are three other planes of existence, Brahmā, which you do not know or discern,—though I do. First, there is the Ābhassara plane, from which you came hither, though your long residence here has made you forget it so that you do not know or discern it,—as I do. Consequently, in higher knowledge, I am not on a mere equality with you, much less at a disadvantage;—I have the advantage of you. Then there is the Subha-Kiṇṇa plane and the Vehapphala plane, neither of which you know or discern,—though I do. Here again, in higher knowledge, I am not on a mere equality with you, much less at a disadvantage;—I have the advantage of you.

Because, Brahmā, I have realized the earth to be the earth it really is and have realized that something else which is in no wise reached by earth's earthiness;—no ideas occur of earth, in the earth, from the earth, my earth; nor do I pay homage to earth. Here again . . . advantage of you. And the like . . . applies to water, fire, air, creatures, gods, Pajāpati, Brahmā, the Ābhassaras, the Subhakiṇṇas, the Vehapphalas, the Vanquisher, the All;—no such ideas about them occur, nor do I pay homage to any of them. Here again . . . advantage of you.

If that something else of your Excellency's is in no wise reached by the all-ness of the All, take heed it prove not merely empty and vain.—Consciousness, for instance, which is invisible and boundless and all-illuminated, is not reached by earth's earthiness, or by water's wateriness, or by anything else in your list!—And now I vanish from your Excellency's view.

Vanish if you can, Brahmā.

But, for all his protestations, Baka could not vanish! Hereupon, I told him that I would vanish from his sight.

Vanish, if you can,—said he.

Then, Almsmen, by the exercise of such magical powers as would let Brahmā and his host and conclave hear me without seeing me, I disappeared, repeating these lines:—

*Marking what dangers life beset, how life  
still dogs the nihilist, no further court  
paid I to life nor craved for life on life.*

Astounded at the marvel and wonder, Brahmā with his host and conclave exclaimed :—Marvellous and wonderful is the magic power and might of the recluse Gotama! Never before was seen or reported any other recluse or brahmin of such power and might as Gotama, the Sakyan who left his Sakyan home to be a Pilgrim. A generation that delights in living and is given over to delighting and revelling in living, has seen him grub and stub up existence by the roots!

Entering now into one of Brahmā's conclave, Māra, the Evil One, said to me :—If your Excellency has come to this knowledge and to this enlightenment, do not communicate it to followers or Pilgrims ; do not expound your Doctrine to them ; yearn not for followers or Pilgrims. Before you, there have been recluses and brahmins in the world who, professing to be Arahats all-enlightened, communicated and expounded their Doctrine to the followers and Pilgrims for whom they yearned ; and the result of this has been that, at the body's dissolution when their life was cut off, they passed thereafter to mean existences. Before you, there have been recluses and brahmins in the world who, professing to be Arahats all-enlightened, [381] refused to communicate and expound their Doctrine to followers and Pilgrims, for whom they had no yearning ; and the result of this has been that, at the body's dissolution when their life was cut off, they passed thereafter to excellent existences. Therefore, Almsman, I advise you not to trouble but to live comfortably here and now. Silence is best ; do not preach to others.

I rejoined :—I know you, Evil One ; do not imagine that I know you not. You are Māra, the Evil One. It is out of no goodwill, but out of ill-will, that you give me this advice,—because you think that those to whom I preach my gospel will pass out of your range.

Though they professed to be all-enlightened, those recluses and brahmins of yours were not so ;—I profess to be all-enlightened,—and am. Evil One, the truth-finder is one and the same, whether preaching his Doctrine to followers or not, whether communicating it or not. And why ?—Because in the truth-finder all those Cankers which are of impurity, which lead to re-birth, entail suffering, ripen unto sorrow, leaving behind a heritage of birth, decay, and death,—all these have been grubbed up by the roots, like a bare cleared site where once a palm-tree grew, things which once have been and now can be no more.

Such, Almsmen, was Māra's failure to cajole me and Brahmā's appeal. So this homily's title is Brahmā's appeal.

## L. MĀRA-TAJJANIYA-SUTTA.

### THE REBUKE TO MĀRA.

[382] THUS have I heard. Once while the venerable Mahā Moggallāna was staying in the Bhagga country at Sumsumāra-gira in Bhesakalā wood in the deer-park, he was pacing to and fro in the open when Mārā, the Evil One, entered his belly and got into his stomach. Wondering to himself why his belly should feel as heavy as if he had had a meal of beans, Moggallāna, his walk over, went to his cell and sat down to think it out by himself. Detecting Māra's presence in his inside, he exclaimed :—Begone, Evil Māra ; begone ! Do not annoy a truth-finder or a truth-finder's disciple, lest you lay up for yourself enduring hurt and harm.

Thought Māra to himself :—This recluse says all this without knowing or discerning that it is I. Why, even his master would take time to know it was I ; and how should this disciple know ?

Hereon, Moggallāna said :—Yes, I know you, Evil One. Imagine not that I do not. You are Māra, Evil One ; and you are thinking that it was without

knowing or discerning that it was you, that I bade you begone and not annoy a truth-finder or a truth-finder's disciple, lest you should lay up for yourself enduring hurt and harm ; but you imagine that even my master would take time to know it was you ; and how should a disciple know ?

So this recluse really does know and discern that it is I, thought Māra ; and he [383] issued from Moggallāna's mouth and perched on the crutch to hold the door-bar. Seeing him perched there, and informing him that there too his presence was detected, Moggallāna said :—In bygone days, Evil One, I myself was a Māra, Dūsī by name ; Kālī was my sister's name ; you were her son and so my nephew. Now in those days Kakusandha had appeared in the world as the Arahāt all-enlightened,—with Vidhura and Sanjīva as his two chief disciples, a noble pair. Among all Kakusandha's disciples there were none who could compare with the reverend Vidhura as a preacher of the Doctrine ; and so he got his name of Vidhura (the peerless). The reverend Sanjīva, on the other hand, dwelling in the wilds or beneath trees or in the homes of solitude, attained without difficulty to cessation of feelings and perception, and in this ecstatic state was sitting under a tree. Here, as he sat without feelings or perception, he was seen by neatherds, goatherds, ploughmen, and wayfarers, who marvelled exceedingly at the sight of the recluse—sitting there dead, as they deemed—and set about burning the body. So they collected bracken and sticks and dry cowdung which they heaped over Sanjīva's body, lit the pile, and went their way. Rising from his trance when night had passed away, Sanjīva shook his raiment and in the morning early, duly robed and bowl in hand, went into the village for alms. At the sight of him on his rounds, the neatherds, goatherds, ploughmen, and wayfarers marvelled exceedingly to see the recluse whom they had deemed to be sitting there dead, now alive again and quick once more ; [384] and thus he got the name of Sanjīva (Quick).



Thought Dūsī the Māra:—I know neither the whence nor the whither of these virtuous and good Almsmen. Come, let me enter into the brahmin-householders and incite them to denounce, abuse, revile, and harry these virtuous and good Almsmen so that, being thus spitefully treated, they may haply change to another frame of mind and thus give me my opening. So Dūsī the Māra entered into those brahmin-householders and incited them accordingly; and they then proceeded to denounce, abuse, revile, and harry those virtuous and good Brethren in these terms: These shavelings of recluses—who are only black riff-raff, sprung from the feet of our kinsman Brahmā—while professing to be plunged in ecstasies, hunch up their shoulders and cast down their gaze in their befuddlement as they trance and en-trance and un-trance and de-trance. Yes! they trance away like the owl in trance on a bough—on the look-out for a mouse; or like the jackal in trance on the river's bank—on the look-out for fish; or like the cat in trance by scrap-heap or midden—on the look-out for a mouse; or like the donkey, when at last his yoke is off, in trance by the side of scrap-heap or midden. That's the way these shavelings trance and en-trance and un-trance and de-trance.

Evil One, the people who die in such a belief, all of them, at the body's dissolution after death, pass to re-birth in a doom of suffering and woe or purgatory.

[335] Then Kakusandha the Lord, Arahat all-enlightened, addressed the Almsmen, saying:—It is Dūsī the Māra who has entered into the brahmin-householders to incite them to denounce, abuse, revile, and harry virtuous and good Almsmen so that, being thus spitefully treated, they may haply change to another frame of mind and thus give him his opening. Be it yours to dwell with radiant good-will pervading first one quarter of the world—then the second—then the third—and then the fourth quarter—yea, pervading the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere, with radiant good-will all-

embracing, vast, boundless, wherein no hate or malice finds a place. And, as with good-will, so, in turn, be it yours to pervade with radiant pity, and sympathy, and poised equanimity the whole length and breadth of the world.

Thus exhorted and instructed by Kakusandha the Lord, Arahat all-enlightened, those Almsmen, Evil One, retired to the wilds or under trees or to homes of solitude there to dwell with radiant good-will pervading . . . poised equanimity the whole length and breadth of the world.

Thought Dūsī the Māra now :—I still know naught of the whence or the whither of these virtuous and good Almsmen. Come, let me enter into the brahmin-householders and incite them to pay these Almsmen honour and reverence, devotion and [336] worship, so that, being thus exalted, they may haply change to another frame of mind and thus give me my opening. And this he did. When now he had entered into the brahmin-householders accordingly, they paid those virtuous and good Brethren honour and reverence, devotion and worship.

Evil One, the people who die in such a belief, all of them, at the body's dissolution after death, pass to re-birth in states of bliss in heaven.

Then Kakusandha the Lord, Arahat all-enlightened, addressed the Almsmen, saying :—It is Dūsī the Māra who has entered into the brahmin-householders to incite them to pay virtuous and good Almsmen honour and reverence, devotion and worship, so that, being thus exalted, they may haply change to another frame of mind and thus give him his opening. Yours be it to realize the foulness of the body, and to perceive how disgusting a thing food is, how empty of delight the world is, and how fleeting and transitory all things are.

Early in the day, Kakusandha the Lord, Arahat all-enlightened, duly robed and bowl in hand, went into the village for alms, followed by the reverend Vidhura as his Almsman in attendance. Entering into a

brahmin lad, Dūsī the Māra flung a potsherd which hit Vidhura's head and broke it. Albeit with broken head streaming with blood, the reverend Vidhura [387] still kept following steadily on in Kakusandha's wake. Turning full round, as an elephant turns to gaze, Kakusandha the Lord, Arahāt all-enlightened, exclaimed—This Māra Dūsī knows no bounds!

Even as he gazed, Dūsī passed out of that existence and was reborn in Great Purgatory.

Evil One, Great Purgatory bears three names,—Sixfold Contact, Meeting Spikes, and Pang-upon-pang. Said the wardens of Purgatory to me: When barb meets barb inside your heart, then your Excellency will know you have been in torment for a thousand years. Tormented was I, Evil One, in Great Purgatory for many a long year,—for many hundreds of years and thousands of years; for ten thousand years was I tormented in the heart of Great Purgatory, suffering pangs that grew and grew. My body was like a man's, but my head was like the head of a fish.

*<sup>1</sup> You ask what hell, what torment, Dūsī knew,  
who durst assail disciple Vidhūra  
and holy Kākūsāndha, brahmin true?  
A hundred barbs of steel it had, and each  
wrought its own griding agony of pain;  
—such hell, such torment, Dūsī came to know,  
who durst assail disciple Vidhura  
and holy Kākūsāndha, brahmin true.*

*—For thine assault on me, who know so much,  
who Buddha's leal disciple am, there waits,  
foul fiend of darkness, vengeance dire and sure.*

*I know where, ageless, through the ages stand  
gods' jewell'd mansions, in mid-ocean set,  
shining, resplendent, bright with dancing nymphs.  
—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

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<sup>1</sup> These lines occur also at *Theragāthā*, p. 106 (transd. at p. 391 of *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*).

*At His command, while Almsmen watched around,  
my toe Visākhā's palace rudely shook.<sup>1</sup>*

*—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

[338] *By magic might, while godlings quaked with  
dread,*

*my toe the Vejayanta palace rocked.<sup>2</sup>*

*—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

*In Vejayanta palace Sakka's self  
I straitly question'd: Understandeth thou  
how Cravings quelled Deliver heart of man?  
And he, proud Sakka, answer humbly made.*

*—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

*I know who, face to face in Brahmā's halls,<sup>3</sup>  
thus straitly question'd Brahmā: Holdest thou  
today thy former views? Or see'st thou now  
how all thy heaven's glories fade away?*

*And he, great Brahmā, answer humbly made  
that he such views no longer held, but saw  
how all his heaven's glories fade and pass,  
and how he erred, erred grievously, of old,  
to claim eternal, everlasting life.*

*—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

*I know who Meru's summit won in trance<sup>4</sup>  
and saw the four great continents of earth<sup>5</sup>  
with all the peoples that on earth do dwell.*

*—For thine assault . . . vengeance dire and sure.*

*No malice yet drove fire to burn a fool;  
'tis still the fool who first assails the fire  
and feeds the flames his folly first provoked.  
So, Māra, thou who durst assail a Saint,<sup>6</sup>  
shalt burn thyself, like fools who play with fire.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Therāgāthā*, p. 105 (trans. at p. 392 of *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*).

<sup>2</sup> See Sutta 37.

<sup>3</sup> See Sutta 49.

<sup>4</sup> Bu. refers to the Nandōpananda-damana (see *Jātaka* V, 65).

<sup>5</sup> See *Dīgha*, Sutta No. 32, transd. at *Dialogues* III, 188 et seqq.

<sup>6</sup> Bu. is here silent on the meaning in the text of *t a t h ā g a t a* —“here clearly, and in the Commentary [of *Dhammapāla* on the *Therāgāthā*] explicitly, applied to a Thera Arahant” (*Psalms*, p. 393, n. 4).]

*Evil thou didst who durst assail a Saint,  
imagining—how fondly!—evil's curse to flee.  
Thine evil-doing garner'd stands; and woe,  
o Death, through ages shall thy portion be!  
Leave then the Buddha; let his Almsmen be!*

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*Thus in those woodlands did that Almsman rate  
fell Māra, till the cowed and abject fiend,  
quitting the contest, vanished out of sight.*

## LI. KANDARAKA-SUTTA.

### AGAINST ASCETICISM.

[339] THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Campā by the banks of the lake (of Queen) Gaggarā with a great following of Almsmen, there came to him Pessa, the elephant trainer's son, and Kandaraka the Wanderer. Saluting the Lord, Pessa took a seat to one side, while Kandaraka, after exchanging courteous greetings, remained standing. Marking the universal silence of the Confraternity as he stood there, Kandaraka said:—It is wonderful, Gotama, it is marvellous, how you have schooled your Confraternity,—even to that perfection which Arahats all-enlightened reached of yore and Arahats all-enlightened will reach in ages to come.

Yes, Kandaraka; as it is now, so it has been of yore and so it will be in ages to come. For, in this Confraternity there are Almsmen who are Arahats,—in whom the Cankers are eradicated, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have cast off their burthens, who have won their weal, whose bonds are no more, who by utter knowledge have found Deliverance. Here too there are Almsmen still under training, uniformly virtuous and uniformly good in their lives, men of understanding, with understanding shown forth in their lives, whose hearts are stablished in the four applications of mindfulness, as in the case [340] of an Almsman who—realizing (i) body, (ii) feelings, (iii) heart, and (iv) states of consciousness to be just what they respectively are—lives the strenuous life, purposeful and mindful, quelling all worldly bankerings and frets.

✓ Hereupon Pessa said:—It is wonderful, it is

marvellous how well the Lord has indicated the four applications of mindfulness so as to cleanse men's hearts, to raise them above sorrow and lamentation, to annihilate pain of body and of mind, to achieve the system, and to realize Nirvana. Even we who live in houses and wear the white clothes of the layman, even we from time to time have our hearts stablished in the four applications of mindfulness and—realizing body, feelings, heart, and states of consciousness to be just what they respectively are—live the strenuous life, purposeful and mindful, quelling all worldly hankerings and frets. Yes, it is wonderful and marvellous how—in this human tangle with all its bitterness and guile—the Lord knows man's weal and woe. For men are indeed a tangle, whereas animals are a simple matter. I myself can train a young elephant to remember, whensoever he is going in or out of Campā, to display every naughty and roguish trick he possibly can. But those that are styled our slaves and messengers and servants do one thing, say another, and think a third. Yes, it is wonderful and marvellous . . . animals are a simple matter. >

Quite right, Pessa [841]. Men are indeed a tangle, whereas animals are a simple matter. There are four types of individuals to be found in the world.—One torments himself and is given to self-torment; a second torments others and is given to tormenting others; a third torments himself and others, and is given to tormenting both; while the fourth torments neither, and is given to tormenting neither,—dwelling, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss, and in holiness. Now which of the four, Pessa, commends himself most to you?

I am not drawn, sir, either to the self-tormenter or to the tormenter of others; nor can I commend him who does both. The individual who commends himself most to me out of the four is the fourth, the man who neither torments himself nor others, who dwells, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss, and in holiness.



And why, Pessa, do you not approve of the first three ?

I do not approve of the first, sir, because he torments and tortures himself, despite his yearnings for pleasure and despite his repugnance to pain ; nor do I approve of the second, because he torments and tortures others, despite their yearnings for pleasure and repugnance to pain ; nor of the third, because he torments and tortures both himself and others, despite his and their yearnings for pleasure and repugnance to pain. But [842] I do approve of the fourth, because, tormenting and torturing neither himself nor others, he dwells, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss, and in holiness.—And now, sir, I must be going, for I have much to do and attend to.

Do not let me detain you, Pessa.

So, with grateful thanks to the Lord for what he had heard, Pessa, the elephant trainer's son, rose up, saluted, and withdrew with deep veneration.

Pessa had not been gone long when the Lord said :—Pessa, Almsmen, is informed and has great understanding. Had he but sat on a little longer, while I set out in detail the distinctions between the four types of individual, he would have carried away with him what would have profited him greatly.

Now, Lord, is the time for that ; now is the time, Blessed One ; the Almsmen will treasure up the Lord's utterance.

Then the Lord proceeded to address the listening Almsmen, as follows :

What kind of individual is he who torments himself and is given to self-torment ?—Take the case of an individual who, naked, flouting the decencies of life, . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 12) . . . [848] to wash' (away the evil within).—Such are the divers ways in which he is given to tormenting his body. Such a man is said to torment himself and to be given to self-torment.

What kind of individual is he who torments others and is given to tormenting others ?—Take the case of the individual who butchers sheep or sticks pigs, or

who is a fowler, deer-stalker, hunter, fisherman, robber, cut-throat, or gaoler, or who follows any other cruel trade.—Such a man is said to torment others and to be given to tormenting others.

What kind of individual is he who torments himself and others too?—

<sup>1</sup> Take the case of an individual who becomes an anointed king of Noble race, or a brahmin magnate. East of the town, he orders the building of a new sacrificial hall, into which—after first cutting off his hair and beard and donning the rough pelt of a black antelope—he goes with his queen-consort and his brahmin chaplain, with his body anointed with ghee and oil, and scratching his itching back with an antler. His bed is grass and leaves strewn on the bare ground. For the whole party, there is only one solitary cow, with a calf by her side, which must be coloured precisely like its mother; and on this solitary cow's milk [844] the king has the first call, the queen-consort takes the second turn, the brahmin the third, the fourth makes the fire-oblation, while the calf has to get along on what is left. Says the king :

Let there be slain for the sacrifice so many bulls, so many steers, heifers, goats, and rams. Let there be felled so many trees for sacrificial posts. Let so much kusa grass be cut to strew round the sacrificial spot. And all persons known as slaves, messengers, and servants, harried by stripes and fear, then set about the preparations with tearful faces and voices of lamentation.—Such a man is said to torment himself and others, and to be given to tormenting both.

Lastly, what kind of individual is he who, tormenting neither himself nor others, dwells, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss, and in holiness?—Take the case that there appears here in the world a truth-finder, Arahāt all-en-

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<sup>1</sup> This Buddhist satire depicts, not unfaithfully, the brahmin ritual enjoined for a *yajamāna* who wishes to perform Soma-sacrifices,—as described by Hillebrandt in his *Ritual-litteratur* (in Bühler's *Grundriss*) p. 125 ff.

lightened . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 27) . . . [345-7] enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection ;—and he successively attains to the Second, Third, and Fourth Ecstasies.

With heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, stablished and immutable,—it is thus that he applies his heart to the knowledge which recalls his own earlier existences. He calls to mind his divers existences in the past,—a single birth, and then two . . . (and so on to) a hundred thousand births, many an æon of disintegration of the world, many an æon of its reintegration, and again many an æon both of its disintegration and of its reintegration. In this or that existence, he remembers, such and such was his name, his clan, his class, his diet, his joys and sorrows, and his term of life. When he passed thence, he came by such and such subsequent existence, wherein such and such was his name and so forth ; [348] and thence he passed to his life here.—Thus does he call to mind his divers existences of the past in all their details and features.

That same stedfast heart he now applies to knowledge of the passage hence, and re-appearance elsewhere, of other beings. With the Eye Celestial . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . made their appearance in states of bliss in heaven.

That same stedfast heart he next applies to the knowledge of the extirpation of Cankers. He comprehends, aright and to the full, Ill, the origin of Ill, the cessation of Ill, and the course that leads to the cessation of Ill ; he comprehends, aright and to the full, which the Cankers are, with their origin, cessation, and the course that leads to their cessation. When he knows this and when he sees this, then his heart is Delivered from the Canker of sensuous pleasure, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance ; and to him thus Delivered comes

the knowledge of his Deliverance in the conviction—Rebirth is no more ; I have lived the highest life ; my task is done ; and now for me there is no more of what I have been.—Such a man is said to torment neither himself nor others, and not to be given [349] to tormenting either himself or others, but to dwell, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss and in holiness.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LII. AṬṬHAKA-NĀGARA SUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

### THE PORTALS OF NIRVANA.

THUS have I heard. Once when the reverend Ānanda was staying at Vesālī in the hamlet of Beluva, the householder Dasama of Aṭṭhaka Town, who had gone to Pāṭaliputta on some business or other, came to an Almsman in the Kukkuṭa pleasaunce and, seating himself after salutations, asked where Ānanda was staying, as he would like to see him. Being informed that Ānanda was staying at Vesālī in the hamlet of Beluva, Dasama, after finishing his business at Pāṭaliputta, proceeded to Vesālī and the hamlet of Beluva, where he found Ānanda. Seating himself after salutations, Dasama asked Ānanda this question :—Has the Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened, indicated one particular state of consciousness whereby an Almsman who lives the strenuous life purged of self, either finds Deliverance for his prisoned heart, or sees the extirpation of Cankers hitherto rampant, or wins at last that utter peace which was not his before ?

Yes, he has.

[850] What is it ?

Take the case, householder, of an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense, and divested of wrong

<sup>1</sup> Identical with the Sutta at Anguttara V, 342-7.

states of consciousness, enters on, and dwells in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Reflecting that this First Ecstasy is only a product, evolved by thought, he comes to know that all products evolved by thought are fleeting and must cease. Taking his stand on this, he attains to extirpation of Cankers, or, if he does not attain this, then by his passion for righteousness and by his delight in righteousness he destroys the Five Fetters which entail re-birth and is translated hereafter to realms above, from which he will never return again to earth but will there win his Nirvana.—This is a state of consciousness indicated by the Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened, whereby an Almsman who lives the strenuous life purged of self both finds Deliverance for his prisoned heart, and sees the extirpation of Cankers hitherto rampant, and wins at last that utter peace which was not his before.

Further, an Almsman, rising above observation and reasoning, successively enters on, and abides in, the Second—the Third—and the Fourth Ecstasies. Reflecting that each of these also is only a product, evolved by thought, he comes to know that all products . . . utter peace which was not his before.

[351] Further, an Almsman dwells with radiant good-will pervading one quarter of the world—a second—a third—and then the fourth quarter, pervading the whole length and breadth of the world—above, below, around, everywhere—with radiant good-will, all-embracing, vast, boundless, wherein no hate or malice finds a place. And, as with good-will, so in turn he pervades with radiant pity—and sympathy—and poised equanimity the whole length and breadth of the world. Reflecting that each of these four also is only a product, evolved by thought, he comes to know that all products . . . [352] utter peace which was not his before.

Further, by passing altogether beyond perception of material objects, by ceasing from perception of sense-

reactions, and by not heeding perception of differences, an Almsman comes to hold space to be infinite and so enters on, and abides in, the plane of infinity of space. Or, by passing altogether beyond this plane, the Almsman comes to hold consciousness to be infinite and so enters on, and abides in, the plane of infinity of consciousness. Or, by passing altogether beyond this plane, the Almsman comes to hold that Naught is and so enters on, and abides in, the plane of Naught. Reflecting that each of these three planes also is only a product, evolved by thought, he comes to know that all products . . . utter peace which was not his before.

At the close of these words, the householder Dasama from Atthaka Town said to Ānanda:—Just as a man who, being in quest of a single treasure-trove, should at one haul find eleven, [358] even so have I, in my quest for a single portal to Nirvana, been told of eleven portals. Just as a man with an eleven-doored house, could, if a fire broke out, escape to safety by any single one of those eleven doors, even so shall I be able to escape to safety by any single one of these eleven portals of Nirvana. Those of other creeds will always look for a fee for the teacher; so why should not I show worship to the reverend Ānanda?

So, assembling together the Almsmen from Pāṭali-putta and Vesālī, Dasama provided them with an excellent meal of food both hard and soft, which he served to them with his own hands, till all had had their fill. Moreover, he presented two lengths of cloth to each Almsman for apparel, but a suit of three robes to the reverend Ānanda, for whom further he caused a cell to be built at a cost of five hundred pieces.

## LIII. SEKHA-SUTTA.

## HOW TO BECOME AN ADEPT.

<sup>1</sup>THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan pleasaunce, the Sakyans of that city, who had got a new hall, never occupied so far by recluse or brahmin or any human being, came to the Lord, and, after salutations, took their seats to one side, telling him of their brand-new hall and inviting him to use it first, and then they would use it afterwards themselves ; if he would only consent, that would long enure to their [354] weal and welfare. By silence the Lord consented ; and, on his consenting, those Sakyans rose and with deep obeisance withdrew to complete preparing the hall for occupation,—setting out seats, planting tubs of water about, and getting lamps and oil ready. When they had finished, they came and stood by him to tell the Lord they awaited his pleasure. Duly robed and bowl in hand, the Lord, with the Confraternity, proceeded to the hall, bathed his feet, went in, and took his seat by the centre-post with his face towards the East. He was followed by the Confraternity who, entering the hall after bathing their feet, seated themselves by the western wall, facing east and with the Lord in front of them. Then came the Sakyans who, entering the hall after bathing their feet, seated themselves by the eastern wall, facing west and with the Lord in front of them. Far into the night the Lord by homily instructed, informed, helped onward, and cheered forward those Sakyans of Kapilavatthu, till at last he said to Ānanda : Tell them, please, about him who is in training to become an adept, and the path he treads. Ānanda assenting, the Lord had his robe folded in four and lay down on it on his

<sup>1</sup> The preamble of this Sutta occurs also verbatim at *Saṃyutta* IV, 182,—ending before Ānanda's lecture to the Sakyans, and continuing instead with an address to the Almsmen by Moggallāna.



right side in the lion-posture, foot resting on foot, mindful and self-possessed, awaiting the moment appointed for his arising.

Addressing Mahānāma the Sakyan, Ānanda said :— Take the case of a disciple of the Noble, who is virtuous, who keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, vigilant, established in the seven virtuous qualities, and is able at will—without difficulty or trouble—to induce the Four Ecstasies which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

How, Mahānāma, [855] does the disciple of the Noble become virtuous?—Why, by following virtue's code, by controlling himself by the control of the public confession of transgressions, by keeping to the plane of right behaviour, by viewing even trifling offences as perilous, and by embracing and training himself in the (ten) moral precepts.—That is how he becomes virtuous.

How, Mahānāma, does the disciple of the Noble keep watch and ward over the portals of sense?—Why, by refusing, when he sees with the eye a visible shape, to be led away by its general appearance or particular marks, inasmuch as lack of control over sight might let in appetites and frets, with evil and wrong states of consciousness; and therefore he schools himself to keep the sense of sight under control and under guard, and develops his control of it. And he does the like with the five other senses.—That is how he keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense.

How is he temperate in eating?—Why, by taking his food duly and advisedly, not for pleasure or delight, nor for ostentation or display, but only to the extent necessary to support and sustain his physical frame, in order to shield it from hurt and to further the higher life, resolving to put from him the old feelings and not to let any new feelings arise, to the end that the blameless lot may be his and well-being.—That is how he is temperate in eating.

How is he vigilant?—Why, by purging his heart of

besetting tendencies,—whether by day as he paces to and fro or sits down, or during the first watch of the night as he paces to and fro or sits down, or during the middle watch of the night as he lies couched lion-like on his right side, foot resting on foot, mindful and self-possessed, awaiting the moment appointed for his arising.

How is he [356] established in the seven virtuous qualities?—Why, (i) by faith, by that faith in the Truth-finder's enlightenment whereby he avers that this is indeed the Lord, Arahāt all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment! (ii) Shame-faced is he,—inwardly ashamed of wrongful acts or words or thoughts, inwardly ashamed of harbouring evil and wrong states of consciousness. (iii) Sensitive is he to reproach from without,—dreading reproach for wrongful acts or words or thoughts or for harbouring evil and wrong states of consciousness. (iv) Well-informed is he, a repository and a treasury of all he hears; all doctrines—beginning aright, proceeding aright, and ending aright—which in letter and in spirit proclaim the higher life in all its perfection and purity, all these he learns and knows by heart; his lips repeat them; his mind examines them; his gaze penetrates them through and through. (v) Strenuous is he to put away wrong states of consciousness and to develop such states as are right,—always striving, always sturdy in endeavour, always resolute in states of consciousness which are right. (vi) Retentive of memory is he, with a richly stored memory that recollects and recalls both the doings and the sayings of long ago. (vii) Lore is his, the lore which embraces life's ebb and flow, the noble, penetrating lore which leads on to the utter cessation of all Ill.—That is how he is established in the seven virtuous qualities.

And how is he able at will to induce the Four Ecstasies?—Why, by divesting himself of pleasures of sense, by divesting himself of wrong states of con-

sciousness, so that he enters on, and abides in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection ; by rising above observation and reflection, so that he enters on, and abides in, the Second Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of rapt concentration—above all observation and reflection—whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. And so on to the Third and Fourth Ecstasies.—That is how the disciple of the Noble is able at will—without difficulty or trouble—to induce the Four Ecstasies which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

The disciple of the Noble who has achieved this much [357] is said to be in training to become an adept whose development is assured, who is able to win forth, able to reach enlightenment, able to attain to the peace beyond compare. It is just like a hen with a clutch of eight, ten, or a dozen eggs, on which she sits closely to keep them warm and hatch them out. Even though no wish arises within her that her chicks with beak or claw may break through the shell and come out all right, yet they are quite able to break through their shells and win forth all right. Even so the disciple of the Noble who has achieved . . . peace beyond compare.

Having won that perfection of poise and mindfulness (which the Fourth Ecstasy brings), the disciple of the Noble calls to mind his previous existences—a single birth, then two . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in all their details and features.—This is the first way in which, like the chick from the shell, he wins forth.

Having won that perfection of poise and mindfulness (which the Fourth Ecstasy brings), the disciple of the Noble, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, sees beings in the act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in states of bliss in heaven.—This is the second way in which, like the chick from the shell, he wins forth.

Having won that perfection of poise and mindfulness (which the Fourth Ecstasy brings), the disciple of the Noble, by eradicating the Cankers, comes to the Deliverance of heart and mind in which no Cankers are; here and now he enters on, and abides in, a Deliverance which of and by himself he has discerned and realized. [358]—This is the third way in which, like the chick from the shell, he wins forth.

His conduct shows that the disciple of the Noble is virtuous, keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, is vigilant, is established in the seven virtuous qualities, and is able at will—without difficulty or trouble—to induce the Four Ecstasies which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

His lore shows that the disciple of the Noble can recall to mind his own previous existences, can read with the Eye Celestial the future destinies of beings in act to pass hence and re-appear elsewhere, and has won for himself Deliverance of heart and mind by eradicating the Cankers.

A disciple of the Noble who has achieved all this is said to be endowed with lore, with conduct, and with the conduct that flows from lore.

It was a Brahmā named the Ever-young<sup>1</sup> who was the author of these lines—

*With such as prize descent, the Nobleman  
stands first; first place 'mong gods and men is his  
who walks in virtue and excels in lore.*

Now these lines, Mahānāma, were rightly and not wrongly sung and uttered by that Brahmā the Ever-young; full of meaning and not empty are they; and the Lord has approved them.

Here, the Lord rose and commended what Ānanda

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<sup>1</sup> For Sanankumāra (interpreted here by Bu. as por-āṇaka, of old) see *Dialogues* I, 121 and III, 93. In the verses (which occur in each of the three other Nikāyas) the possible substitution of khattiyo for brāhmaṇo would account for this reversion of normal brahminical doctrine and gāthās.

had told these Sakyans of Kapilavatthu concerning training.

[359] Thus spoke the reverend Ānanda with the Master's approval. Glad at heart, those Sakyans of Kapilavatthu rejoiced in what Ānanda had said.

## LIV. POTALIYA-SUTTA.

### TRUE RETIREMENT.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in the Anga country across the river where there is a township named Āpaṇa, he went early in the day, duly robed and bowl in hand, into town for alms; and, after his meal, on his way back from his round, went into a wood to rest under a tree during the heat of the day. Thither too, in the course of his walk, came the householder Potaliya, in full attire of long tunic and long cloak, with umbrella and sandals; and after courteous greetings stood to one side. As he stood there, the Lord said to him:—There is sitting room, householder; be seated, if you will. Indignant and angry at being styled a householder, Potaliya made no answer; nor did he answer when the Lord repeated his invitation. But when so invited by the Lord for the third time, the indignant and angry Potaliya rejoined that [360] it was neither seemly nor proper to address him thus.

Well, householder, you have all the indications and characteristics and marks of a householder.

But, Gotama, I have retired and given over.

How have you managed that, householder?

Why, I have handed over to my sons as their inheritance all my wealth and substance, all my gold and coins of silver,—in connexion with which I no longer issue orders what to do and what not to do, but get just my food and clothing. That is how I have retired and given over.

There is a difference, householder, between what

you call giving over and the giving-up under the Law of the Noble.

What, pray, is that giving-up?—Will the Lord be so good as to expound it to me?

Hearken, then, householder, and pay attention ; and I will tell you,—said the Lord, who then spoke as follows to the listening Potaliya :—

In the Law of the Noble, there are eight states of consciousness which conduce to giving up according to the Law of the Noble ; and these are the eight :—All killing should be banned by holding life sacred ; theft should be banned by never taking what is not a free gift ; lying should be banned by strict adherence to truthfulness ; calumny should be banned by never stooping to calumniate ; covetise should be banned by uncovetousness ; taunts should be banned by never taunting ; angry rage should be banned by placidity ; and arrogance should be banned by humility. Such, briefly and without detailed exposition, are the eight states conducing to this giving up.

Would you, sir, be so good as to expound these in detail ?

Hearken then, householder, and pay attention ; and I will tell you,—said the Lord, who then spoke as follows to the listening Potaliya :—

[361] When I said that all killing should be banned by holding life sacred, I meant this, namely that the disciple of the Noble reflects that, as his life now aims at putting from him and renouncing those Fetters which might lead him to take away life, he would—were he now to take life—not only stand self-condemned but would be censured by men of intelligence, and must also, at the body's dissolution after death, look to pass hereafter to a state of woe for his guilt. Killing is a Fetter ; killing is an Obstacle ; but he whose hands are innocent of blood, thereby escapes all the destroying and consuming Cankers which blood-guilt would entail.—That is what I meant by saying all killing should be banned by holding life sacred. And what is true of innocence of blood is likewise true

in all respects of the other seven states of consciousness [362/3].

[864] These then, householder, are, in detailed exposition, the eight states of consciousness, at first only briefly indicated by me, which, in the Law of the Noble, conduce to giving up. But, in themselves alone they do not make up the plenitude of universal giving-up, according to the Law of the Noble.

What does make up that plenitude of universal giving-up according to the Law of the Noble? Would the Lord please explain this?

Hearken then, householder, and pay attention; and I will tell you,—said the Lord, who then spoke as follows to the listening Potaliya:—

1. It is just as if a famished, starveling dog were to make his way to a slaughter-house and the butcher were there to fling him a bare bone,—scraped and scraped till it was quite clean, without a scrap of meat on it and with only the merest trace of blood left. Would that dog be able therewith to allay the pangs of his hunger?—No, sir; not with a bare bone like that, toil and moil as he may.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a bare bone his Lord has likened pleasures of sense with all their present discomforts and tribulation and with worse to follow. When he has seen and realized this in its full truth, then he sheds any equanimity which is scattered and diffused and develops only that real poise which is one-centred and concentrated, wherein all attachments to material things of the world cease for ever and none remain.

2. It is just as if a vulture or heron or kite were to fly up with a lump of meat and other vultures and herons and kites were to keep on attacking it to tear and rend it. How think you, householder? If the bird does not promptly let go the meat, will it not be the death of him or deadly hurt to him?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a lump of meat his Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . [865] and none remain.



3. It is just as if a man were to carry a blazing hay-torch against the wind. How think you, householder? If he does not very quickly drop it, will the flame not burn either his hand or his arm or one of his members and so bring him death or deadly hurt?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a hay-torch his Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . and none remain.

4. It is just as if there were a pit, a man's height deep, filled with white-hot embers showing neither flame nor smoke; and a man came along who was fond of life and did not want to die, being fond of pleasure and averse from pain; and as if two stalwart men each took him by an arm and dragged him towards the embers. How think you, householder? Would not the man twist and turn his body now this way, now that?—Yes, sir; because he would realize he would be cast into the pit of embers and there would come by his death or deadly hurt.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a pit of embers his Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . and none remain.

5. It is just as if in a dream a man were to behold delightful pleasaunces, delightful woodlands, delightful prospects, and delightful lakes, none of which he could see when he awoke. Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a dream his Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . and none remain.

6. It is just as if, having besought the loan of other people's wealth—[366] a smart carriage and rare jewels and ear-rings—, a man were to appear in all this borrowed splendour and bravery in the bazaar, making folk say he must be a wealthy man, for wealthy men employ their wealth like that; and then the veritable owners were to take back their property from him when and where they met him. How think you, householder? Would the fellow have had enough of change of state?—Yes, sir; for the owners would have taken their property away from him.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to a loan his

Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . and none remain.

7. It is just as if there were a wood near a village or township and in it a tree laden with ripe and ripening fruit but with no fallen fruit on the ground beneath ; and a man came along who, being in need, search, and quest of fruit, should enter the wood, and see that loaded tree with no fruit on the ground beneath, and bethink him that he could climb trees and so might eat his fill and also stuff his pouch ; and if, when he had done so, a second man, coming on a like errand to the same tree with a sharp axe, were to bethink him that, though he could not climb, he might fell the tree and so eat his fill and also stuff his pouch. How think you, householder ? Would the man up the tree climb down very quickly lest in its fall the tree should crush his hand or foot or other member, with [367] consequent death to him or deadly hurt ?—Yes, sir.—Just in the same way the disciple of the Noble reflects that to fruit hanging on a tree his Lord has likened pleasures of sense . . . and none remain.

Arrived now at this perfection of mindfulness and poise, the disciple of the Noble recalls to mind his divers existences in the past,—a single birth, then two . . . (etc. as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in all their details and features.

Arrived now at this perfection of mindfulness and poise, the disciple of the Noble, with the Eye Celestial which far surpasses the human eye, sees beings in the act of passing hence and re-appearing elsewhere . . . (etc. as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in states of bliss in heaven.

Arrived now at this perfection of mindfulness and poise, the disciple of the Noble, by eradicating the Cankers, here and now, enters into, and abides in, the Deliverance of heart and mind, which knows no Cankers, and which, for and by himself, he has discerned and realized.

And thus, householder, there comes about the plentitude of universal giving-up, according to the Law of the Noble.—Do you detect this in your own case ?

Who am I, sir, by the side of this plenitude of universal giving-up, according to the Law of the Noble? Far, far am I from that! Hitherto, sir, I had imagined that the Wanderers of other creeds, inferior though they are, were superior; I fed them, inferior though they are, on superior food; and set them, inferior though they are, in the superior place. Hitherto, I had imagined that the superiors were inferior; I fed them, superior though they are, on inferior food; and set them, superior though they are, in the inferior place. But now, sir, I shall recognize [868] that the Wanderers of other creeds are the inferiors which they are; I will feed them, as being inferiors, on inferior food; and I will set them, as being inferiors, in the inferior place. The Almsmen, on the other hand, I shall now recognize as the superiors which they are; I will feed them, as superiors, on superior food; and I will set them, as superiors, in the superior place. The Lord has inspired me with love for the Recluses, with belief in the Recluses, and with reverence for the Recluses. Excellent, sir; excellent! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what was hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the Lord made his Doctrine clear. I come to the Lord as my refuge, and to his Doctrine, and to his Confraternity. I ask the Lord to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

## JĪVAKA-SUTTA.

### LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL MEATS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the mango-grove of Jīvaka Komārabhacca, Jīvaka came to the Lord and, after salutations, took his seat at one side, saying:—I hear

it is being said, sir, that people slay animals expressly for the recluse Gotama, who wittingly eats meat expressly meant for him and deliberately provided for him. Now, in so saying, are people accurately quoting the Lord's own words and not misrepresenting him? Are they stating what is congruent with the Doctrine? And is there no plausible version of your utterance which provokes criticism?

[369] Those who talk like that are not accurately quoting words of mine, Jīvaka, but are wrongfully misrepresenting me in defiance of fact. I forbid the eating of meat in three cases,—if there is the evidence either of your eyes or of your ears or if there are grounds of suspicion. And in three cases I allow it,—if there is no evidence either of your eyes or of your ears and if there be no grounds of suspicion.

Take the case, Jīvaka, of an Almsman, supported by a village or a township, who dwells with radiant goodwill pervading one quarter of the world—a second—a third—and then the fourth quarter, pervading the whole length and breadth of the world—above, below, around, everywhere—with radiant goodwill all-embracing, vast, boundless, wherein no hate or malice finds a place. To this Almsman comes a householder or his son with an invitation to to-morrow's meal. If he so desires, the Almsman accepts, and next morning, when the night is over, duly robed and bowl in hand, he makes his way to the house, takes the seat set for him, and is served with an excellent meal. No thought comes to him that he could have wished his host either to desist now, or to desist in future, from furnishing so excellent a meal; he eats his food without greed or blind desire but with a full consciousness of the dangers it involves and with full knowledge that it affords no refuge. Do you think that at such a time that Almsman's thoughts are set on hurting himself, or others, or both?

No, sir.

Is not that Almsman then eating food to which no blame attaches?

Yes, sir. I had heard that Brahmā's state is one of good-will, and now I have direct testimony of my own ;—for the Lord's state is one of good-will.

In the truth-finder all passion, [370] all hatred, and all delusion that could breed hurtfulness have all been grubbed up by the roots, like the cleared site where once a palm-tree grew, a thing that once has been and now can be no more. If this was the purport of your remark, Jīvaka, I agree.

Yes, sir ; that was what I meant.

Take the case of an Almsman, supported by a village or a township, who dwells with radiant pity—sympathy—poised equanimity—pervading one quarter of the world—a second— . . . food to which no blame attaches?

Yes, sir. I have heard that Brahmā's state is one of poise. I have the testimony of my own eyes for the Lord that his state is one of poise.

In the truth-finder all passion, all hatred, and all delusion which could breed annoyance or dislikes or aversions have all been grubbed up . . . I agree.

[371] Yes, sir ; that was what I meant.

Whoso takes life expressly for the truth-finder or for a disciple of his, is storing up much demerit for himself in five respects. First, in that he orders a particular living creature to be fetched. Secondly, in that this living creature, by being fetched, experiences pain of mind and body. Thirdly, in that he orders it to be killed. Fourthly, in that, in being killed, that living creature experiences pain of mind and body. And fifthly, in that he offends the truth-finder or a disciple of his by offering him what is improper.

Hereupon, Jīvaka Komārabhacca said : It is wonderful, sir ; it is marvellous ! Strictly correct is the Almsman's eating, strictly correct and blameless. Excellent, sir ; excellent ! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down . . . I ask the Lord to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

## LVI. UPĀLI-SUTTA.

### A JAIN'S CONVERSION.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Nālandā in Pāvārika's mango-grove, Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha was at Nālandā with a great following of Nigaṇṭhas.

After his round for alms in the city, the Nigaṇṭha Dīgha Tapassī, having finished his meal, betook him to the grove where the Lord was, [372] and there after courteous greetings stood to one side. As he stood, the Lord said to him :—There is sitting room, Tapassī; be seated, if you will. So the Nigaṇṭha sat down on a low seat and was addressed by the Lord as follows :—

How many kinds of acts, Tapassī, effect and start Demerit, according to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha?

It is not his usage, Gotama, to employ the term acts; he speaks of inflictions (daṇḍa<sup>1</sup>).

How many kinds of inflictions, according to him, effect and start Demerit?

Three, Gotama,—those of deed, word, and mind.

Are these three distinct each from the other two?

Yes.

Which of the three kinds in this classification does Nātaputta declare to be the most criminal in effecting and starting Demerit?

Those of deed,—the other two being less criminal.

Those of deed you say, Tapassī?—Yes.

Those of deed you say?—Yes.

Those of deed you say?—Yes.

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. stick, and so penalty. At S.B.E. XLV, pp. xvi-xvii, Jacobi suggests sins, while Jaini at p. xxxi of *Outlines* speaks of hurtful acts. Bu. here says the Jain idea was that *citta* (the *mano-daṇḍa*) did not come into bodily acts or into words,—which were irresponsible and mechanical, like the stirring and soughing of boughs in the wind.

In this wise did the Lord three times pin the Nigaṇṭha down to the issue.

[873] At this point Dīgha Tapassī the Nigaṇṭha said to the Lord :—And how many kinds of inflictions, according to you, Gotama, effect and start Demerit ?

It is not the Truth-finder's usage, Tapassī, to employ the term inflictions ; he speaks of acts.

How many kinds of acts, according to you, effect and start Demerit ?

Three, Tapassī,—those of deed, word, and mind.

Are these three distinct each from the other two ?

Yes.

Which of the three kinds in this classification do you declare to be the most criminal, Gotama, in effecting and starting Demerit ?

Those of mind,—the other two being less criminal.

Those of mind you say, Gotama ?—Yes.

Those of mind you say ?—Yes.

Those of mind you say ?—Yes.

In this wise did Dīgha Tapassī the Nigaṇṭha pin the Lord down to the issue. Then he rose up and went off to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha, who was sitting among a large gathering of lay-folk from the village of Bālaka (noodle) with Upāli at their head. When Nātaputta saw Dīgha Tapassī a little way off, he asked where he had come from in the heat of the day and was told he had been with the recluse Gotama. Asking next whether he had had a talk with him, [874] and learning that he had, Nātaputta enquired what had been their topic. On being told the whole conversation, Nātaputta said :—Quite right, Tapassī ; quite right. You answered Gotama like a well-informed disciple who understands his master's teachings. For, what show can mind's infliction make as compared with the stupendous inflictions of deed ? Yes ; the inflictions of deed are the most criminal in effecting and starting Demerit,—those of word and mind being less criminal !

Said the householder Upāli at this point :—Quite right, Tapassī ; quite right. You answered Gotama like a well-informed disciple . . . less criminal. And



now I am off to refute Gotama on this issue. If he takes his stand with me on the lines taken up by him with the right reverend Tapassī, then, point by point, will I shake him to and fro and haul him about . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 35) . . . [875] so will I disport myself with the recluse Gotama. I am off to refute him on this issue. —

Go then, householder, and refute him on the issue. —I or Dīgha Tapassī or you can do that.

Said Tapassī at this point :—I do not like Upālī's going to refute Gotama, who is a cozening person, expert in seducing others' disciples over to himself.

It is quite impossible and inconceivable, Tapassī, that Upālī should go over to be a disciple of Gotama ; what is possible is that Gotama will come over to be a disciple of Upālī ! Go then, householder, and refute him on the issue.—I or Dīgha Tapassī or you can do that.

A second time, and even a third time did Tapassī remonstrate,—only to be met by the same rejoinder from Nātaputta.

Yes, sir, I will go and refute him, said the householder Upālī, as he rose from his seat, with salutations and profound obeisance to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha, to betake himself to the Lord in Pāvārika's mango-grove. [876] Arrived there, he made his salutations to the Lord and took his seat to one side, enquiring whether Dīgha Tapassī the Nigaṇṭha had been there, and whether he had had a talk, and what it had been about. Having been told by the Lord all that had passed between them, Upālī said :—Tapassī, sir, was right, quite right. His answer to the Lord was that of a well-informed disciple who understands his master's teachings. For, what show can mind's infliction make as compared with the stupendous inflictions of deed ? Yes ; the inflictions of deed are the most criminal in effecting and starting Demerit,—those of word and mind being less criminal !

If, householder, you were to speak as one grounded in the Truth, we might have a talk about it.

I will speak as one grounded in the Truth, sir ; let us have a talk about it.

What think you, householder? Take the case of a Nigaṇṭha who, being sick and ill, very ill indeed, refuses cold water<sup>1</sup> and will only take warm water, so that he dies in the act of refusing to touch cold water. Where, according to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha, will he be reborn next?

There are gods, sir, called Mind's devotees ; and it is among these that he is reborn. And why?—Because he dies in devotion to an idea.

Householder! householder! Take heed what you are saying. What went before does not tally with what comes later, nor does what comes later tally with what went before. And yet you represented you could speak as one grounded in the Truth and able to discuss it.

Albeit the Lord says this, yet the inflictions of deed *are* the most criminal in effecting and starting Demerit,—those of word and mind being less criminal.

What think you, [377] householder?—Take the case of a Nigaṇṭha who, being restrained with the restraint of the fourfold check, resists evil with every form of resistance, is absorbed in resisting evil, has shaken off evil by resistance, and is instinct with the spirit of resistance to evil. Suppose now that, in going out or in coming in, he destroys the lives of numerous tiny creatures. What, according to Nātaputta, is the result to which this ripens?

He says it is unintentional and therefore not criminal.

But if it be intentional?

Then it is criminal indeed.

Where does Nātaputta classify intention?

In inflictions of mind.

Householder! Householder! . . . being less criminal.

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<sup>1</sup> The Jains do not drink cold water because of the jīvas, or souls in it. See *Dial.* i, 74-5 for this and for what follows. Bu. explains sabba-vāri-vārito here not only with reference to cold water, but also (alternatively) as sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena, which is adopted in the translation infra.

What think you, householder?—Is this city of Nālandā rich and wealthy, populous and crowded with folk?

Yes, sir, it is.

What think you, householder? Suppose there came a man with a drawn sword who declared that he would—in an instant, in a second—make all Nālandā's living beings into one heap and one mass of flesh. Could he do it?

Why, ten, or twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty men could not do it. What kind of a show could one sorry individual make alone?

What think you, householder? Suppose there came along a recluse or brahmin of super-normal powers and psychic attainments who said he would make Nālandā into a cinder by a single paroxysm of mental wrath. Could he do it?

[378] Yes, — ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty Nālandās. What kind of a show could one sorry Nālandā make alone?

Householder! Householder! . . . being less criminal.

What think you, householder? Have you ever heard tell who made the wildernesses of Daṇḍaka and Kālinga and Mejjha and Mātanga?

I have heard it was done by sages' paroxysms of mental wrath.

Householder! Householder! Take heed what you are saying. What went before does not tally with what comes later, nor does what comes later tally with what went before. And yet you represented you could speak as one grounded in the Truth and able to discuss it.

I was pleased and won over by the very first of the Lord's illustrations; it was only because I wanted to listen to his nimble versatility in questioning that I thought I must maintain a hostile attitude. Wonderful, sir; wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down . . . [379] while life lasts.

Proceed circumspectly, householder; it behoves well-known men like yourself to be circumspect.

Still more am I pleased and won over by the Lord's last remark. For, if those of other creeds had secured me as an adherent, they would keep on parading their banner round Nālandā to announce that I had joined them. But all the Lord does is to counsel me to proceed circumspectly, as it behoves well-known men like myself to be circumspect! For the second time I betake myself to the Lord as my refuge and to his Doctrine and to his Confraternity, asking him to accept me as a follower who has found an abiding refuge from this day onward while life lasts.

For a long time, householder, your family has been an unfailing well-spring for Nigaṇṭhas; you will bethink you to continue your alms to them when they come to your doors.

Still more am I pleased and won over by the Lord's last remark. What I had heard was that you had laid it down that gifts were to be given exclusively to you and your disciples but never to others and their disciples, and that, while there was an abundant blessing on what was bestowed on you and yours, no blessing on what was bestowed elsewhere. Yet, now the Lord is urging me to include the Nigaṇṭhas as well in my bounty,—a matter in which I shall observe the proper occasion. For the third time I betake myself . . . while life lasts.

Then the Lord delivered a progressive discourse to Upāli, namely, on giving, on virtue, on heaven, on the perils of vanity and foulness of pleasures of sense, and on the gains to be won by renouncing worldly things. As soon as the Lord recognized Upāli's heart to have become [880] sound and malleable and free from the Hindrances, uplifted and believing, then he unfolded the exposition of the Doctrine which only the Enlightened have elaborated,—regarding Ill and its origin and its cessation and the Path. Just as spotless cloth without speck or stain will readily take the dye, even so, while he was sitting there, did the householder Upāli come by the pure and spotless Eye of Truth so that he realized how whatsoever has a

beginning must have an end. When that he had thus seen, won, grasped, and penetrated the Doctrine, when he had passed beyond all doubt and had left all questionings behind him, when certitude was his and a direct personal conviction in the Master's teachings, —Upāli said to the Lord that now he must be going, as he had much to do and attend to.

At your own good time, answered the Lord.

✓ Then with grateful thanks to the Lord, Upāli rose, saluted him, and with profound obeisance betook himself to his own abode. Arrived there, he said to the porter:—From to-day onward I close my doors to male and female Nigaṇṭhas; they are open only to men and women who are the Lord's disciples or lay-followers. If any Nigaṇṭha comes here, stop him and don't let him in, but tell him that I have from to-day gone over to be a follower of the recluse Gotama; that I have closed my doors to male and female Nigaṇṭhas; that my doors are open only to men and women who are the Lord's disciples or lay-followers; and that, if he wants alms, he should stop where he is and it will be brought to him.

Very good, sir, replied the porter to his master Upāli.

When it reached the ears of the Nigaṇṭha Dīgha Tapassī that Upāli had gone over to be a follower of the recluse Gotama, away he went to Nātaputta with the news.

It is quite impossible, Tapassī, said Nātaputta, that this could happen; what is possible is for the recluse Gotama to go over to be a disciple of the householder Upāli.

[381] A second time, and yet a third time, did Tapassī report the fact, only to be scouted as before by Nātaputta. Shall I go, sir, said Tapassī, and ascertain for myself whether or no Upāli has gone over?

Yes, do, said Nātaputta.

So Tapassī betook him to Upāli's abode. Seeing him coming some way off, Upāli's porter stopped him and would not let him in, telling that his master had

from to-day gone over to be a follower of the recluse Gotama; that he had closed his doors to male and female Nigaṇṭhas; that his doors were open only to men and women who were the Lord's disciples or lay-followers; but that, if Tapassī wanted alms, he should stop where he was and food would be brought to him.

No, sir; I do not want alms, rejoined Tapassī, who then turned back to Nātaputta and reported that as follows:—It is quite true, sir, that Upāli has gone over to Gotama. I told you I did not like the idea of Upāli's going to refute Gotama—who is a cozening person, expert in seducing others' disciples over to himself, and has indeed succeeded with Upāli.

It is quite impossible and inconceivable, Tapassī, that Upāli should go over to be a disciple of Gotama; what is possible is that Gotama will come over to be a disciple of Upāli.

A second time, and yet a third time, did Tapassī repeat his statement, only to be answered as before by Nātaputta, [382]—who at last added that he would go and ascertain for himself whether or no Upāli had gone over.

Hereupon, Nātaputta betook him with a large train of Nigaṇṭhas to Upāli's abode. Seeing him coming some way off, Upāli's porter . . . food would be brought him.

My good porter, go to the householder Upāli and tell him that Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha with a large train of Nigaṇṭhas is standing in the gateway to see him.

Yes, sir, said the porter and took the message to his master, who directed him to put seats in the hall by the middle door of the house. When this had been duly done and reported to him, Upāli [388] proceeded to that hall and sat himself on the finest, best, and choicest seat there, telling the porter now to tell Nātaputta he could come in if he wanted to. This message having been faithfully conveyed to him, Nātaputta made his way into the hall with his large train of Nigaṇṭhas. As he saw Nātaputta advancing, the

householder Upāli went to meet him and invite him to be seated, ostentatiously dusting with his robe the finest, best, and choicest seat, and then promptly sitting down on it himself—as he said to Nātaputta : There are seats available, sir ; be seated, if you will.

Hereon Nātaputta said to Upāli :—You are a dolt and a dullard, householder. After proclaiming that you would go and refute the recluse Gotama, you retired from the encounter in great discomfiture. When you sallied forth you were going to refute Gotama and to return triumphant like a gelder who successfully returns with a pair of testicles removed or the gouger who returns with a pair of eyeballs excised ; —instead of which you retire from the encounter in great discomfiture yourself, cozened by Gotama's wizardry.

Excellent, sir, and lovely is that wizardry of his ! Were my dear kith and kin but cozened by that same wizardry, it would be to their abiding weal and welfare too ! If all Nobles were so cozened, it would be to their abiding [384] weal and welfare too,—as also it would be for all brahmins and middle-class men and peasants too, yea for all the world, with its gods, Māras, Brahmās, recluses and brahmins, embracing all gods and mankind ! Accordingly, I will give you an illustration ; for, an illustration often helps an intelligent person to understand the meaning of what is said.

Once on a time, sir, there was an old and aged brahmin, well advanced in years, who had a young brahmin wife who was with child and nearing her confinement. She besought her husband to buy in the bazaar, and bring home, a young monkey to amuse her child.

You had better wait, my dear, replied the brahmin, till your baby has been born. Then, if it is a boy, I will buy you a young male monkey for him to play with, or a young female monkey, if you have a girl.

A second time the wife pressed her request and a second time got the same answer from her husband. But when she asked him a third time, he, because of



his passion for his young wife, went away to the bazaar and bought a young male monkey which [885] he presented to his wife for her baby boy to play with.

Now go, said she, to Ratta-pāṇi the dyer and tell him you want this young monkey dyed a bright yellow, thoroughly pressed all over, and suppled both inside and out.

Because of his passion for his young wife, the brahmin took the monkey to the dyer's and asked that all this should be done,—only to receive the answer that, though the monkey could be dyed, it could not stand being pressed and suppled.—It is just the same, sir, with the doctrine of the foolish Nigaṇṭhas, which will take colour from fools though not from the wise, but will not stand practice or suppling.—Later on, sir, that same brahmin came to that dyer with a couple of lengths of new cloth to be dyed a bright yellow, thoroughly pressed all over, and suppled both inside and out. And the dyer told him that his new cloth could not only be dyed but also pressed and suppled inside and out.—It is just the same, sir, with the Doctrine of the Lord, Ārahat all-enlightened, which will not only take colour—from the wise, though not from fools—but will also stand practice and suppling.

Householder, this gathering, including the rulers present, was under the impression you were a follower of Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha. Whose follower are we to consider you?

At these words the householder Upāli arose from his seat and, with his outer robe over one shoulder and the other bared, [886] stretched forth folded palms of obeisance in the direction where the Lord was, and said to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha :—Hear then whose follower I am!

*I follow him, high Wisdom's faultless lord,  
whose mind is till'd, triumphant o'er his foes,  
purged of besetting Ill, stedfast in poise,  
in virtue stablished, wisest of the wise,  
trampling down passion, Lord immaculate.*

*I follow him, whose tranquil mind serene,  
by doubts untroubled, earthly joys disdains,  
saintly and sainted, human, made like men,  
yet peerless, Lord of utter purity.*

*I follow him, the certain guide and sure,  
foremost of teachers, matchless charioteer,  
pride's potent queller, Victor, Lord of all.*

*I follow him of boundless might, profound  
in insight, bringing peace, in lore adept,  
self-master'd, freedom's Lord emancipate,*

*I follow him, who lives aloof, alone,  
whose bonds are broken, who in freedom dwells,  
error's refuter, spotless, meek, unstained  
by passion, Lord of high self-mastery.*

*I follow him, of seven Sages last,<sup>1</sup>  
Being consummate, versed in threefold lore,  
thought's school'd accomplished master absolute,  
the potent Lord who storms the citadel.<sup>2</sup>*

*I follow him whose noble culture won  
perfection, truth's exponent, quick to see  
and store,—eschewing pleasure, not its thrall,  
the Lord beyond all cravings, passion-free.*

*I follow him, the blameless, rapt in thought,  
whose undefiled heart no trammels knows  
nor bondage, void of littleness, detach'd,  
consummate Lord who o'er the Flood has passed  
and pilots in his train mankind across.*

*I follow him, th' unshackled, infinite  
in wisdom, covetous of naught, who comes  
to bless, Truth-finder without peer, the sole  
and peerless, Lord of subtle mind abstruse.*

*I follow him of all-enlighten'd mind,  
from cravings cleansed, unclouded, clear, undimmed,*

<sup>1</sup> See list of the seven Buddhas in the 14th Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (*Dial.* II, 2-7). This pioneer list was amplified later (*Jātaka* I, 44) by inventing eighteen extra predecessors for Gotama, so that he became the twenty-fifth. The Jain Mahāvīra had twenty-three predecessors.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Indra or Sakka. The Buddhist commy. interprets this as Sakka who gave gifts in one earlier existence after another. Cf. *Burlingame's Buddhist Legends*, Part I, p. 314.

*of meet oblations worthy,<sup>1</sup> chief of men,  
th' unequall'd Lord of majesty supreme.*

Pray, when, householder, did you compose this eulogy of the recluse Gotama?

Like [887] a vast heap of divers flowers, sir, from which a skilled garland-maker or his apprentice might weave a garland manifold,—even so in the Lord there is full many a beauty, yes, many hundreds of beauties, to praise. Who will refuse praise where praise is due?

Then and there, from the mouth of Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha, who could not bear to hear the Lord extolled,—there gushed hot blood.<sup>2</sup>

## LVII. KUKKURA-VATIKA-SUTTA.

### OF EMULATING DOGS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying among the Kojiyas—Halidda-vasana is the name of a township of theirs—there came to him Puṇṇa Kojiyaputta who was a Bovine,<sup>3</sup> and Seniya, a naked ascetic (acela) who was a Canine. Puṇṇa, after saluting the Lord, took a seat to one side, while Seniya, after greetings of courtesy and civility, squatted down like a dog. Said Puṇṇa to the Lord :—this naked ascetic Seniya the Canine has set himself an austere task ; he subsists by scavenging, and has for a long time punctually discharged the vows of his

<sup>1</sup> Lit. a yakkha (or fairy) worthy to receive oblations,—the term yakkha being applied to Gotama here as it is applied to the great Sakka in Sutta No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the Buddhist Canon makes Nātaputta pre-decease Gotama. These symptoms, like those of the equally ascetic Devadatta, suggest rupture of the pulmonary blood-vessels. Bu. says here that Nātaputta was carried away on a litter to Pāvā, where he died shortly afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> To support his bovine character, says Bu., he wore horns and a tail and affected to browse on grass. See Dhammasangani translation, p. 261.

Canine vocation. What future state and what destiny await him ?

Stop, Puṇṇa ; proceed no further ; question me not hereon.

A second time and yet a third time Puṇṇa repeated his enquiry, receiving the third time this answer from the Lord :—Though I told you I disapproved and asked you to stop and proceed no further with your enquiry, yet I will tell you the answer. If, Puṇṇa, a man fully and completely develops the dog's habits, the dog's principles of conduct, the dog's mind and [888] the dog's behaviour, then at the body's dissolution after death he will pass to be with dogs thereafter. But, if he holds the view that by such principles or practices or austerities or higher life he will become a greater or a lesser god, then he holds a false view ; and I say that the man of false views has before him one of two future states,—namely purgatory or rebirth as an animal. If he is lucky, he becomes a dog ; if he is unlucky, he goes to purgatory.

At these words Seniya, the naked ascetic who was a Canine, burst into tears and wept. Then said the Lord to Puṇṇa :—I told you to stop and proceed no further with your enquiries.

Said Seniya :—It is not because the Lord spoke as he did concerning me that I weep. But oh ! I have so long and so punctually discharged the vows of my Canine vocation ! Puṇṇa here, the Bovine, has for a long time punctually discharged his Bovine vows. What future state and what destiny await him ?

Said the Lord :—Stop, Seniya ; proceed no further ; question me not hereon.

A second time and yet a third time Seniya repeated his enquiry, receiving the third time this answer from the Lord :—Though I told you I disapproved and asked you to proceed no further with your enquiry, yet I will tell you the answer. If, Seniya, a man fully and completely develops the habits of kine, the principles of conduct of kine, the mind of kine and the behaviour

of kine, then at the body's dissolution. . . . [389]  
 kine, if he is unlucky, he goes to purgatory.

At these words Puṇṇa Koliyaputta the Bovine burst into tears and wept. Then said the Lord to Seniya :—I told you to stop and proceed no further with your enquiries.

Said Puṇṇa :—It is not because the Lord spoke as he did concerning me that I weep. But oh! I have so long and so punctually discharged the vows of my Bovine vocation! I have faith in the Lord that he can so preach the Doctrine that I shall renounce my bovine practices and Seniya his canine practices.

Give ear then, Puṇṇa, and hearken; and I will speak. Then to the listening Puṇṇa the Lord began :—

I affirm four kinds of actions (kamma) which I have independently discovered and proved. What are the four?—There are (i) actions which are black, with black outcome, (ii) actions which are bright, with bright outcome, (iii) actions which are both black and bright, with both a black and a bright outcome, and (iv) actions which are neither black nor bright, with an outcome neither black nor bright, conducing to the destruction of karma (kamma).

(i) What action is black, with black outcome?—Take a man who evolves a harmful complex of body, speech or thought and passes in consequence to a harmful realm where harmful impressions beset him, so that he experiences feelings of harm which are painful in the extreme,—as do beings [390] in purgatory. Thus, from the creature proceeds its own future state; what it does determines what it passes to, and the impressions which then beset it. So I say creatures are the heirs of their own actions.—This is action which is black, with black outcome.

(ii) What action is bright, with bright outcome?—Take a man who evolves a harmless complex of body, speech or thought and passes in consequence to a harmless realm where harmless impressions beset him, so that he experiences feelings devoid of harm which

are pleasant in the extreme,—as do the Subha-Kinṇa gods. Thus from the creature proceeds . . . heirs of their own actions.—This is action which is bright, with bright outcome.

(iii) What action is both black and bright, with both a black and a bright outcome?—Take a man who evolves complexes of body, speech, and thought which are both harmful and harmless, and passes in consequence to a realm at once harmful and harmless, where both harmful and harmless impressions beset him, so that he experiences mixed feelings, some harmful and some harmless,—as do human beings, some gods and some whose lot embraces suffering.<sup>1</sup> Thus from the creature proceeds . . . heirs of their own actions.—This is action which is both black and bright, with both a black and a bright outcome.

(iv) [391] Lastly, what action is neither black nor bright, with an outcome which is neither black nor bright, conducing to the destruction of Karma?—In this case, it is the mental resolve to discard all action of the three foregoing types which is called action which is neither black nor bright, with an outcome which is neither black nor bright, conducing to the destruction of Karma.

Such, Puṇṇa, are the four types of action affirmed by me, which I have independently discerned and proved.

Hereupon, Puṇṇa the Bovine said to the Lord:—Wonderful, sir; wonderful! Just as . . . etc. down to . . . may the Lord accept me as a disciple from this day forth while life lasts.

And Seniya, the naked ascetic who was a Canine, said the same but ended by saying:—I come to the Lord as my refuge and to his Doctrine and to his confraternity. Be it mine to receive admission and confirmation as an Almsman with the Lord.

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<sup>1</sup> Bu. explains that the devas here referred to are earth's devatās, and that the *vinipātikas* in question are the *veṇānikapetas*.

A former sectary of another school, Seniya, who seeks admission and confirmation in this Doctrine and Rule, first resides for four months, at the end of which four months proved Almsmen admit and confirm him as an Almsman. This is the distinction between persons which I recognize.

If, sir, former sectaries of other schools have first to undergo this four months' probation before their admission here, then I will reside for four months, at the end of which period let proved Almsmen admit and confirm me as an Almsman.

So the naked ascetic Seniya the Canine was admitted and confirmed as an Almsman of the Lord. And not long after his confirmation the reverend Seniya, dwelling alone and aloof, strenuous, [392] ardent and purged of self, after no long time won that prize in quest of which young men go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims, that prize of prizes which crowns the higher life,—even this did he think out for himself, realize and attain, and in this did he dwell, convinced that for him rebirth was no more, that he had lived the highest life, that his task was done, and that now for him there was no more of what he had been. So the reverend Seniya was numbered among the Arahats.

## LVIII. ABHAYA-RĀJAKUMĀRA-SUTTA.

### OF CHOOSING ONE'S WORDS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo-grove where the squirrels are fed, Prince Abhaya went to Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha and after salutations took his seat to one side and was thus addressed by Nātaputta:—Go, prince, and confute the recluse Gotama; it will greatly redound to your credit and repute when people say that Prince Abhaya has confuted him, despite all his power and might.



But how am I to do it?

Go to him, prince, and ask him this question :— Would a truth-finder say anything which would be displeasing and disagreeable to others? If, on the one hand, he says yes, ask him how then he differs from the ordinary man,—who does say what is displeasing and disagreeable to others. But if he says no, [898] then ask him how then it was that he declared Devadatta to be a reprobate, a child of perdition, doomed to purgatory for ages,<sup>1</sup> and beyond all hope of redemption,—words which angered and upset Devadatta. This two-edged question which you will put to him, prince, is more than he will be able either to spew out or to swallow down. Just like a bar of iron fastened on a man's neck which he can neither spew out nor swallow down, even so will this two-edged question prove to the recluse Gotama ; he will not be able either to spew or to swallow it.

Yes, sir, said Prince Abhaya obediently. Then, rising from his seat he took his leave reverently of Nātaputta and betook him to the Lord, whom he saluted before taking his seat to one side. But when he was seated, a glance at the sun suggested to the prince that the hour was not well-timed for achieving his purpose that day and that he had better defer confuting the recluse Gotama till the morrow and under his own roof. So he invited the Lord with three others to a meal next day ; and when by his silence the Lord intimated his consent, the prince rose up and departed with a reverent leave-taking. At that night's close the Lord, duly robed and bowl in hand, made his way early to the prince's abode and sat down on the seat set for him. The prince provided an excellent meal of food both solid and soft, which he served with his own hands till the Lord had had his fill. The Lord's meal over and done, Prince Abhaya seated himself to one side on a lower seat and said :— Would a truth-finder, sir, say anything which would be displeasing and disagreeable to others?

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vinaya Texts III, 254.

This needs qualification, prince.

Then, sir, the Nigaṇṭhas would be at fault.<sup>1</sup>

Why do you say that?

[394] Well, sir, when I was sitting with Nātaputta the Nigaṇṭha, he said to me :—Go, prince, and confute the recluse Gotama . . . (etc., as above) . . . Gotama will not be able either to spew or to swallow it.

Now at that time the prince was nursing his little boy, a babe who could not yet stand. Said the Lord :—What [395] think you, prince? If, from inattention on your part or his nurse's, he were to get a stick or a pebble into his mouth, what would you do with him?

I should remove it from him, sir. If I could not get it away at once, I should grasp his head with my left hand, crook a finger of my right hand and pull it out, —even if blood flowed. And why?—Out of pity for the child.

Precisely in the same spirit, prince, the truth-finder never says anything which he knows to be false, untrue and unprofitable, and also displeasing and disagreeable to others; never says anything which he knows to be a fact and true, but unprofitable and also displeasing and disagreeable to others; but, should it be a fact and true and profitable, but also displeasing and disagreeable to others, then the truth-finder knows the due season to state it. He never says anything which he knows to be false, untrue and unprofitable, albeit pleasing and agreeable to others to hear; never says anything which he knows to be a fact and true but unprofitable, albeit pleasing and agreeable to others to hear; but, if it be a fact and true and profitable, while pleasing and agreeable to others to hear, then the truth-finder knows the due season when to state it. And why?—Out of pity for creatures.

When, sir, learned scholars—who are Nobles or brahmins or heads of houses or recluses—come to the

<sup>1</sup> So Bu. (naṭṭhā Nigaṇṭhā). But the P.T.S. Dict. derives *anassum* (see sub v.) from *anusūyati*, in which case the meaning would be: That is what I heard from the Nigaṇṭha.

truth-finder with a question which they have elaborated, has the Lord previously reflected what their question will be and what his answer will be? Or does he answer offhand?

Then, prince, I will ask you a question in reply, for such answer as you may see fit to give. What think you? Do you know all about the several parts of a chariot?

Yes, sir; I know all about that.

What think you, prince? If people come to ask you what a particular part is, have you previously reflected [896] what their question and your answer will be? Or would you answer offhand?

As a charioteer of repute, I am versed in all the parts of a chariot, and my answer would come to me offhand.

Just in the same way, prince, when learned scholars come to the truth-finder with a question which they have elaborated, his answer comes to him offhand. And why? Because, prince, I have plumbed that particular constituent of the Doctrine and because my answer therefore comes to me offhand.

Hereupon, Prince Abhaya said to the Lord:—Wonderful, sir! wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again what has been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the Lord made his Doctrine clear. I come to the Lord as my refuge and to his Doctrine and to his Confraternity. I ask the Lord to accept me as a disciple who has found his refuge from this day forth while life lasts.

LIX. BAHU-VEDANIYA-SUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

## PLEASANT AND UNPLEASANT.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, Pañcakanga the carpenter came to the reverend Udāyi, and, having seated himself after salutations, asked, How many classes of feelings does the Lord specify?

Three, sir,—pleasant, unpleasant and indifferent.

[397] No, Udāyi, he specifies not three but only two classes of feelings,—the pleasant and the unpleasant;—the indifferent he accounts as the supremely pleasant in the case of him who has found peace. For the second and for a third time Udāyi affirmed there were the three classes; and a second and a third time the carpenter insisted there were only two; neither could convince the other.

Their talk was heard by the reverend Ānanda, who went off to the Lord and, seating himself after salutations, related the whole of the talk Udāyi and the carpenter had had together. Said the Lord to Ānanda:—It was a quite correct statement by Udāyi which the carpenter rejected, and it was a quite correct statement by the carpenter which Udāyi rejected. I have specified two classes of feelings; [398] I have specified three, five, six, eighteen, thirty-six and a hundred and eight. I have so enun- tiated the Doctrine. Those who refuse to accept, receive and welcome from others correct statements of it as enun- tiated by me, must be expected to come to live together in quarrels, strife and contentions, assailing one another with shafts of wounding speech; whereas those who accept, receive and welcome from others correct and accurate statements of it as I have enun- tiated it, may be expected to live together in amity, harmony and concord, without quarrelling, in happy union, viewing one another with eyes of affection.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced verbatim in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, IV, 223-8.

Five in number, Ānanda, are the pleasures of sense, namely, material shapes apparent to the eye, sounds, smells, taste and touch,—all of them pleasant and agreeable and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lust. Every pleasant gratification which arises from these five pleasures of sense is called sensual pleasure.

But, I do not agree with him who should say this is the highest pleasure creatures can experience. Why do I not agree?—Because, beyond this, there is a pleasure far choicer and more excellent,—which comes when, divested of lusts and of wrong dispositions, an Almsman enters on and dwells in the First Ecstasy in all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection.

Nor do I agree with him who should say that this latter is the highest pleasure. [399] Why not?—Because, beyond this, there is a pleasure far choicer and more excellent,—which comes when an Almsman, rising above observation and reasoning, enters on and dwells in the Second Ecstasy. . . .

. . . in the Third Ecstasy. . . .

. . . in the Fourth Ecstasy, the state that knows naught pleasant or unpleasant, the clarity that comes of poise and collectedness.

Nor do I agree with him who should say that this last is the highest pleasure. Why not?—Because, beyond this, there is a pleasure far choicer and more excellent,—which comes when, by passing altogether beyond perception of material objects, by ceasing from perception of sense-reactions, and by not heeding perception of differences, an Almsman comes to hold space to be infinite and so enters on and dwells in the plane of infinity and space.

. . . plane of infinity of consciousness.

. . . plane of Naught.

[400] . . . plane of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

Nor yet do I agree with him who should say this

last is the highest pleasure. Why not?—Because, beyond this, there is a pleasure far choicer and more excellent,—which comes when, by passing altogether beyond the plane of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness, an Almsman enters on and dwells in the state in which feelings and perceptions are stilled and laid to rest for ever.

It may be, Ānanda, that Wanderers belonging to other schools will say :—The recluse Gotama speaks of the stilling of feelings and perceptions, and accounts this pleasure. Why? and how? Your answer to such should be that the Lord does not restrict pleasure to pleasant feelings only; the truth-finder ranks under pleasure all that is pleasant wheresoever he descries it.

Thus spake the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Ānanda rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LX. APAÑNAKA-SUTTA.

### THE SOUND DOCTRINE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was on an alms-pilgrimage in Kosala with a great company of Almsmen, he came to a brahmin village of the Kosalians named Sālā. It came to the ears of the heads of houses there that the recluse Gotama [401] . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 41) . . . and others again in silence.

When they were seated, the Lord asked these brahmins whether they had got a favourite teacher in whom they had confidence.

No, sir, was their answer.

Well, as you have not got a favourite teacher of your own, you should embrace and fulfil the Sound Doctrine, to your lasting happiness and welfare. And in what does it consist?

Among recluses and brahmins some there are who hold and affirm that there is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or oblations; no such thing as the fruit and harvest of actions good or bad; no such thing as this world or the next; no such thing as either parents or spontaneous generation; no such thing in this world as recluses and brahmins who have achieved success and walk aright, who have, of and by themselves, apprehended and realized this world and the next and make it all known to others. Others again [402] maintain that there are indeed such things as these.

What think you, sirs? Are not these two schools of recluses and brahmins diametrically opposed, one to the other?

Yes, sir.

Of those who hold and affirm that there are no such things as the foregoing, it may be predicated that, scouting the three right principles of good behaviour in body, word and thought they will embrace and follow the three wrong principles of bad behaviour in body,



word and thought. And why?—Because such recluses and brahmins see neither the peril, vanity and foulness of the wrong qualities nor the blessing which comes of Renunciation allied to sanctity. Although there is indeed a next world, he holds the view there is not, and this is his wrong view; he resolves there is not, and this is his wrong resolve; he says there is not, and this is his wrong speech; he insists there is not, and therein goes counter to Arahats who are versed in worlds beyond this; he persuades others there is no next world, and so diffuses false doctrine; and in diffusing it he exalts himself and disparages others. Consequently, his earlier virtues are shed and vices are now installed; and this wrong view, this wrong resolve, this wrong speech, this antagonism to the Noble,<sup>1</sup> this diffusion of false doctrine, this self-exaltation and this disparagement of others,—all these several bad and wrong principles thrive apace because of his wrong views.

[408] In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that, if there be no world to come, then this individual, at the body's dissolution after death, will fare well; but, if there be a world to come, will pass to a doom of tribulation and woe or to purgatory. If, however, it be granted that there is no other world and if it be assumed that the negative view is true, then the individual stands condemned here and now by men of intelligence as a bad liver, a holder of wrong views and an apostle of vanity. But, if there is another world, then this individual loses both ways, first by being—here and now—condemned by men of intelligence and secondly by passing at death to a doom of tribulation and woe or to purgatory; so the sound doctrine is not embraced and followed by him; he is one-sided; he misses the right conclusion.

Of those, on the other hand, who hold and affirm that there are indeed such things as the foregoing, it may be predicated that, scouting the three wrong

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<sup>1</sup> Here clearly the plural Ariyā is a synonym for the Arahats *supra*.

principles of bad behaviour in body, word and thought, they will embrace and follow the three right principles of good behaviour in body, word and thought. And why?—Because such recluses and brahmins see both the peril, vanity and foulness of the wrong principles and the blessing which comes of Renunciation allied to sanctity. There being a next world, he holds the view that there is, and this is his right view; he resolves that there is, and this is his right resolve; he insists that there is, and therein goes not counter to Arahats who are versed in worlds beyond this; he [404] persuades others that there is a next world, and so diffuses right doctrine, and in diffusing it neither exalts himself nor disparages others. Consequently, his earlier vices are shed and virtue is now installed; and this right view, this right resolve, this right speech, this unison with the Noble, this diffusion of right doctrine, this absence alike of self-exaltation and of disparagement of others,—all these several right principles thrive apace because of his right views.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that, if there is a world to come, then this individual, at the body's dissolution after death, will pass to a happy state or to heaven. If, however, it be granted that there is no other world and if it be assumed that the negative view is true, then the individual is here and now extolled by men of intelligence as living a good life, holding right views, and preaching what is salutary. But, should there be a world to come, then this individual gains both ways, first by being here and now extolled by the intelligent, and secondly by passing at death to a happy state or to heaven; so the sound doctrine is embraced and followed by him; he is two-sided; he seizes on the right conclusion.

Other recluses and brahmins there are who hold and affirm that no evil is wrought by him who either himself acts or causes another to act, who maims or causes another to maim, who causes grief or misery, who tortures or causes another to torture, who sets folk quaking or causes another to do so, who slays,

who steals, who is a burglar or a dacoit or a house-breaker or a foot-pad or an adulterer or a liar. If, say they, with a cleaver as sharp as a razor he were to make a single heap and mound of flesh out of all that lives on earth, no guilt proceeds therefrom and no consequence of guilt ensues; nor does guilt proceed or ensue if he were to march to the southern bank of the Ganges killing and slaughtering, maiming and causing to be maimed, torturing and causing to be tortured. Nor again, say they, if he were to march to the northern bank of the Ganges distributing alms and causing alms to be distributed, offering sacrifices and causing sacrifices to be offered,—no virtue proceeds therefrom and no consequence of virtue ensues; no virtue proceeds or ensues from alms-giving or self-control or temperance or from speaking truth.

Other recluses and brahmins there are who hold and affirm [405] on the contrary that guilt does proceed in the former case and virtue in the latter.

What think you, sirs? Are not these two schools of recluses and brahmins diametrically opposed one to the other?

Yes, sir.

Of those who hold and affirm that neither guilt nor virtue proceeds from what I have described, it may be predicated that scouting the three right principles. . . . Renunciation allied to sanctity. Although there is indeed an after-effect, he holds the view there is not, and this is his wrong view; . . . [406] all these several bad principles thrive apace because of his wrong views.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that, if there be no after-effect, then this individual, at the body's dissolution after death, will fare well; but if . . . misses the right conclusion.

Of those, on the other hand, who hold and affirm that there are indeed such things as after-effects, it may be predicated . . . [407] all these several right principles thrive apace because of his right views.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself

that, if after-effects there are, then this individual . . . seizes on the right conclusion.

Other recluses and brahmins, again, there are who hold and affirm that there is neither cause nor reason either for the depravity or for the purity of creatures; that it is without reason or cause that they grow depraved or pure; that there is no such thing as strength or will, no human courage or steadfastness; all creatures, all beings, all that has life,—they are all impotent weaklings with no power of will, they are engendered as what fate dictates, encountering pleasure or pain within one or other of life's Six Environments.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Charpentier on 'The Leśyā-theory of the Jainas and Ājivikas' in the *Sārtryk* in honour of K. J. Johansson (Goteborg, 1910). But the Jain 'colours' arose as the direct product of *Karma*, which Makkhali is here represented as flouting. At D. III, 250 only two *abhi-jā-tis* are particularized as colours (the 'black' and the 'white'), but at D.A. I, 162 Bu. completes the six (as colours) by adding blue, red, yellow and very white. The Cy. (here) goes on to explain that—in an ascending scale—the black or lowest are bird-fowlers, pig-stickers, fishermen, robbers, robbers' executioners, and all others who follow cruel callings. Buddhist almsmen are 'blue.'—It is said that these, putting 'thorns' in the Four Requisites (of an Almsman), eat them, and so an Almsman is a 'thorn-liver,' this being their creed; or 'thorn-livers' are certain Pilgrims (*pabbajitā*), for, in their belief, recluses (*samaṇas*) are 'thorn-livers.'—The 'red' are Nigaṇṭhas who wear one garment, and are reputed to be whiter than the foregoing two classes. The 'yellow' are lay folk who are followers of the unclad (*gihi-acela-sāvaka*); thus they make their own donors of requisites higher than the Nigaṇṭhas. Nanda Vaccha and Sankicca are classed as 'white,' being spoken of as whiter than the foregoing four classes. The Ājivakas are spoken of as 'whitest of all,' being reputed whiter than all the others.

On our Majjhima passage, Bu. concludes his exegesis by saying that:—first of all (*paṭhamam*) all people are bird-fowlers etc. In the successive stages of being purified (*tato visujjhamanā*) they become Sakya Recluses; then Nigaṇṭhas, then disciples of the Ājivakas; then Nanda etc.; and then Ājivakas. Such is the doctrine held. The 'white' class is to be explained as the converse to what has been said (of the other classes).

In the Sumangala-Vilāsinī version (I, 162), apart from minor differences, Makkhali Gosāla is added to Nanda Vaccha and

Other recluses and brahmins there are who hold and affirm on the contrary that there is a cause and a reason for depravity and for purity and that creatures are not impotent weaklings without power of will, dominated by fate and bound by life's hard and fast environment.

What think you, sirs? [408] Are not these two schools diametrically opposed one to the other?

Yes, sir?

Of those who hold and affirm the hard and fast barriers of environment, it may be predicated that, scouting the three right principles. . . . Renunciation allied to sanctity. Although there is indeed a cause and a reason for depravity and for purity, he holds the view that there is not, and this is his wrong view; . . . all these several bad principles thrive apace because of his wrong views.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that, if there be no cause or reason, then this individual, at the body's dissolution after death, will fare well; but if . . . [409] misses the right conclusion.

Of those, on the other hand, who hold and affirm that a cause and a reason exists alike for depravity and purity, it may be predicated . . . all these several right principles thrive apace because of his right views.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that if there be a cause, then this individual . . . [410] seizes on the right conclusion. . . .

Some recluses and brahmins, moreover, hold and

[Kisa] Sankicca,—the trio being raised from the white category to the whitest of all, while ājīvakas [and female ājīvinīyo] descend to the merely 'white'; and there is no specific mention of Samānas (as above) in connection with bhikkhus.

In adopting the two colours, black and white, Buddhism characteristically adopts also the familiar number of six abhijātis (D. III, 250-1), but transmutes their meaning ethically. Thus, a man born into a black (or dark) environment may evolve therein (i) a black character and life or (ii) a white character and life or (iii) Nirvana. And so also threefold possibilities lie before the man born into a white (or bright) environment.

affirm that there exist no Incorporeal Brahmā-realms at all, while others assert the contrary.

What think you, sirs? Are not these two schools diametrically opposed one to the other?

Yes, sir.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that he personally has neither seen what those affirm who deny the existence of Incorporeal Realms, nor discovered what those others affirm who preach the existence of such Realms; nor does he feel it proper, without knowing or seeing for himself, definitely to commit himself to one side or the other as representing the absolute truth while all else is error. If, he says, those speak truly who deny the existence of Incorporeal Realms, it may be that I shall surely get hereafter to the Corporeal Gods who are the product of mentality (*manomaya*); whereas if the exponents of Incorporeal Realms speak truly, it may be that I shall surely get to the Incorporeal Gods who are the product of perception (*saññā-maya*); at any rate we see that the Corporeal results in assaults with clubs and swords, in wrangles, strife, contentions and quarrels, and in slander and lies, whereas nothing of the kind occurs with the Incorporeal. Led by these reflections, he sets his course towards viewing the Corporeal without interest and without zest, and towards stilling it for ever.

Some recluses and brahmins there are who hold and affirm that there is no such thing as the stilling of continuing existence, while others again assert the contrary.

[411] What think you, sirs? Are not these two schools diametrically opposed one to the other?

Yes, sir.

In this case a man of intelligence says to himself that he personally has neither seen what those affirm who deny that existence can be stilled, nor discovered what those others affirm who assert that it can; nor does he feel it proper, without knowing or seeing for himself, definitely to commit himself to one side or the other as representing the absolute truth while all else

is error. If, he says, those speak truly who deny that existence can be stilled, I shall surely get to the Incorporeal Gods who are the product of perception; whereas, if those are right who say existence can be stilled for ever, I may win Nirvana here and now; as regards the negative view, it is the neighbour of passion, attachment, of cherished delight, of cleaving and clinging to things; while the positive view has the precise opposites of all these things for its neighbours. Led by these reflections, he sets his course towards viewing all continuing existence without interest and without zest, and towards stilling it for ever.

There are four types of individuals to be found in the world.—First, there is he who tortures himself and is given up to self-torture. Then there is he who tortures others and is set on torturing them. Next, there is he who tortures both himself and others; while, lastly, there is the man who tortures neither himself nor others. And this [412] last individual, who tortures neither himself nor others, dwells—here and now—beyond all appetites, consummate, unfevered, blissful and perfected.

Now, what kind of individual is he who tortures himself and is given up to self-torture?—Take the case of the individual who goes naked and flouts the decencies of life . . . etc., as in the Kandarakka-Sutta (No. 51). Such are the various ways in which he tortures his own body; and such a man is called a self-torturer, given up to self-torture.

What kind of individual is he who tortures others and is given up to torturing them?—Take the case of the individual who butchers sheep or swine . . . (etc., as in No. 51) . . . other cruel trade. Such a man is called a torturer of others, given up to torturing them.

What kind of individual is he who tortures both himself and others too?—Take the case of the individual who is an anointed king of the race of Nobles . . . (etc. as in No. 51) . . . and voices of lamentation. Such a man is called a torturer both of himself and of others.



Lastly, what kind of individual is he who, torturing neither himself nor others, and given to torturing neither himself nor them, dwells—here and now—beyond all appetites, consummate, unfevered, blissful and perfected?

There appears in the world here a Truth-finder, Arahāt all-enlightened . . . (etc., as in No. 51) . . . [418] and now for me there is no more of what I have been! Such a man is called one who tortures neither himself nor others and is given to torturing neither himself nor them, but lives—here and now—beyond all appetites, consummate, unfevered, blissful and perfected.

At the close of these words, the brahmins of Sālā said to the Lord :—Wonderful, Gotama ; wonderful ! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear. To him as our refuge we come and to his Doctrine and to his Confraternity. We ask him to accept us as his followers from this day forth while life lasts.

## LXI. AMBALAṬṬHIKĀ-RĀHUL-OVĀDA-SUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

### AGAINST LYING.

[414] Thus have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo-grove where the squirrels were fed, and the reverend Rāhula was staying at Ambalaṭṭhikā, the Lord, arising towards eventide from his meditations, went over to Rāhula, who, seeing the Lord some way off, set a seat for him

<sup>1</sup> This is doubtless the Sutta which Asoka commends in the Bhābrā Edict.

and water to wash his feet. Seating himself on the seat set for him, the Lord poured water over his feet, while Rāhula after salutations took his seat to one side.

Having still a minute drain of water in the water-jar, the Lord said to Rāhula :—Do you see this minute drain of water ?

Yes, sir.

Minute, likewise, is the recluse-ship of those who shrink not from deliberate lying.

Then throwing away the water, the Lord said to Rāhula :—Do you see this minute drain of water now thrown away ?

Yes, sir.

Thrown away, likewise, is the recluse-ship of those who shrink not from deliberate lying.

Upsetting the jar, the Lord said to Rāhula :—Do you see this jar upset ?

Yes, sir.

Upset, likewise, is the recluse-ship of those who shrink not from deliberate lying.

Setting the jar upright again, the Lord said to Rāhula :—Do you see this jar empty and void ?

Yes, sir.

Empty and void, likewise, is the recluse-ship of those who shrink not from deliberate lying.

It is like, Rāhula, a king's elephant with tusks as long as the pole of a plough, a vast beast of noble lineage, which has seen many battles and, when it comes into battle, goes to work with its fore feet and its hind feet, with its fore-quarters and its hind-quarters, with its head and its ears and its tail,—but [415] keeps its trunk out of danger. Noting this, the mahout feels the elephant's life is not lost. But when the elephant goes to work with its trunk too, then the mahout feels the elephant's life is lost, for it has left undone nothing it could do.—Just in the same way, Rāhula, he who does not shrink from deliberate lying has not—say I—left undone any evil thing which he could do. Therefore, you must school yourself never to lie even in jest.

What think you, Rāpula ? What is a mirror for ?

To reflect, sir,

In just the same way you must reflect again and again in doing every act, in speaking every word and in thinking every thought. When you want to do anything, you must reflect whether it would conduce to your or others' harm or to both, and so is a wrong act, productive of woe and ripening unto woe. If reflection tells you this is the nature of that contemplated fact, assuredly you should not do it [416]. But if reflection assures you there is not harm but good in it, then you may do it. If while you are doing that act, reflection tells you it is harmful to you or to others or to both and is a wrong act productive of woe and ripening unto woe, abandon it. But if reflection assures you there is not harm but good in it, then you may go forward with it. If when you have done that act, reflection assures you that it has conduced to your or others' harm or to both and is a wrong act productive of woe and ripening unto woe, then you should declare and disclose and unfold it to your master or to the discreet among your fellows in the higher life, and you should henceforth develop self-control [417]. But if reflection assures you there is not harm but good in it, then joy and gladness shall be yours as you school yourself by day and by night in the things that are right.

And the same holds good for speech and [418-9] for thoughts also.

[420] All recluses and brahmins, Rāhula, who in past ages were pure in deed, word and thought, won that purity by constant reflection. So in ages to come will their successors win their purity, even as it is won by recluses and brahmins to-day. Therefore, school yourselves by constant reflection to win purity in deed, word and thought.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Rāhula rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXII. MAHĀ-RĀHUL-OVĀDA-SUTTA.

## BREATHING EXERCISES.

THUS have I heard. One morning when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure, he went, duly robed and bowl in hand, into the city for alms. Behind followed the reverend Rāhula, [421] duly robed and bowl in hand. Without looking round, the Lord addressed Rāhula as follows:—All matter (rūpa)—past present or future, within or without, gross or subtle, high or low, far or near—should be regarded with full comprehension that 'this is not mine'—'not I'—'no self of mine.'

Matter only, Lord? Only matter, Blessed One?

Not only matter, Rāhula, but also feeling, perception, the constituents and consciousness.

Who possibly, said Rāhula, could go to the village for alms on the day he has heard an exhortation from the Lord's own lips? And thereupon he turned back and seated himself under a tree, cross legged and with body erect, alert in mindfulness. Seeing him so seated, the reverend Sāriputta addressed him, saying—Aim, Rāhula, at developing the mindfulness which comes from inhaling and exhaling, for this, if developed and fostered, yields a rich harvest and proves of great avail. Rising up towards evening from his meditations, Rāhula sought out the Lord and after salutations took a seat to one side, asking how that mindfulness which comes from inhaling and exhaling was produced and fostered so as to yield a rich harvest and prove of great avail.

Rāhula, everything personal and referable to an individual which is hard or solid or derived therefrom—such as the hair of the head or body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, inwards, bowels, stomach, fæces, together with everything else personal and referable to an individual which is hard or solid or derived therefrom—all this makes up what is called the personal

earth-element, and, in combination with the external earth-element makes up the totality of the earth-element. The right way to regard this as it really is and to comprehend it aright, is to say—This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. [422] So regarding and comprehending it, a man turns from the earth-element in disgust and loathing of heart.

What next is the water-element? It may be either personal or external. If personal and referable to an individual, it embraces everything which is water or watery or derived therefrom—such as bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, synovial fluid and urine, together with everything else personal and referable to an individual, which is water or watery or derived therefrom. All this makes up what is called the personal water-element, and, in combination with the external water-element, makes up the totality of the water-element. The right way to regard this as it really is and to comprehend it aright is to say—This is not mine, This is not I, This is no self of mine. So regarding and comprehending it, a man turns from the water-element in disgust and loathing of heart.

The fire-element similarly is either personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything which is fire or fiery or derived therefrom,—such as whatever heats, consumes or burns up, or whatever wholly transmutes food and drink in digestion, or anything else which, being personal and referable to an individual, is fire or fiery or is derived therefrom. All this is called the personal fire-element, and, in combination with the external fire-element, makes up the totality of the fire-element. The right way to regard . . . loathing of heart.

Likewise, the air-element is either personal or external. If personal, it embraces everything personal and referable to an individual which is air or airy or derived therefrom,—such as wind discharged upwards or downwards, wind in the abdomen or belly, vapours that traverse the several members, inhalings and

exhalings of breath, together with everything else which, being personal and referable to an individual, is air or airy or derived therefrom. All this is called the personal air-element, and, in combination with the external air-element, makes up the totality of the air-element. The right way to regard . . . [423] loathing of heart.

Lastly, there is the space-element,<sup>1</sup> which is also personal or external. If personal, it is either space or spacious or derived therefrom,—such as the auditory or nasal orifices, or the portals of the mouth, or the channels by which victuals and drink are either swallowed or repose or pass out of the body lower down, or aught else, that, being personal and referable to an individual, is space or spacious or derived therefrom. All this is called the personal space-element, and, in combination with the external space-element, makes up the totality of the space element. The right way to regard . . . loathing of heart.

Grow like unto the earth, Rāhula ; for, as you do so, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will grip hold of your heart and stick there. Just as men cast on the earth's surface things clean and things unclean, ordure, urine, spittle, pus and gore, and yet the earth is not troubled thereby nor moved to disgust and loathing,—even so should you grow like unto the earth ; for, as you do so, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will lay hold of your heart and stick there.

Grow like unto water ; for, as you do so . . . stick there. Just as men cast into water things clean and things unclean . . . [424] and stick there.

Grow like unto fire ; for, as you do . . . and stick there.

Grow like the wind ; for, as you do, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will grip hold

<sup>1</sup> This does not occur in Sutta No. 28, which gives only the preceding four elements (*cattāri mahā-bhūtā*). *Infra*, in Suttas Nos. 112, 115 and 140 (cf. D. III, 247, A. I, 175 and A. III. 290) *viññāṇa-dhātu* is added to the five elements here specified.

of your heart and stick there. Just as the wind blows away things clean and unclean, ordure, urine, spittle, pus and gore, and yet the wind is not troubled thereby nor moved to disgust and loathing,—even so should you grow like unto the wind ; for, as you do so, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will grip hold of your heart and stick there.

Grow like space ; for, as you do so, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will grip hold of your mind and stick there. For, just as space abides nowhere, even so should you grow like space ; for, as you do so, no sensory impressions, agreeable or disagreeable, will grip hold of your mind and stick there.

Grow in loving-kindness ; for, as you do so, malevolence will pass away.

Grow in compassion ; for, as you do so, vexation will pass away.

Grow in gladness over others' welfare ; for, as you do so, aversions will pass away.

Grow in poised equanimity ; for, as you do so, all repugnance will pass away.

Grow in contemplation of the body's corruption ; for, as you do so, passion will pass away.

Grow in perception of the fleeting nature of things ; [425] for, as you do, the pride of self will pass away.

Grow in the mindfulness which comes from ordered breathing ; for, this, if developed and fostered, yields a rich harvest and proves of great avail.—Take the case of an Almsman who, betaking himself to the jungle or the foot of a tree or to some abode of solitude, there sits cross-legged and with body erect, alert in mindfulness. Mindfully he inhales, and mindfully he exhales his breath. When exhaling a deep breath, he knows precisely what he is doing, as he does too when inhaling a deep breath, or when exhaling or inhaling a shallow breath. In the process of drawing his breath either in or out, he schools himself either to be alive to all bodily impressions—or to still the several factors of body—or to take zest therein—or to have a sense of well-being ; he schools himself either to be alive to the



heart's several factors—or to still them—or to be alive to the heart (as a whole)—or to still the heart—or to give it full play—or to calm it—or to bring it Deliverance ; he schools himself in breathing to dwell on the impermanence of things, or on passionlessness, or on elimination, or on Renunciation.—This, Rāhula, is how mindfulness in ordered breathing is fostered and developed so as to yield a rich harvest and to prove of great avail. With mindfulness in breathing so fostered [426] and developed, a man breathes his last wittingly and not unwittingly.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Rāhula rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

### LXIII. CŪĻA-MĀLUNKYĀ-SUTTA.

#### OF THE IRRELEVANT.

THUS have I heard. Once the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground. To the reverend Mālunkyā-putta, in the course of his private meditations, there came the following reflection :—The Lord does not expound to me the views—which he has left unexpounded, omitted and dismissed without answer—such as : The world is eternal,—The world is not eternal—The world is finite—The world is infinite—Life and the body are one and the same thing—Life and the body are distinct entities—A truth-finder<sup>1</sup> passes to another existence after death—A truth-finder passes to no further existence after death—A truth-finder both passes and does not pass to a further existence after death—A truth-finder neither passes nor does not pass to a further existence after death. I do not like his not expounding these things to me ; I resent it ; I will go to him and

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<sup>1</sup> *Tathāgato ti satto*, says Bu. ; i.e. here 'tathāgata means simply creature.' I have however retained my ordinary translation of the word, to connote all Arāhats, whether Buddhas or not.

beautiful but now time-worn images and figures. This admiration was all the more remarkable as Akbar missed no opportunity of having a fling at the heretical and western tendencies of the new generation. It is the considered opinion of many competent critics that Akbar will be remembered hereafter chiefly as a satirist. At a cursory glance we find in his verses English words such as Civil Surgeon, Police, Committee, Science, Darwin, Relation, College, Convocation, Thank You, Force, Course, Philosophy, Council, Graduate, Photo. Perhaps these words do not contribute to make the poetry very great, but it certainly becomes very effective. The poet's son, Syed Ishrat Husain, a Deputy Collector, deserves the warmest gratitude of all lovers of Urdu poetry, for publishing in three well-printed volumes, the poems of his father. We shall look forward with pleasure to the fourth volume which we are promised before long.

1. *Marasi-Anis* 2 Vols. (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1924.
2. *Diwan-Dard-Urdu*. (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1923.
3. *Lithography*. By M. Ahiduddin (Nizami Press, Budaon) 1924.

Maulvi Nizamuddin Husain of Budaon has been rendering valuable service to the cause of Urdu Literature by publishing at the Nizami Press his exceedingly well-got up and correctly printed series of Urdu poems. We noticed in an earlier number of the *Hindustan Review* the *Intakhabi-Zarrin*, edited by Mr. Syed Ross Masood, and his edition of Ghalib's *Diwan* is admittedly the best in the market. Thanks to the well placed generosity of the Nizam's Government, we are now promised a series of uniformly got-up volumes of Urdu classics. This will meet a great want, and we are confident that the Urdu-reading public will heartily greet these publications. Of all the poets who have attempted the *Marsiya* form of poetry, Anees stands unique and unrivalled, for in wealth of imagery, in the power of vivid portraiture, in mastery over the subtle music of the verse, he is unsurpassed. But of his *Marsiya*s so far the only edition worth mention was the one printed in four volumes by the Newal Kishore Press of Lucknow. We now welcome this edition neatly printed on beautiful, thick glazed paper.

Among the earlier Urdu poets, *Dard* occupies a high place. Khwaja Mir, to give him his full name, belonged to a family that had produced a large number of poets, and was born in A. H. 1133, and died in A. H. 1199. He was a voluminous writer and considering that he wrote while Urdu as a distinct

language was yet in its infancy, much praise must be bestowed on the quality of his verse. But it is a pity that his *Diwan* had never before been correctly printed; the various editions available in the market are full of misprints and corrupt readings. The present edition is based however on a collation and comparison of several manuscripts and may therefore be accepted as definitive. Lovers of *Dard* will no doubt be very glad to possess a copy of this excellent edition.

M. Ahiduddin of Budaon has written a valuable book on *Lithography*,—the first book on the subject in Urdu. It deals with subjects like Litho material, Handpress, Use of Chemicals, Black and Colour Printing, Transposing Instructions to machinememen and so on. It is enriched by numerous diagrams and will be of great use to printers and press-managers for whom it is specially intended. The author has succeeded in making his subject intelligible to the ordinary printers as well as to the general reader. As a pioneer work in Hindustani it deserves acknowledgment and encouragement at the hands of those interested in litho-printing in this country.

**A Dictionary of the Hindi Language.** By J. D. Bate (Indian Press, Allahabad) 1924.

Of Hindi-English dictionaries, Bate's is the best. But this well-known *Dictionary* had long been out of print, and the publishers have rendered a useful public service by reprinting it. It is different from the earlier dictionaries inasmuch as the words are arranged in the order of the Devanagari Alphabet. It has now been issued at the very moderate price of Rs. 6, and should therefore be within the reach of all. We hope the *Dictionary* will become as popular as it is useful to that large section of our students who have to study Hindi.

**Gita yogapradiparyabhashya.** By Pandit Aryamani (Devadatta Sharma, Karnavas, Distt. Bulandshahr) 1924.

Pandit Aryamani's commentary and translation of the Bhagwadgita—of which the sixth edition has now been published—strikes a new line of thought and for comprehensiveness and clarity of argument, it is one of the best of those written in Hindi. There is a scholarly introduction, a clear analysis of the contents and a full index to the first line of each verse. The translation is reliable. We hope the book will meet with the same encouragement which it has hitherto had.

question him hereon. If he definitely either accepts or rejects any of these propositions, I will follow the higher life under the Lord ; but if he fails to expound, then I will throw up my training as an Almsman and will revert to the lower plane of a layman.

[427] Rising up towards evening from his meditations, the reverend Mālunkyā-putta betook him to the Lord, saluted him, seated himself, related his reflections and the decision he had reached, ending up by saying :—If the Lord knows that the world is eternal, let him tell me so. If the Lord knows that the world is not eternal, let him tell me so. If the Lord does not know whether the world is eternal or not, then the only straightforward thing for one who knows not nor discerns is to avow that he knows not nor discerns.

(And he dealt similarly with each of the other problems above enumerated.)

[428] Did I ever promise you, Mālunkyā-putta, that, if you followed the higher life under me, I would tell you whether the world was eternal, and all the rest of it?

No, sir.

Or did you on your part stipulate that, if you followed the higher life under me, then I should tell you all this?

No, sir.

It comes to this then that I never promised, nor did you stipulate, that, as a condition of your following the higher life under me, I should expound these matters to you. This being so, who are you—to reject whom?

If, Mālunkyā-putta, a man were to say he would not follow the higher life under the Lord until the Lord had answered all the questions you enumerate, [429] he would get no answer from the Truth-finder before death overtook him. It is just as if a man were transfixed by an arrow heavily coated with poison, and his friends and kinsfolk were to get him a leech expert in dealing with arrow-wounds, but the man were to declare he would not have the arrow taken out until he knew whether the archer who had shot him was a Noble or

a brahmin or a middle-class man or a peasant,—what the archer's name and lineage was—whether he was tall or short or of medium height—whether he was black or dark or fair—what particular village or township or city he hailed from—whether his bow was a long-bow or a cross-bow—whether his bow-string was made from swallow-wort or bamboo or sinew or hemp or the leaves of *Calotropis gigantea*—whether the shaft of the arrow was a wild reed or a planted shoot—whether the shaft was feathered with the plumage of a vulture or a heron or a falcon or a peacock or other fowl—whether the gut binding that shaft came from an ox or a buffalo or a hart or a monkey—whether the arrow was a plain arrow or was barbed with horn or iron or a calf's tooth or with an oleander thorn. [430] The man would never get to know all this before death overtook him. And just in the same way, if a man were to say he would not follow the higher life under the Lord until the Lord had answered this pack of questions, he would get no answer from the Truth-finder before death overtook him.

The higher life is not contingent on the truth of any thesis that the world either is or is not eternal. In either case, as in each of the other theses you adduce, there still abides the fact of birth, decay and death; there still abide the facts of grief and tribulation, of ill, sorrow and distraction;—of all of which I proclaim the extirpation here and now.

[431] Take therefore what I have not taught as being left untaught by me, and take as my teaching what I have specifically taught.

What have I left untaught?—I have not taught that the world either is or is not eternal; that it is finite or infinite; that life and the body are either identical or distinct; that after death a truth-finder either passes or does not pass to a further existence, or does both or neither. And why have I left these things untaught?—Because they are unprofitable and not fundamental to the higher life; because they do not conduce to weariness with mundane things, to passionlessness, to purga-



## BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

**The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1924.** Edited by R. H. Lyman. (Pultizer Building, 53-63 Park Row, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

*The World Almanac and Book of Facts*—which is edited with skill and knowledge by Mr. Lyman—is now in the thirty-ninth year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to Mr. Lyman's comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating almost to the whole world. Of the many books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable covering within its nearly one thousand pages facts and statistical data about the various political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world.

**The Constitutional Year-Book 1924.** (National Unionist Association, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, S. W. 1) 1924.

*The Constitutional Year-Book* is to the British Conservative what the *Liberal Year-Book* is to the British Progressive. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional*—which is now in the thirty-eighth year of publication—is an almost ideal work of reference. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest to the conservatives in particular and publicists in general. It is carefully revised and brought up-to-date and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information on questions of public interest. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his bookshelf the annual editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful.

**The Norway Year-Book 1924.** Edited by S. C. Hammer, M.A. (Sverre Mortensen Bokhandel, Christiania, Norway) 1924.

**The Swedish Year-Book 1924.** (Almqvist and Wiksells & Co., Boktryckeri—A. B. Stockholm, Sweden) 1924.

The two new year-books to the principal Scandinavian countries—Norway and Sweden—are highly creditable performances. They are both published in English. That dealing with Norway is compiled by the Christiania correspondent of the *Times*, while that with Sweden is the result of collaboration on the part of public authorities of that country. They are, to our knowledge, the only works of their class in English relating to these two countries. Each of them is well-planned, well-compiled and well-edited. Mr. Hammer's book dealing with Norway is the more ambitious of the two, as it aspires to fulfil the purposes of an annual cyclopædia. But the Swedish book, though not so comprehensive, is quite adequate in its scope. Both deal with geography, history, administration, finance, education, literature, trade, industries, shipping and various other important subjects of interest relating to Norway and Sweden respectively. Both are thoroughly up-to-date and accurate in their statements. While intended primarily for publicists and businessmen, the works are so planned as to subserve the objects of readers interested in the history, culture, and the economic, social and political development and progress of Scandinavia. By reason of their intrinsic merits, both these highly meritorious works of reference deserve a large circulation throughout the English-knowing world.

**The Spas of Britain.** (The British Spa Federation, London) 1924.

**A Guide to London and the British Isles, 1924** (Foster, Groom & Co., Ltd., 15 Charing Cross, London, S. W. 1) 1924.

Dr. R. F. Fox introduces to the public the very useful compilation called the *Spas of Britain*—which has been put together as the official handbook of the British Spa Federation. Compiled from the reports sent in by the local medical committees, it deals with the principal places in England, Wales and Scotland, which are famous for their springs possessing medicinal properties for the cure of various diseases. Of these Bath, Buxton, Cheltenham and Harrogate are the best known. Full information is given about all of them—not only medical information, but also practical information for the benefit of those who may resort to them. The British watering-places have been, of late, neglected in favour of Continental ones, and this book will have served a useful purpose if it

tion, to tranquillity, to insight, to full enlightenment, and to Nirvana.

What have I specifically taught?—I have taught of Ill, of its origin, of its cessation, and of the path that leads to its cessation. And why have I taught this?—Because this is profitable and fundamental to the higher life; because this does conduce to weariness with mundane things . . . Nirvana.

Wherefore, Mālunkyā-putta, [482] take what I have not taught as being left untaught by me, and take as my teaching what I have specifically taught.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Mālunkyā-putta rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

succeeds in drawing attention to the former. It is an excellent little reference-book.

Mr. Alwyn Pride's *Overseas Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles* is now in the third year of publication. Its previous annual editions have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. The 1924 edition has been thoroughly overhauled and is fully abreast of the latest changes, and the author has covered ground concerning nearly everything of interest to the visitor. There is, of course, a detailed description of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Altogether Mr. Pride's Guide is deserving of acknowledgment as a reference-work which is equally interesting, accurate and up-to-date.

**A Reference Book.** (McDongall's Educational Co., Ltd., 8 Farringdon Avenue, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

**Banks and Public Holidays Throughout the World 1924.** (Guaranty Trust Company, 32, Lombard Street, London) 1924.

*A Reference Book of Tables and General Information*—to give the booklet its full designation—is a wonderful little compendium of much valuable knowledge not readily accessible to the average publicist or businessman. Within the covers of a booklet of 64 pages of small size, the printing of which is exceptionally neat and eminently readable, is brought together, carefully and systematically arranged, a mass of highly useful information dealing with astronomical, economic, and political data and statistics. We commend this capital little pocket-companion as a handy and compact reference digest.

*Banks and Bank Holidays* is an American work of reference which will be found useful by businessmen engaged throughout the banking world. It is a comprehensive list of leading banks and furnishes reliable information about bank holidays. If kept up-to-date and annually re-issued, it will meet with a long-felt want.

#### NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

**Ras Mala.** By Alexander K. Forbes (2 Vols. Oxford University Press, London) 1924.

This is a reprint of the well-known translation by Forbes of the Hindu annals of Gujrat. The editor is Professor Rawlinson whose previous works—both literary and historical—have won well-merited appreciation from scholars. We notice that the editor's note is dated 1916; there has thus been an interval of eight years between the revision and the publication. Perhaps the war was the chief cause of this delay; but we are in any case glad to see this classic so well and

so correctly reprinted, with a full biographical memoir of Forbes and enriched with a large amount of fresh information upon Gujrat. Of the merits of Forbes' translation it is unnecessary to say anything; Prof. Rawlinson has performed his task with great ability. A work like this is sure to meet with a warm welcome from all interested in the history of Western India. The Oxford University Press deserve very great credit for their laudable effort in popularizing old Anglo-Indian literature by publishing well-edited and carefully-annotated texts of many of the famous classics of Anglo-India. These Oxford reprints deserve a very wide appreciation and large circulation.

**The Oxford History of India.** By Vincent A. Smith; revised by S. M. Edwards (Oxford, Clarendon Press) 1923.

Mr. Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* is by common consent the best complete text-book on Indian History. Written in a clear, lucid style, enriched with numerous attractive illustrations, thoroughly reliable in its facts, the book has met with a warm reception from the public, and the publishers have now brought out a second edition, 'revised and continued to 1921.' But we must confess that we are keenly disappointed with the work of revision. The bibliographies have not been brought up-to-date; the original misprints have been allowed to continue; and though Mr. Williams Crookes' excellent edition of Tod's *Rajasthan* appeared about two years ago, the original note about its being "held up by war conditions" still appears on p. xxiv. The only addition of any length than we can see is a page of scrappy and ill-conceived addition about the Reforms—with which Mr. Edwards is evidently by no means in sympathy. Making allowance for the faults of omission and commission in the work of revision by the editor, the new edition of the late Dr. Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* may justly be regarded as a standard work.

**Kautilya's Arthashastra.** Translated by Dr. R. Shamasastri (Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore) 1923.

This is the second edition of Dr. Shamasastri's monumental work on Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. It contains a prefatory note by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet who well remarks that "we shall always remain under a great obligation to Mr. Shamasastri for a most important addition to our means of studying the general history of ancient India." The generally accepted view with regard to the date of the *Arthashastra* is that it was written before 321—296 B. C. by



## LXIV. MAHĀ-MĀLUNKYĀ-SUTTA.

### OF BURSTING BONDS ASUNDER.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure-ground, he addressed the Almsmen, saying :—Do you know the Five Bonds which chain men to the lower life here, as taught by me?

Yes, I do, said the reverend Mālunkyā-putta.

And what is your knowledge of them?

One is views on personality; another is doubt; another is attachment to observances; fourth come lusts of the flesh; and the fifth is malevolence.

To whom do you hear that I so taught the Five Bonds? Would not Wanderers who profess other creeds confute you with the illustration from infancy? For, a new-born babe, helpless on its back, is not conscious of personality at all, [433] much less can it hold views on personality, its propensity to views on personality being latent only. Such an infant is not conscious of doctrines, much less can it have doubts about them, its propensity to doubt being latent only. Such an infant is not conscious of rules of conduct, much less can it be attached to observances, its propensity to such attachment being latent only. Such an infant is not conscious of lusts of the flesh, much less can passion arise within it, its sensual propensities being latent only. Such an infant is not conscious of fellow-creatures, much less can it harbour malevolence towards them, its malevolent propensities being latent only. Would not Wanderers who profess other creeds confute you, Mālunkyā-putta, with this illustration from infancy?

At this point the reverend Ānanda exclaimed :—Now is the time for this, Lord; now is the time, Blessed One, for the Lord to impart teaching about

Kautilya, also called Chanakya, who was chiefly instrumental in placing Chandragupta on the throne. But doubts have recently been expressed by Dr. Jolly with regard to the correctness of this date and he is inclined to place the book so late as the third century A. D. Dr. Winternitz—a translation of whose *History of Indian Literature*, we note with pleasure, is shortly to be published in the Punjab Sanskrit Series—is also not inclined to acknowledge its remote antiquity. We had expected that in this new edition Dr. Sastry would discuss the question of the date at some length, but we are disappointed to find that the subject is not dealt with at all. We hope this omission will be rectified in the next edition; meanwhile we accord a hearty welcome to the present work, which—whether written in the third century before or after Christ—will retain its great value as a picture of ancient Indian polity.

**A Forgotten Empire.** By Robert Sewell (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1924.

Mr. Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* is a well-known history of the kingdom of Vijaynagar which has been recognised as an authority since its first publication in 1900. The book is based on some valuable and interesting chronicles of the sixteenth century, which present a graphic and detailed account of the condition of the great city, at the time of its highest grandeur, written on the spot by Portuguese merchants. But since the book was first printed, much new and important material bearing on the subject has become available, and the publishers would have done well to entrust the task of revision to a scholar like Prof. Krishnaaswamy Iyengar who has made this subject his own. All the same, the republication of this important work which has long been out of print will be a source of great pleasure to all who are interested in the story of the sudden rise, the amazing grandeur, and the complete disappearance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar, the history of which will always possess fascination for the student of the mediaeval history of India.

**Modern English Literature.** By Edmund Gosse. Tenth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (William Heinemann, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London) 1924.

Mr. Edmund Gosse is among living critics one of the most eminent, and his *Modern English Literature* has long been recognised as one of the best books of its kind. In this new edition, the book has been brought up-to-date. We have no doubt that all

students of English literature will be glad to possess copies of this book which, since its original publication in 1897, has continued to enjoy unbroken popularity.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

**The Stage Favourite's Cook Book**, compiled and edited by Elizabeth Craig (Mrs. Mann) and issued by Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. (Paternoster Row, London) is a wonderfully good collection of recipes contributed by four hundred British, Continental, and American actresses. Each recipe, which bears the name of some well-known actress, has been tested and approved by the editor, who is believed to be probably the best-known woman expert on the subject of cookery in Great Britain at the present day. The result is a work containing appetising and attractive *menus*, which are also practical and suited to the requirements of small households. But surely Mrs. Mann could have easily put together a cookery book of her own, without bothering four hundred actresses from Europe and America!

The literature of journalism is now fairly large—both in Britain and America and yet we can not say that Mr. Michael Joseph's *Journalism for Profit* (Hutchinson & Co. Paternoster Row, London) is a superfluous work. It is a practical treatise and covers the entire ground of modern free lance journalism, as well as a profession. Sir Philip Gibbs (in a foreword) commends the book to journalistic aspirants as a guide which will be enormously useful to them. We readily endorse this view. Mr. Joseph has evidently specialised in the various phases of contemporary journalism and is quite familiar with the ups and downs of a journalist's life. His book is full of shrewd hints and is replete with useful information and should be found invaluable by journalistic aspirants. In the next edition the section dealing with the journalist's library of reference works may be enlarged and a bibliography appended.

**The Daily Life of the Greeks and (the?) Romans**—issued by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, U.S.A.—has been compiled by Dr. Helen McClees and is intended to utilize for illustration the various classical collections in that well-equipped museum. It is profusely illustrated with excellent photographic reproductions of the various objects in the museum.

the Five Bonds, to be treasured up from his lips by the Almsmen.

Give ear then, Ānanda, and listen, said the Lord; and I will speak. Then to the listening Ānanda the Lord began:—

Take an uninstructed everyday man, who has no vision of the Noble and is unversed and untrained in their noble doctrine, who has no vision of the Excellent and is unversed and untrained in their excellent doctrine. Such a man's mind is beset and obsessed by delusions about personality; he knows no real escape therefrom; and these delusions about personality, if left to grow in strength, are a Bond to chain him to this lower life here. Just the same, too, happens with doubt—with attachment to rites—with sensuality—[484] and with malevolence; all of which are likewise Bonds to chain him to this lower life here.

On the other hand, the instructed disciple of the Noble—who has vision of the Noble and Excellent and is versed and trained in noble and excellent doctrine—has a mind beset and obsessed by no delusions about personality and the rest of the Five Bonds; he knows the real escape therefrom; he discards each and all of them, with all propensities thereto.

Without first treading the path and the course for getting rid of these Five Bonds, it is quite impossible for a man to know or discern or to get rid of them,—any more than it is possible, without first cutting away bark and foliage, to cut the choice timber of a fine upstanding timber-tree.

But, if he has first trodden the path and the course for getting rid of these Five Bonds, [485] it is possible for a man to know and discern and get rid of them,—just as it is possible, after first cutting away bark and foliage, to cut the choice timber of the tree.

Just as a weakling, coming to the Ganges in spate, and thinking his arms can bear him across in safety to the further shore, would fail in the attempt,—in just the same case is whosoever fails, when the doctrine of



In fact the letter-press plays but the subordinate part of explanatory comments on the pictures. Taken as a whole, the handbook, while not treating the subject exhaustively, provides within the covers of a small volume, such explanation and commentary as will be helpful towards a clearer understanding of the classical antiquities. Dr. McClees' book would be found useful both for the purposes of study and reference. It should also be prized for its numerous exceedingly well-reproduced illustrations.

We have noticed in terms of appreciation the first four volumes of the "India of To-day" series, edited by Dr. Rushbrook Williams and issued by the Indian branches of the Oxford University Press (Garstin Place, Calcutta &c.). The fifth and latest volume called *Indian Emigration* is the work of one who conceals his identity under the appropriate pseudonym of "Emigrant." It worthily sustains the high reputation of the series for accurate and impartial works on the various aspects of the Indian problem. Within the compass of 134 pages, the book offers an excellent sketch of the subject from the abolition of slavery till the present day. The last two chapters deal with the question of the status of Indian emigrants in the Dominions of the Crown. These are particularly instructive. We commend this little book to all students of the subject as a highly useful compendium of sound information and criticism on one of the most crucial phases of the many-sided problem of modern India.

There are many works in English—good, bad and indifferent—on the subject of etiquette, generally written by women, Mrs. This or Miss That. But very few of them are either sufficiently comprehensive or are marked by sanity. Most of them repeat the conventional platitudes without any attempt at breadth of view. It is, therefore, with singular pleasure that we welcome an excellent American work called *Book of Etiquette* in two handy and exceedingly well got-up volumes, written by Lillian Richler and issued by Messrs. Doubleday, Inc. (Garden City, New York, U.S.A.). It is excellent in the fullest sense of the term—excellently written and excellently got-up. For one thing it is, to our knowledge, about the most comprehensive work on etiquette as it prevails at present in America and may be said to fairly exhaust the subject. It deals, from the point of view of the etiquettarian, with every phase of human life, from the cradle to the grave, and nothing escapes the vigilance of the author which would enable one to behave with propriety on all occasions, at all places, and in all spheres of human activity. At the same

time, the author has brought to bear on her work a breadth of view and sanity which raise it much above the level of books of its class and kind. We feel sure that the *Book of Etiquette* will justly come to be regarded as the standard work on the subject.

We have lying before us three instructive books dealing with various phases of the same important subject. These are *How to Make the Best of Life* by Mr. Arnold Bennett (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London), *Success in Life* by Mr. K. J. Dastur (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay) and *What It Means to Live* by Mr. N. N. Whisken (C. W. Daniel Co., Tudor Street, London). Of these Mr. Bennett's book is the most thoughtful and comprehensive, Mr. Dastur's the most inspiring and Mr. Whisken's the most suggestive. Taken together they complement and supplement one another. Broadly speaking, they deal with education, habits, manners, conduct and other traits in human life, and they all offer useful and valuable contributions to the development of self-culture and the formation of character. A striking feature of Mr. Dastur's *Success in Life*, which is rightly described as "an inspirational book for all men and women,"—alas! that "all men and women can not read English!"—is the selection of opposite mottoes from a wide range of literature. It should be found particularly suitable for study by Indian Youth. Mr. Bennett's book and Mr. Whisken's booklet would be invaluable adjuncts to Mr. Dastur's work on complete living.

Two books on science—perhaps so nominally and technically—but poles asunder in their scope and object are Mr. E. C. M. Shepherd's *Motor Car Mechanism and Management Simplified* (Crosby Lockwood & Son, Stationer's Hall Court, Ludgate Hill, London E. C. 4) and Mr. Knight Hallowses' *Poems of Science: Pages of Indian Earth History* (Erskine Macdonald, London). The former which is intended for owners and drivers of and dealers in motor cars explains lucidly their construction and operation and tells how to drive and keep a car in running order and how to carry out way-side repairs and periodic overhauls. It is perhaps the most popular work on the mechanism and management of motor cars. Mr. Hallowses' *Poems of Science* are intended to illustrate the intimate relations between Science and Poetry. His short Introduction is a luminous sketch of the subject. In it he also tells us that the poems brought together have resulted from direct observation of Nature during the author's seventeen years of scientific travel as an officer of the Geological Survey among the mountains and forests of the Indian Empire. Viewed in this light, the poems are interesting.

stilling personality is being preached, to embrace it, welcome it, cleave to it, and stand fast therein. This is the case of such men.

But just as a strong man, coming to the Ganges in spate and thinking his arms can bear him across in safety to the further shore, would succeed in the attempt,—in just the same case is whosoever succeeds, when the doctrine of stilling personality is being preached, in embracing it, welcoming it, cleaving to it, and standing fast therein. This is the case of such men.

Now, what is the path and what is the course unto riddance of these Five Bonds which chain men to this lower world here?—Take an Almsman who, by aloofness from all ties, by eschewing wrong states of consciousness, and by quelling all lewdness of body, becomes divested of pleasures of sense and of wrong states of consciousness so that he develops and dwells in the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Whatsoever occurs as a visible shape, or feeling, or perception, or factors of being,—all such mental phenomena he regards as transitory, as Ill, as disease, as pustulences, as pangs, as anguish, as maladies, as extraneous, as fleeting, as hollow, as non-self. He purges his mind of all such mental phenomena and [486] applies it, so purged, to the state which is deathless, confident that what is really good and really excellent is the stilling of all factors of being, riddance from all ties, destruction of cravings, passionlessness, peace, Nirvana. From this platform he attains to the extirpation of the Cankers; or, if he does not attain to their definite extirpation, yet by his very passion for righteousness and by his very delight therein, he destroys the Five Bonds which chain him to this lower world here so that he will be translated hereafter to realms above, from which he will never return to earth.—Such is the path and such is the course unto riddance of these Five Bonds.

Mr. W. C. Loosmore is well-known to the reading public as the author of *Nerves and the Man*, which is a popular psychological and constructive study of nervous breakdown, and the *Gain of Personality*—which also is an equally popular psychological statement of the practical values of human personality. In his latest work called the *Art of Talking* (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.)—which is the third volume in Mr. Loosmore's series of studies in practical psychology, he reveals with lucidity the means of self-expression in conversation and in public speech. A glance at the chapter headings gives a clue to the wide range of his subject—What to say—How to say it—Anecdote and gossip—The question of slang—On being silent and timid—Talk and general knowledge—Table talk and dinner talk—Selling and business talk—Listening and interruptions. Each of these topics is handled with knowledge and skill in the light of considerable experience of the realities of life, with the result that the *Art of Talking* is both an informing and an instructive work, deserving of appreciation.

**An Eastern Library.** By Mr. V. C. Scott-O'Connor (Robert Maclehose & Co., Ltd., Glasgow) is an excellent short sketch of a great subject. In its own way, the Khuda Baksh Oriental Library at Patna is a national treasure of which India may well be proud. The story of its foundation, how priceless manuscripts were obtained, the numerous arts of cajolery and threat and bribery and—be it slowly whispered, even—thief that were employed for the purpose, forms an account as romantic as some old tale from far-distant ages and 'fairy-lands forlorn.' No one better fitted than Mr. Scott-O'Connor could have been found to write this account. He has a fine appreciation of the music of words; he possesses a warm imagination; and he is able to speak with an enthusiasm and zest which must be very similar to the joy with which the Renaissance scholars gazed at the numerous tomes newly brought to light. *The Silken East* and the *Charm of Kashmir* have already established for Mr. Scott-O'Connor a reputation as an excellent word-painter of landscape: we have him here in this book as a connoisseur of old Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Mr. Khuda Baksh, the founder of the Library, spent a large fortune over their acquisition. Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzebe, are present in the Library in the form of their autographs; rare illuminated paintings, miniatures and drawings adorn many of the manuscripts; Firdausi, Jami, Hafiz, Sadi and many others are adequately represented. Mr. Scott-O'Connor's is a fine book about a fine library.

In *The Historical Novel* by Mr. H. Butterfield (Cambridge University Press) we are presented with a work practically breaking new ground. This essay was awarded the Le Bas Prize for 1923 and is an attempt to find some relation between historical novels on the one hand and history treated as a study on the other; and also to work out a method of critical approach. After an interesting discussion dealing with historical novels of several European languages, Mr. Butterfield sums up his conclusion thus: "Given an event the historian will seek to estimate its ultimate significance and to trace out its influence, the novelist will seek merely to recapture the fleeting moment, to see the thing happening, to turn it into a picture or a 'situation.' With a set of facts about the social conditions of England in the Middle Ages, the historian will seek to make a generalisation, to find a formula; the novelist will seek a different sort of synthesis and will try to reconstruct a world, to particularise, to catch a glimpse of human nature. To the historian the past is the whole process of development that leads up to the present: to the novelist it is a strange world to tell tales about." It is a notable book which will be much appreciated by the scholars who seek to study the technique of the historical novel. The author has specialized in the subject he writes about and his work is marked by scholarship and critical acumen.

Bhai Parmanand was one of the first victims of the repression which cowed the soul of the Punjab under the blood-and-iron rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. His was a saintly life devoted to truth and conscience, a life deliberately given to the cause of education. He had vowed to work on a bare pittance his entire life in the Lahore D. A. V. College. But his crime consisted in his teachings—he was reputed to have prepared for the use of his students a history of India wherein he had attempted, with success, to nail the lie of the Black Hole incident and proved it to be a mere myth, a figment of overwrought imagination. Horrible crime to have travestied the British historians! The man must be traitorous, and DORA clapped him into prison and later sent him into exile. The story of his banishment, his sordid surroundings in the Andamans, his sufferings and anguish is now told by himself in the Hindi diction, which is presented by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., of Madras, in an English rendering in *The Story of My Life* (1924—Rs. 1/8). Read the book for yourself and you will begin to understand the stuff of which martyrs are made and incidentally gather some ideas about the panic-psychology of an Imperial race.

Bhai Parmanand's indomitable courage gleams through the pages of his story; his ideals and principles



Rising above observation and reflection, the Almsman enters on, and abides in, the Second Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction,—a state bred of rapt concentration, above all observation and reflection, a state whereby the heart is focussed and tranquillity reigns within. And then follow the Third and Fourth Ecstasies. Whatsoever occurs as a visible shape . . . riddance of these Five Bonds.

Rising next altogether beyond perception of the visible, by ceasing to perceive sense-reactions, and by not heeding perception of differences, the Almsman reaches the idea of infinite space and so develops, and abides in, the plane of infinite space, and, in succession, the plane of infinite mind. Whatsoever occurs as a visible shape . . . [437] riddance of these Five Bonds which chain men to the lower life here.

If this, sir, be the path and the course unto riddance of these Five Bonds, how comes it that Deliverance is found by some through the heart and by others through the intellect?<sup>1</sup>

I say it results from difference in their respective faculties.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Ānanda rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXV. BHADDĀLI-SUTTA.

### OF OBEDIENCE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's pleasure, he addressed the listening Almsmen as follows :—I have only one meal each morning and find that on this regimen I am healthy and well, buoyant, hale and hearty. Do like me and you too will benefit in the same way.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dial.* II, 70 (note). The Commy. says that Sāriputta was an instance of the former, and Mahā-Moggallāna of the latter, mode of Deliverance.



are outlined in a succinct manner in the Hindi work **Hindu Sangathan** (Akashvani Pustakalaya, Mohanlal Road, Lahore, 1924, Re. 1/-). He enters here a forcible and eloquent plea for developing the man-force of Young Hinduism, and significantly points out the weaknesses which have flown from the enervated quiescence of the Hindu mind. A book well worth perusal.

L. Kannoo Mal, M.A., an occasional contributor to our pages, has brought together within the brief covers of bare 50 pages each the most notable **Sayings of Kabir** and of **Tulsidas**, and the **Aphorisms of Narada**. The three volumes are published by S. Ganesan, Madras (1924, annas eight each), and each is prefaced by a short introduction descriptive of the savants' place in Indian literature. The books succeed in giving us a comprehensive glimpse of the writers' thoughts and should prove useful for casual reference and for juvenile readings.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's name is a revered one in Indian cultural circles. Anything coming from his pen demands and deserves to be read with serious attention. In **The need in Nationalism** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Annas eight) are grouped together five of his most thoughtful essays which furnish the reader with the psychological bases of the ideal principle in politics. Mr. Ghose's plea is as usual keyed in a high and noble tune. His message is an eloquent brief for spiritualised politics and here he takes us carefully through the fundamentals of human values to show us the genesis of ancient Indian tradition. A fine and instructive reading, written by a scholar and a saint and provocative of fruitful discussion and argument on the practical aspect of modern Indian politics.

In **Food, Mind, and Health** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1924, Annas 8) Mr. Bernard Houghton, the well-known British Civilian sympathiser of Indian political aspirations, tells us of the formula of simple and healthy living. He gives us a synopsis of the ideas promulgated by Mr. Aird in England and Mr. Elmet in America in favour of a greater use of fresh fruits and vegetables in the daily dietary of man. The author emphasises the value of faith and confidence in the nourishing power of uncooked food after the fashion of Coué, and exhorts the reader to simplify his routine of eating. The argument in favour of the natural diet is forcibly put and Mr. Houghton's little book should give fresh food for thought to those who are fond of *gourmanderie* and the spices of delicate cuisine.

No branch of ancient Indian history possesses a greater fascination for research than the chronicles of

Indian colonies abroad. The introduction and spread of Buddhism in China and Japan furnish an interesting period in the history of India, and the epoch remains to a considerable degree unexplored. We know very little of the Indian missionaries and crusaders who carried the gentle doctrine of Buddha across to lands which even to-day baffle the well-equipped modern tourist. Mr. Phanindranath Bose deserves to be complimented on his instructive little book **The Indian Teachers in China** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923). The treatise supplies a rigidly catalogued description of Indian monks and preachers who went to China, Java and other lands. The interesting commentary which the author furnishes links the narrative and makes the book a connected reading. Mr. Bose's industry and research is to be commended. He has given here a valuable introduction to the cultural history of the Greater India which has so deeply influenced the thought and religion of China and other far-off lands.

Ganesh & Co. of Madras have done well in collecting in book form the philosophical contributions of M. Paul Richard to the pages of the *Arya* (1914-15) and which subsequently appeared in a French edition. The English translation has been done by Sri Aurobindo Ghose which in itself is a warranty of true and correct interpretation. M. Paul Richard is well-known for his spiritualised writings and his love of Indian Philosophy. His disquisitions on the Origin of Being and its attributes form a subtle blend between the scientific mysticism of the West and the psychological substratum of Vedanta philosophy. The speculations in **The Wherefore of The Worlds** (1923) are discursive to a certain degree but a central core of thought runs through the entire volume. It is a real contribution to philosophic literature, exceedingly instructive and thought-provoking. We can not do better than commend to the reader the opening lines of M. Richard's book: "Night, there is none, no night except the veil which we create for ourselves, no other obscurity than the darkness in which our eyes indulge."

**Auction Bridge for Beginners** by A. C. B. (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1924, 2s. 6d.) is a good example of what a little book of knowledge ought to be. Easy reading, excellent examples and instructive advice which does not pall—and the beginner is at once attracted to the game which forms the theme of the book. And isn't this the real test of the success of a book of this kind? The 1924 rules as revised and adopted by the Portland Club are given in full as an appendix. The glossary of Bridge terms should also prove useful

Hereupon, the reverend Bhaddāli told the Lord he could not do this, because, in so eating, he would be a prey to scruples and misgivings.<sup>1</sup>

Well then, Bhaddāli, eat a portion only at your place of entertainment and take a portion away with you to eat later on. Eating on this plan, [438] you will get along all right.

No, sir, I could not do this, because here too I should be a prey to scruples and misgivings.

So, while the Lord was laying down a rule of conduct and the Confraternity was vowing obedience, the reverend Bhaddāli protested his inability and for three whole months never came near the Lord, as one who was not conducting himself according to the Master's teaching.

At the end of the time a number of Almsmen were busied on making up robes for the Lord, expecting that, when his robes were ready at the end of the three months, the Lord would set out on an alms-pilgrimage. To them came Bhaddāli and seated himself after greetings, to learn from them their expectation and to be urged by them to lay the Lord's monition to heart lest worse should befall him hereafter. Accepting their advice, Bhaddāli betook him to the Lord and after due salutation took a seat to one side, saying :—I confess my fault, sir ;—foolish and misguided and wrong that I was to protest my inability to conform while the Lord was laying down a rule of conduct and the Confraternity was vowing obedience thereto. I ask the Lord to pardon my transgression as such, with a view to my keeping watch and ward in future.

Yes, Bhaddāli ; you did transgress, foolish and misguided and wrong that you were in protesting your inability to conform while I was laying down a rule of conduct and the Brotherhood was vowing obedience thereto.

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently he was afraid of not finishing his meal within the prescribed hours, and so of eating at the wrong time, i.e. after the meridian. (Cf. Vinaya Texts I, 40.)

Mrs. Snehathatha Sen was among the first of the cultured ladies of Bengal to attract the notice of a wider, English knowing public. Her stories in the Bengalee language had earned for her meritorious recognition but she was unknown outside Bengal until an English version of a tale of hers appeared in the English journal *The Idler* in 1911. The enterprising publisher of Madras, S. Gauesan, has now collected her short stories and in *Nehal The Musician* (1923, Rs. 2/4) they present to us in English the work of a gifted artist endowed with the art of picturesque word-making. The tales are full of a wild, fascinating charm and told in a quaint and weird style they impress upon the reader the fanciful reality of the sketches. The tales demand attention by the witchcraft of imagery and reveal, although clothed in an alien garb, the power and skill of the writer. A delightful reading and a pleasant diversion.

**The Future of Indian Fiscal Policy** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Annas 12) is an elaboration of a lecture delivered by Mr. D. V. Divekar, and is therefore circumscribed in its content. Mr. Divekar records a forcible plea in favour of a full protective policy for India. He accuses the Tariff Commissioners of halting and doubtful recommendations. The case for Protection in India is enforced by illustrations derived from the experiences of other protective countries.

In **Elements of Indian Astrology** (The Author, Cuttack, 1922, Rs. 2/-) Babu Sinheshwar Prasad has briefly sketched in a convenient form the mundane influences of stars and planets as they affect the life of a person born under their aegis. Appropriately enough he tells us how to cast a horoscope and after defining in detail what signs rule at the birth of an infant we are led on to detect the predominating factors which will control its earthly movements. Hindu Astrology is not a mere myth, but has been proved to be based upon scientific calculations. If Babu Sinheshwar Prasad succeeds in introducing a difficult subject for purposes of further research his efforts would be well rewarded.

Mr. Puran Singh's more ambitious efforts in poetic diction were noticed by us in an earlier issue. His *Sisters of the Spinning Wheel* revealed him to be a writer of delicate imagination and of a deeply meditative turn of mind. The form he chose for self-expression was essentially suited for his purpose. In his two little books *An Afternoon with Self* and *At His Feet* he turns to the devotional theme. The intensity of his religious emotions sustains the high tone of the prose poems. It is of apt significance to be reminded of the appeal which the teachings of the Gurus carry to the heart of a cultured Sikh at a time

when the entire community is stirred by the unprecedented deeds of self-abnegation and martyrdom of the Akali Jathas.

Mr. T. C. K. Kurup's **Gandhi and Indian Regeneration** (New Herald Office, G. T., Madras, 1923, Rs. 2/-) will well repay a second reading in the present state of flux and transition in Indian politics. The book was originally written in 1922 and focussed a reasoned criticism of the "Back to Vedas" ideal sketched out by Mr. Gandhi and which formed the apparent objective of the Non-co-operation movement. Mr. Kurup writes with grace and in an easy, lucid style. He has attempted to present his thesis in a clear, well-defined form of a conflict of ideals. He does not forget the social aspect of Mr. Gandhi's crusade. We confess however that his arguments will not be convincing to the majority of his readers in so far as he defends the materialities of the 'progressive' Western civilisation and denies that the process of subjection and the particular brand of Western education in India has tended to infiltrate the Indian mind with slavish and cowardly attitude. Nevertheless the book is of commanding interest and should receive close attention.

In **Thomas Hobbes** (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1923, 3s.). Mr. George E. G. Catlin presents a learned study of the author of *Leviathan* which had such a tremendous influence in shaping the political destiny of England and of linking up the mediæval theories of political sovereignty with the spirit and thoughts of the times. Mr. Catlin claims for Hobbes a greater recognition than has been accorded to him—the recognition as a man of letters, as a philosopher, and as a publicist of no mean calibre. Our author's disquisition is very interestingly framed and will prove convincing to the scholar familiar with Hobbes' entire literary output. To the reader who knows Hobbes only as the author of the "wild, brute theory of Man", Mr. Catlin's book will appear difficult and uncomprehending. But the author has contrived to include an extraordinarily large amount of material bearing upon his claim and his industry deserves commendation.

Within a small compass of 100 pages Babu Mahendra Nath Dutt has succeeded in presenting in a conspectively form the ideal of Hindu womanhood. His **Reflections on Woman** (Seva Series Publishing House, Calcutta, 1923) is avowedly written from an "entirely psychological point of view", but as is but natural his discourse touches upon many practical aspects of the sex problem. He has many wise words to say in regard to the hasty impatience which prescribes a regimen of Western dispensing for the uplift of woman in India. True to his instincts Mr



You failed too to realize the circumstances, Bhaddāli. You failed to realize, firstly, that the Lord was in residence at Sāvattthī and would know you were not conducting yourself according to the Master's teachings; secondly, that a number of [489] Almsmen—and of Almswomen too—were spending the rainy season in the city and would also know it; thirdly, that in the city there were living a number of lay disciples—both men and women—who would also know it; and, fourthly, that there were a number of recluses and brahmins of divers schools also spending the rainy season in the city, all of whom would know that the Almsman Bhaddāli, a senior disciple of the recluse Gotama, was not conducting himself according to the Master's teachings.

I confess my fault, sir;—foolish and misguided . . . vowing obedience thereto.

What do you think, Bhaddāli? Take the case of an Almsman who has found the twofold Deliverance, both through the heart and the intellect. If I bid him make himself a bridge for me across the mire, would he do so? Or would he turn in a different direction, or flatly refuse to do my bidding?

He would not refuse, sir.

Take the case of Almsmen who have found Deliverance through the intellect—or by comprehending the body—or by sheer vision—or by trust—or by living up to the Doctrine—or by living up to their trust. If I bid any one of these six make himself a bridge for me across the mire, would he do so? Or would he turn in a different direction, or flatly refuse to do my bidding?

He would not refuse, sir.

What do you think, Bhaddāli? When this happened, had you found the two-fold Deliverance [440] or any of the six other forms of Deliverance?

No, sir.

Were you not at the time empty and vain and blameworthy?

Yes, sir.—I confess my fault, sir; foolish and mis-

Dutt repudiates the alien touch and points out that the only practicable ideal for womanhood in India is the ideal of the Devi, the guardian deity of the Home. We recommend this little book as full of instructive reflections, containing much that is sound and useful for students of social reform. The sale proceeds of the book will be devoted to the Girl School attached to the Sri Sri Saradeswari Ashram.

**Arpana** by M. Sriramamurty (The Author, Vizianagaram, 1923, Re. 1/-) is a small book of hymns and prayers replete with sincere meditations and reflective comments on the mundane affairs of human life. Students of a religious turn of mind will find it useful and inspiring.

The French physician, M. Cone', provided a sensation when he claimed to have cured a malignant malady by self-suggestion. 'A student of Psychology' tells us in **Auto-suggestion** (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1923, 1s.) what it is and how to practise it. A clear and well-written pamphlet designed to introduce the idea to the layman; it contains sufficient information to enable anyone to begin the practice for himself.

In **Leprosy in India** (Tagore & Co., Madras, 1923, Annas 8) Mr. T. S. Krishnamurthi Iyer has collected together the various contributions which the author made to the pages of the *Social Service Quarterly* and the *Hindu*. The articles deserved a permanent form as the author has many useful things to say regarding the serious socio-economic questions raised by leprosy. He also treats of the legal and remedial aspects of the problem. Social reformers and charitable organisations should direct their attention to this ill spot in the society. Mr. Iyer has helped us to view the problem sanely and informatively.

**The National Being: some Thoughts on an Irish Polity.** By A. R. (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Re. 1/-) is an Indian reprint of the famous book by the great Irish man of letters which at its first appearance drew the serious attention of statesmen and economists. A. R. is one of the foremost literateurs of Ireland and his brilliant association with Sir Horace Plunkett in the reform of the Irish Agriculture will ever remain a bright page in the troubled history of Ireland. In the *National Being* he gives us a fascinating picture of the Co-operative Commonwealth that is his ideal, yet he is a serious and practical visionary, and acknowledges and faces boldly the great impediments that stand in the way of the attainment of the economic ideal. A book well worth study and inward digestion for the rising young Indian politicians and economic ideologists.

Khan Sahib Khaja Khan earned a well-deserved name for penetrative insight by his publication of the *Philosophy of Islam*. His second book **Studies in Tasawwuf** (Hogarth Press, Madras; Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1923) is in a sense complementary to his first work, for the philosophy of religions can not be completely comprehended without a detailed exposition of the esotericisms, symbolic mysticisms and implied connotations of the fundamental thoughts behind them. In *Tasawwuf* the author has given us a series of metaphysical speculations on the esoteric side of Islam, which according to the distinguished writer of the Foreword, Nawab A. Hydari, "is its core and centre, which really gives life and vitality to its outward forms and activities, and which most can appeal to followers of other faiths owing to the universal character of its content." The author has interpreted the doctrine of *Tasawwuf* (popularly known as Sufi-ism) in a clear and lucid manner, and his discourse is as full of instructive knowledge as of brilliant interpretation of some of the most difficult passages in the writings of Sufi Saints.

Mr. N. V. Sarma's **A Call for National Reunion** (National Book Depot, Bombay, 1923, Annas 8) is an eloquent plea for the deletion of the Council-Boycott item from the programme of the National Congress. In his zeal and enthusiasm Mr. Sarma has called hard names to his opponents which can hardly bear justification. His plea is, however, forcibly put. Mr. Kelkar's Foreword is characteristic.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock is a sincere believer in the gospel of international peace and goodwill. He suffered imprisonment for his convictions during war time. In **Ahimsa and World Peace** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1923, Rs. 1/8) he submits his case for non-violence. To Indian readers his arguments do not sound strange, but the doctrine coming from a Western pen is refreshing. Mr. Wellock believes in the innate good in man. He says indeed that the "whole case for *Ahimsa* rests on the recognition that human nature is worthy of trust,.....Human nature is neither inherently selfish nor opposed to reason; it is against its highest interests to be such." The author cites numerous illustrations in support of his main thesis. His eloquent plea is timely. Only in the present temper of the world it sounds like another cry in the wilderness. Yet it is all the better that the cry has been raised.

The story of **Khama** by J. C. Harris (Livingstone Press, London, 1922, 1s.) reads like a romance lifted out of the chronicles of a mediæval courtier. The zealous missionaries of the Christian Church who carry the gospel of their Lord unto 'heathens and backward' people never had a stiffer struggle than what

guided and wrong that I was to protest my inability to conform when the Lord was laying down a rule of conduct and the Almsmen were vowing obedience thereto.

Yes, Bhaddāli; you did transgress, foolish and misguided and wrong that you were to protest your inability . . . obedience thereto. But, inasmuch as you see your transgression as such and duly atone, we pardon it unto you. It marks progress in the Rule of the Noble when a man, seeing his transgression as such, atones and keeps watch and ward over himself for the future.

Take the case of an Almsman, Bhaddāli, who does not conduct himself according to the Master's teachings. To him comes the yearning to resort to some solitary habitation—in the forest under a tree, in the wilds, in cave or grot, in a charnel-ground, in a thicket, or on bracken in the open—in the hope of realizing some height of noblest knowledge or vision transcending the ordinary. So to the solitary habitation of his choice he betakes himself and dwells aloof and alone there,—contemned by his Master, contemned by the judgment of the discreet among his fellows in the higher life, contemned by the local sprites, and contemned by himself. Thus universally contemned, he fails to realize knowledge or vision transcending the ordinary. And why?—Because this is what comes to all who do not conduct themselves according to the Master's teachings.

Take now the case of an Almsman who does conduct himself according to the Master's teachings, to whom comes the same yearning to resort to solitude [441] with the same hopes. Dwelling aloof there, he is contemned neither by his Master, nor by his fellows, nor by the local sprites, nor by himself. Not contemned of anyone, he succeeds in realizing a height of noble knowledge and vision transcending the ordinary. Divested of pleasures of sense and wrong states of consciousness, he develops and dwells in the First Ecstasy, with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation



they encountered in Black Africa. The majority of the shepherds have carried their proselytising crusade according to the conventional methods of persuasion backed by force and the gin-bottle. But there have been few shining exceptions, the selfless and the sacrificing apostles of God; and Khama's country was fortunate in attracting crusaders of the type of Mackenzie and Hepburn. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is no different from the other innumerable colonies in Africa absorbed by the Western nations. But Khama, the son of the chief, embraced the Gospel in his early youth and his life story is one persistent fight for righteousness and moral living. Christian missions can not boast of a finer convert, and *Khama* reveals the sterling worth of a chief among men, a leader of fearless, albeit superstitious tribe, gradually weaning away his flock from evils that have despoiled his people and his land.

**The Principles of Hindu Ethics** by M. A. Buch (The Author, Baroda, 1922, Rs. 6/4) is a comprehensive compilation systematically arranged and covering almost the entire field of Hindu morality. The author has not attempted to write a critical treatise; he presents a descriptive sketch of the rules and regulations laid down in the old Hindu Shastras regarding human conduct and intercourse. The survey is interesting, even though of necessity it merely groups together innumerable excerpts from the Hindu Scriptures. The author has handled his intricate subject with industrious skill and patience. He has been almost too strenuous in his zeal to link up the law with the letter and his enthusiasm outran his discretion when, e.g., he holds up a Shastric injunction open to varied interpretations as a rigid rule, cf. for instance Mr. Buch's discussion of sex relations and the criteria of what is good for the individual and for the state. The book is, however, a mine of information and we commend it as the first exhaustive attempt in the English language to define Hindu ethical standards.

The jig-saw puzzle of Western Europe remains an insoluble problem. Conflicting reports of the conditions of mid-Europe form the stock sensation of the European press every other week. There is no motive more impelling than self, and where self-aggrandisement and economic fear rule, the discernment becomes blurred. There is a British view of the Ruhr occupation and there are the French and the German views. But such opinions are much too vague for concrete expression into well-defined proposals for getting out of the mess. Mr. J. H. Morgan who had an exceptional opportunity to study the real German conditions during his four years' stay in the country as a member of the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control has rightly

sounded a note of alarm on the efforts that are being sedulously made to crush the soul of Germany, which he shows to be an impossibility. His *Present State of Germany* (University of London Press, 1924, 2s. 6d.) contains the substance of a lecture he delivered in the University of London, and together with the valuable introduction prefacing the lecture his survey is perhaps the most impartial and dis-interested analysis, hitherto published, so far as a foreigner can see it, of the political, economic and social condition of Germany. Mr. Morgan warns the European statesmen of the folly of the attempt to kill the soul that is Germany, and forecasts the resurgence of a new national consciousness which, under severe repression, will develop all the potentialities of another Armageddon. Altogether a very lucid and temperate statement on a subject that bristles with numerous difficulties. Mr. Morgan's survey should carry the weight it deserves, coming as it does from the pen of a distinguished military officer and a lawyer of reputation.

Mr. A. R. Lord is a professor of political philosophy in a South African University. In his lectures to the students he experienced the common difficulty of recommending suitable texts for the students. And like all professors he set about compiling an easy book formed out of lecture notes. **The Principles of Politics** (Oxford University Press, London & Calcutta) is the eminently satisfactory result. The author's claim that this book will help the student in understanding and grasping the full import of more difficult works like Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State*, is fully borne out by the reading. Mr. Lord has done his work extremely well. The language is clear and lucid, the argument never forced and the facts clearly marshalled. The book should serve a larger purpose than in a lecture room. It is of considerable interest to the rising young politician who desires to enforce his views on the political problems of the hour by an appeal to theoretic justice.

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson is well-known for the purity of his style and the excellence of his diction. In *The Magic Flute* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1922, 5s.) he has chosen a theme that would baffle the skill of a literary craftsman who is not endowed with a refined and delicate imagination. He terms it a "Fantasia" and throughout its pages we find Mr. Dickinson revelling in the interplay of fanciful imaginings and the burden of the practicable problems of the hour. The result is wholly one of delight. He has successfully contrived to weave together in a playful humour his serious views on Truth and Christ and Man. We commend Mr. Dickinson's *Fantasia* to lovers of literature.



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and reflection. And why?—Because this is what comes to all who conduct themselves according to the Master's teachings. And so in succession, and for the same reason, he develops and dwells in the Second, Third and Fourth Ecstasies.

With his heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, stablished and immutable,—it is thus that he applies his heart to the knowledge which recalls his earlier existences. He calls to mind his divers existences in the past,—a single existence, then two . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in all their details and features. And why?—Because this is what [442] comes to one who conducts himself according to the Master's teachings.

That same stedfast heart he now applies to the knowledge of the passing and re-appearance of other creatures. With the Celestial Eye . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . and heaven. And why?—Because this is what comes to one who conducts himself according to the Master's teachings.

That same stedfast heart he now applies to the knowledge of destroying the Cankers. He has absolute comprehension of Ill, the origin of Ill, the cessation of Ill, and the course that leads to the cessation of Ill; he has the like absolute comprehension of the Cankers. When he knows and discerns this, his heart is delivered from the Canker of sensuality, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance; and to him thus delivered comes the knowledge of his deliverance in the confidence that he has lived the highest life, that his task is done, and that now for him there is no more of what he once was. And why?—Because this is what comes to one who conducts himself according to the Master's teachings.

Hereupon Bhaddāli asked the Lord what was the cause and reason why the Almsmen prolong proceedings against one Almsman longer than against another.

Take the case, answered the Lord, of a frequent and habitual offender who, when spoken to by his brethren,

skips off to something irrelevant, changes the subject, evinces rage and hatred and resentment, does not take it well, bristles with indignation, fails to atone, and does not declare himself willing to do what the Confraternity pleases. In such a case his brethren, who have duly noted all this, [448] deem it well to conduct such an enquiry into his case as to preclude any speedy settlement of it.

Take now the case of another frequent and habitual offender who, when spoken to by his brethren, does not skip off to something irrelevant, does not change the subject, does not evince rage and hatred and resentment, but takes it well, is humble, atones, and declares himself willing to do what the Confraternity pleases. In such a case, his brethren, who have duly noted all this, deem it well so to restrict their enquiry into his case as to ensure a speedy settlement.

Next take the case of a casual and not habitual offender, who, when spoken to by his brethren, skips off to something irrelevant . . . [444] preclude any speedy settlement of it.

Next take the case of a casual and not habitual offender, who, when spoken to by his brethren, does not skip off to something irrelevant . . . ensure a speedy settlement.

Lastly, take the case of an Almsman who gets along just by trust and affection. Recognizing this, his brethren deem it well not to protract the proceedings lest he lose even his trust and affection. Just as if a man possessed only a single eye and his friends and kinsfolk guarded that one eye of his lest he should lose even that too,—even so do the Almsmen take heed lest he should lose even his trust and affection.

Such, Bhaddāli, is the cause and the reason why the Almsmen prolong proceedings against one Almsman longer than against another.

What, sir, is the cause and the reason why in bygone days [445] there were fewer rules of conduct and more Arahats, whereas nowadays there are more rules and fewer Arahats?

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It is because, when men fall away and the truth wanes, rules are multiplied and there are fewer Arahats. The Master does not prescribe rules for his disciples so long as there is no sign in the Confraternity of states of consciousness bred of the Cankers. But as soon as he sees signs of this, he prescribes rules to combat those states of consciousness. Such states occur only when the Confraternity has grown big, and then it is that rules against them must be prescribed. They do not appear till the Confraternity has risen to wealth, fame, learning, and standing ; but, when it has got standing, then there occur states of consciousness bred of the Cankers and the Master prescribes rules to combat them.

Few were ye when I preached the homily with the parable of the thorough-bred Colt. Do you remember it, Bhaddāli ?

No, sir.

To what cause do you attribute that ?

I have not been conducting myself according to the Master's teachings for a long time.

That is not the cause or the reason. For some time past my heart has been fathoming yours, seeing how, while I was expounding the Doctrine, you, in your folly, were not listening intently, with grip and grasp and whole-hearted apprehension. Well, I will tell you that homily with the parable of the Colt. Hearken and give ear [446] and I will speak. Then to the attentive Bhaddāli the Lord began thus :—

Just as an expert horse-breaker, when a fine thorough-bred is put in his hands, first schools it to the bit, and during the process the colt exhibits every twist, wriggle and contortion you would expect from one constrained to do something wholly novel, until he is perfected by constant use and gradual practice therein. After the bit comes the yoke and in this process too the colt exhibits . . . practice herein. Next the colt is schooled successively to the ring, to being clipped, to gallop, to neigh (defiance), to bear himself like a royal charger of birth and breeding, peerless in speed, in points, and in



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## THE CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921 : A SURVEY.

By MR. THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

It is the general belief that to a reader, who is not sufficiently interested in the statistical side of sociology and who is not an avowed politician, the Census Reports are apt to be dull reading. This is to my mind an erroneous belief and I have little doubt that to any reader with just sufficient general interest in the fate of his country and the collective march of his countrymen, the report is bound to reveal some feature that will appeal to him, even though he may not be able to appreciate that mysterious romance of numbers. The reason for this is, to my mind, the greater effort at completeness in the interpretation and the significance of figures in the Census Reports, provincial or Indian, than in those of the other countries. This feature is very necessary here, as expert statisticians are few, who can solve for the public, the mystery of figures. And yet, one must confess one's surprise at the comparative brevity with which Mr. Marten, the Census Commissioner, has achieved this completeness. He has eschewed the rather long-winded statement about the general conditions of India, that used to figure in the previous reports and has thus utilised considerable amount of space for more valuable work.

The total population of India, as enumerated in this Census, was a little short of three hundred and nineteen millions, or to be more exact 318,942,480. This compared to the figure of 1911, shows an increase of about four millions or 1.2 per cent. If we take the figures for all

the six censuses, the rise during this last decade from 1911 to 1921 is the smallest ever recorded. During the nine years preceding 1881, the rise of the population was by 23.2 per cent., while the following census in 1891 recorded a rise of 13.20. The census at the beginning of this century showed a rise of only 2.5, while in 1911, the figure again went up to 7.1. Even after making allowances for the fact that during the previous censuses, the area and the population handled were not the same and that in each successive decade the machinery of enumeration was more accurately adjusted, and if we take the real increase per cent., as apart from the actual figures of increase, we must admit that the real rate of increase which during the years 1901 to 1911 had gone up to 6.4 per cent., has suddenly been arrested.

This sudden drop in the rate of increase of the population is not difficult to explain. The direct and indirect effects of the War of 1914-18 on the growth of population in India were considerable, but compared to the havoc caused by the influenza epidemic in 1918-19, they were negligible. There is no direct source from which one can get the approximate figures for the number of deaths caused by the epidemic. Mr. Marten has been at great pains to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate after taking into consideration figures from several sources, and from bold deductions from the facts available. He places the figure for total mortality during the influenza period somewhere between twelve

manners ; and in this process too the colt exhibits . . . practice herein. Lastly, the horse-breaker grooms and braids the colt to perfection and so it becomes with its ten points a charger for a king to be proud of, and is styled a royal treasure.

Just in the same way an Almsman who has his ten points grows worthy of oblations and offerings and gifts and homage and is the richest field in which to sow the seed of merit. What are these ten points?—His are the Arahāt's right views, the Arahāt's right aspirations, the Arahāt's right speech, the Arahāt's right action, the Arahāt's right mode of livelihood, the Arahāt's right effort, the Arahāt's [447] right mindfulness, the Arahāt's right rapture of concentration, together with the Arahāt's right knowledge and right Deliverance. The Almsman, Bhaddāli, who has these ten points is worthy of oblations and offerings and gifts and is the richest field in which to sow the seed of merit.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Bhaddāli rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXVI. LAṬUKIKOPAMA-SUTTA.

### THE PARABLE OF THE QUAIL.

THUS have I heard. Once the Lord was staying in the Anga country, where there is a township named Āpaṇa. In the morning early, duly robed and bowl in hand, he went into town for alms and, after his meal, on his way back from his round, went into a wood to rest during the heat of the day and seated himself at the foot of a tree. Likewise, the reverend Udāyī had been into town for alms and on his way back had gone into that same wood to rest during the heat of the day, and was sitting under a tree in solitary meditation when there came to him the reflection that their Lord had dispelled many an unhappy state of consciousness and had implanted many a happy one, had dispelled



to thirteen millions, and working to his reasoning, one must admit that the figure, if at all it errs, errs on the side of under-estimate. And the worst of it is that these twelve to thirteen million deaths do not comprise the only toll that we have paid to the fell disease. As Mr. Marten observes, "The number of deaths, however, is not, of course, the measure of the loss of life from the epidemic. The case mortality has been put roughly at about 10 per cent. and on this basis the total number of persons affected by the disease was about 125 millions or two fifths of the total population of India. The effect on the general wealth of the people is shown by the reaction on the birth-rate, which dropped below the death rate in 1918 and 1919 and only gave a slight excess in India in 1920." Thus, though the influenza has vitiated the figures for 1921 to a great extent and deducted much from their value as a guide to the general progress of the community, the worst, in my opinion, is yet to come, because of the sacrifice of a large number of married women of child-bearing age. One may expect a great disproportion in the various age groups for the next census.

No student of sociology can help asking himself, whether we are doing anything to check such wholesale mortality due to epidemics, when we are all united in shouting at the top of our voice for the abolition of war and the establishment of peace. After all wars have some saving graces, some physical and moral values, but one would fain like to hear anything in connection with this epidemic which might be taken as some sort of a compensation; except perhaps the cynical observation that it checks over-population. And yet while six years after the termination of the War the world is striving hard to avoid another such catastrophe, we have for all practical purposes, placidly accepted the influenza epidemic and beyond some temporary organisations for relief at the moment, we are behaving as if the epidemic has never been there.

The mention of a Census Report is bound to raise the bogey of over-population. Many writers on economics and the population problems as well as several provincial Census Superintendents envisage the dangers of over-population. Mr. Wattal, by far the best known writer on the growth of population in India is perhaps the most pessimistic of the whole group. And yet one cannot imagine that either of these writers can with confidence give us a

figure where over-population begins, for reasons which are obvious. There is little reason to believe that in the so-called golden age, when the population of India was, say, one third of what it is now or even less, the squalor, the misery, the wretchedness and sacrifice demanded of those living in those days so that the population be maintained was in any way less than what it is now. The fact is that the question of social misery and degradation, though it does turn upon the productive capacity of the country, rests more on the forms of social organisation and the conceptions of social justice. The quantitative methods of the present day economists are mainly responsible for thus clouding the issue and for the general prevalence of the belief that there is no other remedy except increase in the productive capacity of the country or the reduction of population. When so many of us alarmed by the theories of the economists hasten to agree with this belief, we forget that in the first place, no end of increase in the productive capacity of the country will add an appreciable amount of happiness and comfort to the people, unless the methods of participation in that increase are changed, and in the second, that even with our present capacity of production; we could do much to rule out a great amount of misery from the life of the people, if we all agree to principles of distribution of wealth, more in accordance with the demands of social justice. Of course, I do not mean to suggest that senseless multiplication of the species is in any way desirable or to be encouraged. All I want to point out is that the remedy for the abolition of misery and sacrifice lies not so much in the direction of the reduction in birth-rate as in a more fair and equitable distribution of wealth.

The question whether India as a whole is over-populated or not depends not merely on the productive capacity of the country, both agricultural and industrial, but also on the possibility of military and economic invasion from the neighbouring countries on both sides, the standard of living that we agree upon as the necessary minimum for the climatic and physical conditions of India and on the present and prospective outlets for emigration. This question, moreover, has to be distinguished from the relative density and over-population in certain areas as compared with others. To the minds of many in India, the present distribution of population in various provinces and even within the

territories of one province is not very satisfactory.

The question of the standard of living is very intimately connected with the problems of population in any country and all the more so in India where neither the population nor their concepts of comforts are wholly homogeneous. The census authorities have, however, decided that the task of ascertaining the statistical measure of the standard of living of the people of India is almost an impossible task for the machinery of the census and we are left without any definite measure. In the first place, Mr. Marten doubts if the economic position of a family has much to do with the manner of its living and he believes that tradition limited by ignorance plays a much more effective part in the standard of life of any given family. This was no doubt true even twenty years ago and may still be true to some extent amongst some aristocratic families, but the conditions have changed considerably since the war and the conformity in the standard of life of a particular family and its economic position is much greater to-day than ever before and a serious and well-guided effort at some statistical measure of the standard of living will give useful results. These results, however, will not be useful in gauging the chances of rise or fall of population, because the average Indian peasant with his temperamental resignation will sooner think of giving up comforts and even necessities rather than even dream of checking the increase in his family, when his standard of living is threatened. But any results obtained with regard to the statistical measure of the standard of life in India will be useful in other ways. There is no doubt that the work, if it ever could be done, could best be done by the census organisations, because the operations of the Labour Offices do not cover the whole of India.

An interesting but erroneous belief almost universally held in India is that the population is being drained from the villages into towns and cities. We often hear even educated men and also the popular leaders of a certain type getting eloquent about the dangers of this drain and lamenting the loss to the villages. Apart from the question of merits of the emigration from villages into towns and cities, which in itself is controversial, the reality of this drain is hardly ever questioned. But the census figures prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that "the progress of urbanization in India, if

there is any progress at all, has been very slow during the last thirty years." Out of a total population of 319 millions only 32½ million persons were found in 2313 cities and towns of all classes. The Bombay Presidency has the highest percentage of urban population amounting to 23, while Assam comes lowest with only three per cent. of its population residing to towns. In England, while 79 per cent. of the people are classified as urban, India has only 10½ per cent. of its inhabitants living in towns. But perhaps, it may be contended that though the percentage of the urban population is about one tenth to-day, it must have been much smaller before. The fact is that the whole increase in the last thirty years in the proportion of the urban population is less than one per cent. Even this one per cent. is not the real rate of increase in the sense of emigration into towns from the villages. Because it must not be forgotten that the population of the towns also increases naturally apart from immigration and that some larger villages, with the gradual growth of their natural population came in course of time to be classified as towns. When we have accounted for these two causes of natural increase, the real increase reduces itself to a very small figure and even that, as Mr. Marten shows, is not a loss to the villages but to the small-sized towns. The tendency during the last three decades has been for the population to congregate in ever increasing proportions in cities and towns with more than twenty thousand souls at the expense of the smaller-sized towns. The census figures reveal that the towns above fifty thousand have increased by 16 per cent.; the population of the towns between ten and twenty thousand do not show even the average general increase in the population of the whole country. Thus even though the talk about the growing scarcity of agricultural labour be true, we have to look for the causes of it somewhere else. Again, it will be an excellent subject for sociological and economic research to try and gauge the exact significance to the country both at present and in the future of this gradual decay of the smaller-sized country towns.

Religion is an important principle of classification of the population and yet we owe our thanks to Mr. Marten for rigorously cutting out from his Report, those long polemics on religious tenets and ceremonial observances, that used to be a feature of the earlier reports



many a wrong state and implanted many a right one. Arising towards evening from his meditations, Udāyi betook him to the Lord and, taking [448] his seat to one side after due salutations, first related how there had come to him the foregoing reflection and then went on to say :—In former times, sir, we had meals in the evening and in the morning and in the afternoon, in contravention of all proper hours. Time came when the Lord bade Almsmen give up having meals out of hours in the afternoon ; and personally I felt it a painful wrench, when the faithful laity came with excellent meals in the afternoon out of hours, to realize that by our Lord's bidding they were to be rejected and by our Blessed One's bidding to be renounced. Well, sir, out of our love and veneration for the Lord and in our sense of duty and obligation, we gave up these afternoon meals, out of hours ; and we ate morning and evening. Then came a time when the Lord bade Almsmen give up eating at night, out of hours. Here again it was a painful wrench to realize that by our Lord's bidding the better meal of the two was to be rejected and by our Blessed One's bidding to be renounced. The old custom had been, when a man was given curry in the afternoon, for him to say : Carry it away and we will have it for supper together. For, dainty dishes, sir, all come at night,—rarely by day. Well, out of our love and veneration for the Lord and in our sense of duty and obligation, we gave up eating at night, out of hours. Time was when, going in quest of alms when it was too dark to see, Almsmen used to walk straight into the village-pond or the cesspool, or stray into a hedge, or blunder over a cow asleep, or associate with young fellows before or after crimes, or were solicited by women. I remember once being out for alms after dark when a woman espied me for a flash as she was scouring a pot and screamed out : Woe is me ! A goblin is after me ! I told her I was not a goblin but an Almsman [449] standing there for alms. Then you must be a poor orphan with no father or mother left alive ; you would

Whatever their value in those days, they would undoubtedly be useless to-day, in view of the many independent publications concerning such questions, and also because of the fact that questions of doctrine remain more or less the same. And yet we cannot agree with Mr. Marten, in his decision not to insist upon sect statistics. One might agree with him that "caste is too complex, too local and too controversial a factor to form a basis for a social and economic division even of the Hindu Society," but merely knowing the number of Hindus is not of much importance and a census of India which does not go into the question of sects would be if not meaningless, at least incomplete, so far as the classification by religion is concerned. To do him justice, however, I must admit that the decision was taken not by him in the first instance but by his predecessor Sir Edward Gait, which he merely endorsed. The general distribution by religion of the population, varies little from one census to another and depends very largely on historical factors. The tendencies towards change and evolution in Hinduism are visible only through the rise or fall in the numbers of various sects, and not through the total number of people registered as Hindus.

The chapter on the distribution of the population by age is one of the most interesting ones in the whole report and in the minds of many one of the most important ones. It is not so much the total population of a country, or the distribution of population by religion, sex or even occupation that helps the student to decide whether a country is progressive, stationary or regressive, as the distribution by age. And yet it is this chapter that is the great bug-bear of the census authorities not only in India but in many other more advanced countries. No other returns are liable to be more inaccurate than those concerning the age of the people. Mr. Marten analyses the causes of this inaccuracy and he has corrected and graduated them by some wellknown standards.

It is the comparative strength of each age group that affords the best comparison with the past figures and makes it possible to follow each batch of the population as it progresses over each successive decades from infancy to age and also to gauge the effects upon it of mortality and migration at each successive census. The figures of age distribution of this census compared to those of the preceding one show a decrease in

the proportions in the groups 0-5 and 15-35 and increase in the group 5-15 and those above forty. Thus "the decade has seen a reduction in the proportions of young children and the younger adults and an increase of the proportion of the adolescent and of the elder adult population." Mr. Marten attributes this to the influence of famine and plague in the past, the fall of the birth-rate at the end of the decade owing to influenza and the special partiality shown by influenza for the younger adult age group.

The statistics with regard to the proportion of children under ten at any given time to hundred adults between 15-40 and also to hundred married women in that group are of considerable importance. But the dangers of drawing any conclusions regarding comparative fertility from these proportions have to be guarded against and one has to take a much more comprehensive view of the underlying factors that affect this proportion. To support this Mr. Marten shows that the rise in the rates of children in this census is due not to any increase in fertility but because of the loss of the adult categories, especially of the numbers of married women. "What has actually happened is not that the babies have multiplied but that the number of parents has been suddenly reduced, at the end of the decade."

One of the most important subjects, bound up with the growth of populations is that of infant mortality. But apart from census operations, that subject is now being studied much more scientifically and with much greater details by various health organisations and experts. Mr. Marten rightly confines his discussion of this important subject to the statistics of infant mortality in various countries and the relation between the rate of this mortality and the size of families. The latter is controlled by the general health of the mother and of the economic conditions of the family. The average rate of infant mortality in India is 410 per 1000 children born, i.e. 410 out of every thousand children born have to die before they reach the age of one year. The rate is as high as 500 in large cities like Bombay and during the influenza epidemic, the rate for the whole of India went up to 534. Amongst the provinces the highest infant mortality rate is in C. P. and Berar, the next is Upper Burma and U. P. comes third. In C. P. the infant mortality during 1918 went as high as 800 per thousand. These appalling figures need no comment, all the more as when

do better to cut your belly out once for all than to let it drive you to prowling about for alms in the dark like this. When I remember this, sir, the reflection comes to me that our Lord has dispelled many an unhappy state of consciousness and has implanted many a happy one, has dispelled many a wrong state and implanted many a right one!

Yet, in their folly, Udāyī, there are silly people who, when told by me to give something up, think that it is an insignificant matter of no moment and that I am too particular,—with the result that they do not give it up but grow dissatisfied with me and with the Almsmen who desire to be trained. This insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them fast, a stout and solid bond, a bond that rots not away, a massive log round their necks. It is like a quail caught in a springe, there to abide slaughter or captivity or death. Would it be correct to say that to the bird in this plight the withy which holds it is a bond without strength or might, a bond that is flimsy and unsubstantial.

No, sir; to the quail it is a bond strong enough to hold her fast, a stout and solid bond to her, a bond that rots not away, a very log round her neck.

Just in the same way, Udāyī, there are silly people . . . a log round their necks.

Take now the case of young men who, when told by me to give something up, [450] think that in itself it is an insignificant matter of no moment, but that their Lord, the Blessed One, has bidden them to give it up and renounce it. So they give it up, without growing dissatisfied with me or with the Almsmen who wish to be trained; and the result is that, unruffled, they live in meekness and contentment, with hearts as free as wild things. Unto these the bonds prove to be without strength or might, flimsy and unsubstantial. It is like a king's elephant—with tusks like the stilts of a plough, the huge scion of a noble race, the hero of many a battle—who may be bound with stout straps and thongs, but has only to give quite a little heave of his



more than half of these deaths are due to avoidable causes.

The statistical study of sex and civil conditions is fascinating and it is this subject, which still leaves much scope for original work to writers of census reports. Several provincial superintendents have taken advantage of this fact. As time goes on, it is quite possible that the tables dealing with records of sex and civil conditions will get more intricate and will make much more information available than what is possible to-day. Mr. Marten's own report of the Central Provinces Census in 1911 is indeed a proof of this. But promotion has its own drawbacks and the comparative liberty which the provincial superintendents enjoy, is sometimes denied to the Census Commissioner, in as much as special materials gathered at special places is not of much use to him. He can generally make use of the materials which are uniformly common to the whole of India.

The first thing one notices about the discussion on Sex in the Census Report, is the laying at rest of the furious controversy that raged round the question of the accuracy of Indian sex figures, especially those dealing with the number of women. Unlike most of the countries in Europe, each successive Indian census has returned an excess of males over females. There were some reasonable grounds for believing in the charge of inaccuracy levelled by the Western critics, because of the characteristic attitude a large number of our countrymen have towards women. The Census of 1911, however, did this signal service of disposing of this allegation by a close analysis of the materials. Mr. Marten reviews in brief the arguments from both sides of this controversy and assures us in the end "that the return of sex is on the whole accurate and that the proportions given represent the existing facts within the margin of error applicable to the enumeration in general."

Mr. Marten combines the statistics of sex with those for age, religion and civil conditions on the one hand, and caste, tribe or race on the other, and arrives at some interesting conclusions. The sex ratio in the actual and natural populations also supplies a good index for ascertaining the extent of migration or at any rate for checking the conclusions with regard to migration. The most important conclusion which Mr. Marten arrives at and which is of considerable importance to the sociologists is that "the sex ratio (the proportion of females

to 100 or 1,000 males) has fallen in the last twenty years throughout India. The statistics of birth suggest that the proportions of females born has, if anything, declined during this period, and in any case there has been a marked decline in the last five years of the last decade in most provinces." The chapter on civil conditions of the population lends itself easily as a subject matter of discussion and speculation, but one could do it justice only in an independent article on the subject and so I propose merely to transcribe the results of the discussion by Mr. Marten:

- (1) Marriage is almost universal both for men and women.
- (2) The proportion of the married has decreased owing to (a) the change in the age constitution of the population and the decrease in the proportion of the adult population; (b) the mortality of the influenza epidemic, which specially selected married women and converted their husbands into widowers and (c) the adverse economic conditions at the end of the decade.
- (3) Infant and child marriage is still prevalent, but there is evidence to show that the age of marriage is increasing especially in the case of males. Only in the most advanced classes is there any tendency for the age of marriage after puberty to increase. Economic and educational classes are largely responsible for any tendency of this kind.
- (4) The proportion of the widowed, and especially of widowers, has increased owing to high selective mortality and possibly, in the case of widows, partly owing to the increasing orthodoxy of the lower castes and tribes.

Literacy for the Census Report means the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the answer to it: It has ruled out all complications with regard to the degree of education. The average number of people, who are literate according to this definition in India, per thousand of those above five years is 82.139 males and 21 females per thousand having been recorded as literate. If we take the figures of literacy by age-groups, the proportion is the highest between 15 and 20. Effective literacy, however, begins at twenty, because the phenomenon of lost literacy once acquired is not unknown to educationists. The figure of literacy

body in order to burst his bonds asunder and go forth where he lists. Would it be correct to say that to the elephant his bonds are strong enough to hold him fast,—stout, solid bonds that rot not away, a massive log round his neck?

No, sir; to such an elephant these bonds which he can burst asunder by a slight heave of his body, are to him without strength or might, flimsy and unsubstantial.

Just in the same way, Udāyī, the young men who, when told by me to give something up, . . . flimsy and unsubstantial.

It is like a poor wretch with just a single crazy hovel open to the crows and squalid to view, with just a single crazy pallet squalid to view, [451] with no store of grain beyond just his sorry seed-corn in a solitary crock, and with just his one ill-favoured wife. If such a poor wretch sees an Almsman from a pleasure with clean hands and feet seated after a good dinner meditating in the cool shade, he might think it a pleasant and healthful thing to be a recluse and might like to become a Pilgrim too, cutting off his hair and beard, donning the yellow robe and going forth from home to homelessness. But suppose he could not bring himself, as the first step to becoming a Pilgrim, to give up his poor hovel and pallet, his poor crock of seed-corn and wife. Would it be correct to say of him that the bonds which keep him from giving up his sorry belongings in order to become a Pilgrim, are to him weak bonds, without strength or might, flimsy and unsubstantial?

No, sir; to him they are bonds strong enough to hold him fast, stout, solid bonds that rot not away, a massive log round his neck.

It is just the same, Udāyī, with those silly people who, when told by me to give something up, think that it is an insignificant matter of no moment and that I am too particular,—with the result that they do not give it up but grow dissatisfied with me and with the Almsmen who desire to be trained. This insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them



fast, a stout, solid bond, a bond that rots not away, a massive log round their necks.

✓Or it is like a rich man, or his son, [452] of great wealth and possessions, with abounding treasure and substance and lands and raiment and wives and slaves both male and female. If he, likewise, sees an Almsman from a pleasance with clean hands and feet seated after a good dinner meditating in the cool shade, he too might think it a pleasant and a healthful thing to be a recluse and might like to become a Pilgrim too, cutting off his hair and beard, donning the yellow robe and going forth from home to homelessness. And suppose he could bring himself, as the first step to becoming a Pilgrim, to give up all these riches and to go forth from home to homelessness. Would it be correct to say of him that his bonds were strong enough to hold him fast, stout solid bonds that rot not away, a massive log round his neck?

No, sir; to him they are flimsy and unsubstantial.

It is just the same with those young men who, when told by me to give something up, think that in itself it is an insignificant matter of no moment but that their Lord . . . [458] flimsy and unsubstantial.✕

There are four types of individuals to be found in the world, Udāyī.

The first is progressing towards giving up ties and renouncing them, but in his progress is assailed by thoughts and ideas into which ties enter; he gives in to them, does not give them up, does not dispel and eject them, does not annihilate them. Him I call not detached but attached. And why?—Because I have gauged his individuality.

The second is similarly progressing and is similarly assailed, but does not give in to such thoughts and ideas, he gives them up; he dispels, ejects and annihilates them. Him too do I call not detached but attached. And why?—Because I have gauged his individuality.

The third is similarly progressing but in his progress is from time to time assailed by distraction in mindful-

for the age group 20 and over, is lower in this census unlike the previous ones, but this is due not so much to lost literacy as to the higher mortality due to influenza in this group. Comparing the figures with those of the previous census, India has to-day four million more literate persons than in 1911. Mr. Marten observes that this increase in the number of literate males and females is shared by every province and state, but the statement is open to one correction. The premier state of Hyderabad is the one exception where the proportion of literate males to thousand has gone down from 67 to 65, while in Kashmir, which has the lowest literacy record, the increase is nominal and may quite possibly be due to a greater number of temporary visitors. If we exclude Burma, where the conditions are exceptional because of its religion, the first three places are occupied by three Indian states of Travancore, Cochin and Baroda, but the pride due to this will be only short-lived, when we find that the three last places are also occupied by the three important states of Gwalior, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

Mr. Marten concludes his chapter on languages with a brief discussion on the standardisation of languages and observes that: "The combined speakers of Eastern and Western Hindi considerably exceed in number the strength of any other individual language in India, and if we add to these two languages Bihari and Rajasthani, which so resemble Hindi as to be frequently returned under that name in the census schedules, we get well over 100 millions of speakers of tongues which have considerable affinities and cover a very large area of northern and central India." Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, the Census Superintendent of Baroda, who has been quoted by Mr. Marten, also believes that "Hindi does exercise (even in Western India about which he writes) a considerable influence on the educated sections of the people.....Its claim to be the *lingua franca* are beginning to be increasingly pressed; there is a general desire also to include Hindi as a second language in the school; much of the old bitterness of the Hindi-Urdu controversy has softened down with the growing cordiality between educated Hindus and Musalmans."

The last but by no means the least is the discussion on occupation. Mr. Marten has reserved not only a great amount of space for this subject but a still greater amount of atten-

tion. He himself writes that "in point of interest and importance the statistics of occupations are perhaps the most valuable of all those obtained at a periodical census." The classification scheme is highly complex and takes a good deal of explanation. It is practically the same as in 1911 with a few modifications. The occupational statistics collected are much more limited in scope than would be necessary for a complete industrial census, but an effort was made to supplement the general information by issuing a special schedule to be filled in by managers of industrial establishments.

As is well known Agriculture and land in India supports a very large part of the population, amounting to nearly 73 per cent. of the total population. But it is not equally well known that this percentage is increasing. It has increased by 1.8 during the last ten years, while the proportion of the people supported by industry (non-agricultural, of course) has gone down, during the same period by six per cent. The pressure on the land is thus enormous, and even if the percentage were not to increase, the increase in the total population of the country would within a very short time make this a first class problem. With both the total population and the percentage going up, the problem will assume alarming proportion. One of the direct results of this is the excessive sub-division of the agricultural holdings, but though Mr. Marten discusses the question of acres cultivated per 100 ordinary cultivators, he does not go into the question of the most predominant size of holdings in every province. It is not the average holding that really matters but the size of holding which predominates over others. The question of the gradual decrease in the size of holdings is engaging serious attention in the Bombay Presidency and the Baroda State, where after all, one can see from the figures, that the situation is the best, these being 1215 acres per 100 ordinary cultivators. One could very well imagine what it must be in Bihar and Bengal with 309 and 312 acres respectively for every 100 cultivators, inspite of the superior quality of the soil there. Mr. Marten quotes Mr. Thompson, the Census Superintendent of Bengal at great length on this subject, but one cannot very well agree with the remedy that the latter suggests. Mr. Thompson observes that "In Bengal, the holdings have been so minutely subdivided that there is not enough work for the cultivators" and he proposes that some



industrial concerns should be started to give them work in their spare time. No organised industry could flourish on such casual labour, and the only remedy for the evil is to introduce legislation both to prevent further fragmentation and gradually to consolidate the present holdings. The necessary social and economic adjustments will naturally take some time and a few would suffer in the process, but it is much better that a few should suffer for a little while than that a country's whole peasantry, which is after all its greatest pride, should continue to live in abject and degrading poverty. Some such step will also tend to remove the common charge against the government that it does not desire a bold peasantry.

Mr. Marten's discussion not only includes the various industries, the numbers they employ, their organisation, but trade and trade organisations in various provinces, the nature of industrial concerns, the ownership, their distribution by provinces, the work of women and children in industries and the kind of power used. He has introduced special sections dealing with handlooms, labour and occupation of women.

There are eight appendices to the Report, two of which are of special importance. One is an extract from the Baroda Census Report, by Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, on the present day tendencies in the religious sphere and the other is a summary of the special inquiry undertaken in some provinces and states regarding the size and sex constitution of the average family and the fertility of marriage life.

Mr. Marten's Report is a triumph of judicious and wise selection and in many respects it is a departure from the previous reports, not perhaps in the structure and form so much as in the scope and selection of the subjects included. There is little doubt that it will be a model for several more reports. Mr. Marten has vigorously turned his back on the highly technical and scholarly discourse on many subjects, such as language, castes, tribes, religion, and has established a finer proportion, which adds to the practical value of the census. The day is passed even if the materials be not exhausted, when the writers of Census Reports could afford to dabble in research work on these subjects, partly because separate linguistic and similar other surveys have been undertaken by the Govern-

ment and by the learned societies, and it is better that such discussion is confined to the special reports of such surveys and to the journals of these societies or other highbrow journals. In future the Census Reports will have to devote their pages to the elucidation of much more practical problems. Mr. Marten has brought to bear on the materials before him a keen analytic mind and the conclusions he arrives at are characterised by extreme caution.

Mr. Marten complains that the public were generally indifferent to the census. He is really thankful for it at heart because they stopped short with indifference and were not positively hostile. The fact is that the general public or even the literate portion of it for the matter of that, knows precious little about the census operations beyond the fact that it is for calculating the population of the country. It has no proper appreciation of the wealth of materials thus collected and seeing that the Census Reports both of the provinces and states and of India are published in English and find their destination in Government offices and the reference shelves of the public libraries, this want of appreciation and the attitude of indifference are not at all to be surprised at. I do not mean to suggest that the Reports should be published in the various Vernaculars, but why could not the various Governments make arrangements to get abridged editions in the Vernaculars of the province, which might exclude all purely technical matters and many tables, and which would appeal to the man in the street at general reading. I have before me one such small but excellent volume in Gujarati, prepared at the instance of the Government of Baroda. In this volume, in two hundred odd octavo pages, the translator has summarised in Gujarati the standard English Report taking up more than four hundred foolscap pages, in a very homely style. The volume is priced Rs. 2/- and is calculated to have a much wider publicity than the standard report. The experiment was first made in 1911 and it was found so successful that it was repeated in 1921. I do not know if any other local government issue such abridged editions in the Vernaculars, but if they do not, they might take a leaf from the policy of the Baroda Government, and so might the Government of India. It will help much towards effecting the desired change in the attitude of the people.

ness. Mindfulness is slow of growth, but he is quick to give up such distraction, quick to dispel, eject and annihilate it. It is like a man who lets fall two or three drops of water into an iron pot heated all day long; the drops of water are slow in falling but quick to disappear and vanish. And it is just the same with this third man who is progressing . . . and annihilate it. Him also do I call not detached but attached. [454] And why?—Because I have gauged his individuality.

Last comes the man who, recognizing that ties are a root of Ill, frees himself from ties and is Delivered by destroying ties. Him do I call detached and not attached. And why?—Because I have gauged his individuality.

Five in number are the pleasures of sense, namely, visible shapes, sounds, odours, tastes, and touch,—all of them pleasant, agreeable and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lusts. The satisfaction and the gratification derived from these five pleasures of sense is called sensual pleasure, filthy pleasure, vulgar pleasure, ignoble pleasure, not to be practised, not to be developed, not to be fostered, but to be dreaded, say I.

Take the case of an Almsman who, divested of pleasures of sense and of wrong states of consciousness, develops and dwells in the First Ecstasy . . . and successively in the Third and Fourth Ecstasies. This is called the pleasure of renunciation, the pleasure of solitude, the pleasure of tranquillity, the pleasure of utter enlightenment,<sup>1</sup>—to be practised, to be developed, to be fostered, and not to be dreaded, say I.

Take the case of an Almsman who has developed and dwells in the First Ecstasy. Here there is no fixity,—in that observation and reflection are not yet stilled. Nor is there fixity in the Second Ecstasy,—in that

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<sup>1</sup> *Sambodha-sukha*,—a term ordinarily restricted to the Buddha, but here used of Arahats in general.

zest and satisfaction are not yet stilled. Nor again is there fixity in the Third Ecstasy,—in that [455] the bliss of rapt concentration survives. But when the Brother has developed and dwells in the Fourth Ecstasy, then I say there is fixity.

Of the First Ecstasy I say that it sufficeth not ; I tell you to give it up and pass beyond it,—to the Second Ecstasy. Of the Second Ecstasy I say that it sufficeth not ; I tell you to give it up and pass beyond it,—to the Third Ecstasy. Of the Third Ecstasy I say that it sufficeth not ; I tell you to give it up and pass beyond it,—to the Fourth Ecstasy. Of the Fourth Ecstasy I say that it sufficeth not ; I tell you to give it up and pass beyond it—to the plane of Infinity and Space—by passing beyond all perception of things material, by eliminating perception of sense-reactions, and by not heeding perception of differences. This too sufficeth not and you must give it up and pass beyond it,—to the plane of Infinity of Consciousness and thence successively to the planes of Naught and of Neither-perception-nor-non-perception, [456] till at last the Almsman develops and dwells in the state where perceptions and sensations cease to be.

Can you point, Udāyī, to any bond, big or small, which I have omitted to order to be given up ?

No, sir.

Thus spake the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Udāyī rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXVII. CĀTUMA-SUTTA.

### OF LAND SHARKS.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Cātuma in the myrobalan wood, there came to visit him five hundred Almsmen headed by Sāriputta and Moggallāna. These newcomers, while they were being greeted by the resident Almsmen and were being shown their billets and while they were



## SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNIN.

By MR. M. HABIB, B.A., (OXON.) M.R.A.S.

*Professor of History, Aligarh.***I: Muslim World in the Tenth Century.**

"Almost all ethical doctrines and religious creeds," says John Stuart Mill, "are full of meaning and vitality to those who originate them and to the direct disciples of the originators. Their meaning continues to be felt in undiminished strength, and is perhaps brought out into fuller consciousness, so long as the struggle lasts to give the doctrine or creed an ascendancy over other creeds. At last it either prevails, and becomes the general opinion, or its progress stops; it keeps possession of the ground it has gained, but ceases to spread further. From this time may be usually dated the decline in the living power of the doctrine. For when it has become a hereditary creed, and to be received passively, not actively—when the mind is no longer compelled, in the same degree as at first, to exercise its vital powers on the questions which its beliefs present to it, there is a progressive tendency to forget all of the belief except the formularies, or to give it a dull and torpid assent, as if accepting it on trust dispensed with the necessity of realising it in consciousness."

This weakening of spiritual zeal has shown itself in all religions at various stages, and is painfully obvious in the history of Islam from the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the ninth century to the Mongol Conquest of Muslim Asia and the growth of mysticism in the thirteenth. It was a period of great achievements in science, literature and art, and the area of human knowledge was enlarged by scholars trained in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. It was a period of feverish political activity; empires were established and pulled down; cities were founded and destroyed. But it was a period of refinement and culture, of an alluring, materialistic civilisation—not of faith. The missionary zeal of the earlier Muslims had evaporated in the signal success it had achieved, and the creed that had come into the world for the elevation of the lower classes was being used as a bulwark for

the protection of vested interests and the continuation of time-honoured abuses. Of a hair-splitting theology there was enough and to spare; and the sectarian fanaticism which such theology excited discolours the annals of many generations, during which 'orthodox' and 'heretics' persecuted and tortured each other with an inhumanity they never displayed in their dealings with the non-Muslims, who were regarded as the honourable opponents of an honourable war. Islam had become a matter of custom and tradition and a means for procuring the salvation of the individual soul. It was no longer a world-wide force of democratic upheaval. People prayed and fasted and read the Quran with devotion; they lived according to what they considered to be the true interpretation of the law; but the vision of a new heaven and a new earth, such as had inspired the Saracenic invaders of Persia, was totally beyond their ken. They had lost their proselytising fervour and were content to keep their creed to themselves. The boundaries of the Muslim world remained where the Omayyad Caliphs had left them, and no new countries or peoples were brought within the fold. And internally also the political, religious and racial unity of the Muslim world was being gradually undermined by the forces of disintegration.

The idea that all purely Muslim populations should be under the suzerainty of the Caliph has never been absent from Muslim consciousness.

(i) Political divisions. Decline of the Caliphate.

Nevertheless the lands of the Caliphate were too extensive to be governed from a single centre, and in the course of the last two centuries the political and administrative power of the Caliph had gradually declined. Local princes raised their heads and the orders of Baghdad ceased to command the implicit obedience that had been yielded to them in the good, old days of Harunur Rashid. Spain had become independent; an

anti-Caliphate had been founded by the Fatimids of Egypt; and nearer home the growth of a number of 'minor dynasties' paralysed the Caliph's power in Iraq, Persia and Turkestan. Yet the moral prestige of the Caliph in the eyes of his co-religionists was immense. He was the successor of the Prophet and public sentiment regarded him with deep respect. He was the fountain-head of all political authority; kings and tribal chiefs were in theory subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power. The maddest of political adventurers would think many times before he directly defied the Caliph's authority.

Of the 'minor dynasties' that jostled each other in Persia and Turkestan the most important and powerful was the House of Saman founded by Amir Ismail Samani in 911 A.D. The Samanids, with their capital at Bokhara, held an insecure sway over Trans-Oxonia (*Mawaraun Nahr*) and Khorasan, their power being almost constantly defied by rebellious governors and insubordinate officials. Beyond the Jaxartes the unconverted Turks and Tartars were ruled by their tribal chiefs, the most powerful of whom was the Khan of Kashghar. In Eastern Persia the Shiaite dynasty of Buwaih, with its capital at Ray, was founded by Rukn-uddoulah Daylami in 933 and gradually expanded its power in Iraq till even Baghdad came within its grasp. The Caliph was left to slumber in his palace, 'a venerable phantom,' while the Buwaihids assumed the power and the title of 'Commander-in-chief' and directed the secular affairs of the capital. The other dynasties are too many and too unimportant to be mentioned here. They were constantly at war with each other.

As if this division of political power was not enough to paralyse the energies of the 'Faithful', acute differences on questions of dogma also appeared with an intensity of bitterness which Mussalmans now living can hardly realise. The division of Mussalmans into Sunnis and Shias had come very early. The Shias claimed that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali, should have been his immediate successor, while the Sunnis upheld the legality of the actual order of succession—Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali. But this political difference slowly developed into difference of a more fundamental nature; and

Shiaism became the Persian interpretation, as against Sunnism or the Arab interpretation, of the Prophet's teachings(1). As yet, however, the difference between the Sunnis and the main body of Shias was not so acute as it afterwards became; one sect shaded off into another by insensible gradations; it was difficult to say where Sunnism ended and Shiaism began, and many persons then living would have found it hard to decide to which sect they really belonged. But the most bitter animosity prevailed between the 'orthodox' Sunnis and the extreme wing of the Shiaites, who believed in only 'seven' out of

(1) The point requires some elucidation. The great religions of the world may be divided into two classes—the Semitic (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and the Aryan (Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism). Broadly speaking, Semitic religions give more importance to the ethical, and the Aryan religions to the metaphysical, aspect of faith. Now after the Arab conquest of Persia, the Persians naturally interpreted the new faith in the light of their already existing metaphysical conceptions which they largely shared with the Hindus. One of the most important of these was the idea of Incarnation, the appearance of the Supreme Being in a human form. Every religion has felt the necessity of finding some means of intercourse between the real and the sensible world. In Islam the angel Gabriel brings the message of the one world to the other. Aryan religions explain it by a series of incarnations by which the creator comes to teach the law to the created. In the extreme forms of Shiaism, a highly Aryanised interpretation of Islam, the Prophets and the Imams become Divine Incarnations, a belief which the orthodox considered to be identical with idolatry. And yet *a priori* Shiaism and Sunnism must be considered equally valid interpretations of a common faith; nor is it possible to give any valid reason why the Arab outlook on life should be in greater consonance with Reality than the Persian. Another Indo-Aryan doctrine was 'monism', the belief which regarded all existence as the emanation of a one Being and all change as the evidence of a Cosmic Purpose. To the Semitic Conception of law as an external command, the Aryans had opposed the belief that law was an inner aspiration of the soul itself. What is known as *Tasawuf* (Muslim mysticism) is Islam interpreted in the light of Indo-Persian Monism, in which God ceases to be a being external to the individual and law is no longer a command imposed from without. Muslim mystics have always claimed that their doctrines are based on the Quran and rightly so, however impalpable such a confession may appear to those who imagine that a religion can long exist without developing a system of metaphysics. But the contention of the Muslim mystics is quite compatible with the fact that the development of mysticism in Islam was the work of Persian thinkers, who were steeped in the doctrine of Monism; and that in its mature form the teachings of *Tasawuf* are broadly the same as the philosophy of the Neo-Platonists and the Upanishads. Thus Islam interpreted in the light of the Incarnation-idea has given us Shiaism, which in its orthodox form claims that Ali should have been the first Caliph and in its heretical phase asserts him and the Imams to be Divine Incarnations, while interpreted in the light of Aryan monism, it has led to *Tasawuf*, the finest achievement of Indo-Persian genius in the realm of thought.



putting away their bowls and robes, talked loud and made a great noise. Said the Lord to the reverend Ānanda: Who pray are these loud-voiced noisy persons, like so many fishermen over their catch?

There have come to visit you, sir, five hundred Almsmen headed . . . a great noise.

Tell them from me, Ānanda, that the Master desires their presence.

Ānanda having duly done so, those Almsmen obediently [457] came to the Lord and with proper salutations took their seats to one side, there to be asked why there was all this clamour and noise, as of so many fishermen over their catch.

It was these five hundred Almsmen, sir, headed . . . a great noise.

Depart, Almsmen; I bid you begone; you cannot dwell near me.

Yes, sir, said they obediently, as, rising up from their seats, they took reverential leave of the Lord, folded up their bedding, took their bowls and robes, and went away.

At that time the Sakyans of Cātuma were met together in their moot-hall on some business or other; and, when from a distance they observed these Almsmen going away, they went up to them and asked where they were going.

The Lord, sirs, has bidden us all begone.

Sit down for a while, reverend sirs; we may be able to mollify the Lord.

So these Almsmen sat down while the Sakyans of Cātuma went off to the Lord and, seating themselves after salutations, spoke thus:—Let the Lord show favour to the Almsmen and extend a welcome to them. As in the past the Lord has been kindly to the Confraternity, so let him be kindly to them now. Among them, sir, are young recruits that have but recently joined and are fresh to this Doctrine and Law; to these it would be a shock and a set-back, if they fail to see the Lord,—just as drought to young crops [458] or as losing sight of its mother to a young calf. As in

the past the Lord has been kindly to them, so let him be kindly to them now,—showing favour to the Almsmen and extending a welcome to them.

Then Brahmā Sahampati, divining with his own heart the thoughts of the Lord's heart, vanished from out of his heaven to re-appear in the Lord's presence,—as easily as a strong man might stretch out his arm or draw back his outstretched arm. With his right shoulder respectfully bared, Brahmā stretched forth folded palms in homage towards the Lord, saying, as the Sakyans had said :—Let the Lord shew favour . . . a welcome to them.

[459] Now the Sakyans of Cātuma and Brahmā Sahampati by their illustrations from young crops and the young calf succeeded in mollifying the Lord.

Said the reverend Mahā-Moggallāna to those Almsmen :—Arise, sirs, and take up your bowls and robes ; the Sakyans of Cātuma and Brahmā Sahampati have succeeded in mollifying the Lord by illustrations from young crops and the young calf. So at his bidding the Almsmen arose, took up their bowls and robes, went to the Lord, saluted him and took their seats to one side.

Sāriputta was sitting hard by, and the Lord asked him what he had thought when those Almsmen were sent away.

I thought, said Sāriputta, that the Lord did not want to be troubled just then but to enjoy present bliss, and that we too would do the same.

Go away, Sāriputta ; go away and never let such an idea cross your mind again.

Turning to Moggallāna, the Lord asked him the same question and received the answer that he had thought, when those Almsmen were sent away, that the Lord did not want to be troubled just then but to enjoy present bliss, and accordingly that he and Sāriputta would look after the Confraternity.

Quite right, Moggallāna ; for, either I or you two must look after the Confraternity.

Then, addressing the Almsmen, the Lord said :—

the 'twelve' Imams of Shiaism, and were generally known as the 'heretics' (*mulahidah*). This extreme wing, though divided into many groups, of whom the Ismailis of Arabia and the Carmathians of Multan were most notorious, was unified by a common hatred of the Sunnis owing to the punishment which the latter inflicted on 'heretics' in general, without trying to distinguish between one kind of heresy and another. Their great dogmatic fault, from the orthodox view-point, was their belief in the Prophet's Family as a Divine Incarnation. But every species of vice was attributed to them; and it was their supposed moral character rather than their actual religious beliefs that excited the frantic intolerance of the orthodox. They were accused of permitting incest and of legalising marriages within prohibited degrees; they were blamed, and with more truth, for resorting to assassination as a political weapon and of trying to establish a heretical hierarchy in place of the secular state. A 'heretic' was slain wherever he was found; but simple death, as a rule, was considered too mild a punishment, and the 'heretic' who escaped being torn to pieces by infuriated mobs, was put to death by the Government with the most revolting tortures that the mind of man could invent. To this insensate persecution the 'heretics' replied with the weapons which are always in the hands of a determined minority. They formed secret societies which could not be uncarthed by the clumsy spy-system of the state and their propagandists (*daiis*) in various disguises penetrated into every corner of the Muslim world. Growing yet bolder they established the 'anti-Caliphate' of Egypt, captured the Holy Places and removed the Black Stone from the sacred temple of Mecca. Finally, they seized a number of forts in Persia, the chief of which was Alamut, developed murder into a fine art, and Sunni kings, statesmen and theologians were kept in a perpetual fear of death by the unseen dagger of the assassinating 'heretic'. It was a mad dance; but none the less it continued till the middle of the thirteenth century when 'orthodox' and 'heretic' alike were compelled to lick the dust under the Mongol conqueror's iron heel. (2)

(2) A detailed study of the Carmathians and Ismailis does not come within our scope. Their ideals and their organisation are equally interesting. Like all revolutionary minorities they seem to have included men of all shades of opinion from tolerant philosophers like Hakim Nasir Khusran to mere cut-throats and

"And this is my last advice unto you," the Prophet said in his last speech at Mecca, "Ye are of one brotherhood." And there is no social principle

(iii) Racial divisions—Persians, Arabs and Turks.

of their faith to which the Mussalmans have been more true; religious unity has always overriden all tribal and racial distinctions. Nevertheless there have been avowed, though futile, attempts at racial supremacy; in Muslim lands, as elsewhere, racial pride has been an uncomfortable aspect of human nature. The Omayyad Caliphs made a bold attempt to convert the Empire into a heritage of the Arab aristocracy; the Persian Revolution, which overthrew the Omayyads and placed the Abbasids on the throne of the Caliphate, naturally brought the Arab regime to an end and transferred to the Persians the superiority formerly enjoyed by the Arabs. But a rival race soon appeared to contest the prize with the victorious Persians. From the marshes of Anatolia in the west to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the east, there extended the various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols—distinguished by some very marked common features. They had allied scripts—all writing from top to bottom. They were short of stature, with high cheek-bones and small eyes, but remarkably well-built and inured to the hardships of war. With the expansion of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another was brought within the Islamic pale, and the Turks surprised their conquerors by the remarkable courage of their men and the no less remarkable beauty of

assassins. Nizamul Mulk in his '*Siyasat Namah*' considers them a Pre-Muslim Persian sect, founded by Mazdak a generation before the Prophet, and continued into Islam. A mysterious charm surrounds the fortress of Alamut (eagle's nest) and its 'mock paradise', from whence the 'Old Man of the Mountains' was wont to send out his young men to assassinate his opponents. The word 'assassin' comes from *hashish* (hemp) with which the victim of the fraud was drugged before being taken to the 'paradise'; its *houris*, it is said, had such an influence on his imagination that his soul found no rest in the world outside, and the promise that he would reach 'paradise' once by the performance of a heroic deed was enough to induce him to wield the assassin's knife and face the inevitable punishment at the hands of the orthodox. The fort was destroyed by Haku, grand-son of Chengiz. For literature on the subject, besides the '*Siyasat Namah*' see the chapters on the 'heretics' in '*Rauzat-us-Safa*' and '*Tarikh-i-Guzidah*'. The third volume of Maududi Ata Malik '*Juwainis*' '*Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*', was written on the basis of the Alamut library. It has not yet been published.

Four terrors await a man who goes into the water,—namely waves, crocodiles, whirlpools and sharks. And just the same four terrors await the man who goes forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim.

[460] First, what is the terror from waves?—Take the case of a young man who for faith's sake has gone forth from home to homelessness as a Pilgrim, feeling beset by birth, decay and death, by grief, lamentation, ills, woes and tribulation, beset by ills and spent with ills, and asking to be shown how to make an end of all that makes up the sum of Ill. When enrolled accordingly as a Pilgrim, he is plied by his fellows in the higher life with orders and with directions,—how to approach and how to withdraw, how to look in front of him and how to look behind him, how to stretch out his arm and how to draw it back, and how to carry his bowl and robes. Thinks he to himself:—In the old days before I left home, it was I who gave orders and directions to others; but these people here seem to think they must order me about and direct me like my own children and grandchildren. So he throws up his training and reverts to the lower state of a layman.—Such a man is said to be so terrified by waves that he throws up his training and reverts to the lower state. Terror of waves signifies temper.

What is terror of crocodiles?—Take the case of a young man . . . sum of Ill. When enrolled accordingly as a Pilgrim, he is plied by his fellows in the higher life with orders and directions—to eat this but not that, to touch this but not that, to drink this but not that, and each according to rule at an appointed hour only, and never out of hours. [461] Thinks he to himself:—In the old days before I left home, I used to eat and drink what I liked and not to eat or drink what I did not like, without any regard to rules and hours at all. Nowadays, however, when faith moves people to give me a good meal to eat late in the day out of hours, methinks these people here bolt and bar my mouth. So he throws up his training and reverts to the lower state of a layman. Such a man is said to



their women. Turkish body-guards were appointed to watch over the safety of kings, Turkish slave-girls intrigued in royal harems ; and slowly, but surely, Turkish adventurers shouldered out the Persians from all places of military command. By the middle of the tenth century the revolution was complete, and the Turks had taken up among the Mussalmans a position broadly similar to that of the Kshatriyas among the Hindus. That only a Turk should rule a Muslim land or lead its armies on the field of battle was considered by the ordinary citizen an immutable precept of political morality. Of the dynasties that have ruled Muslim Asia from the tenth to the eighteenth century an over-whelming majority has belonged to the Turkish stock (3). Administrative posts were still left to the Persians and they had an exclusive monopoly of art and literature, for which Turks never showed any aptitude. A Persian was not regarded as a *sudra* or treated as a member of the subject race ; his function in the state was different, but his social status was as honourable as that of a Turk. Nevertheless Turkish military predominance had its darker side ; the Government of even the most tolerant Turkish rulers seemed to keep the mailed fist in reserve ; and Persian genius, compelled to occupy a secondary place in politics, found an outlet for its energies in organising religious agitation against the orthodox Turks.

## II : CAREER OF SULTAN MAHMUD.

In 962 A.D. Abdul Malik, the Samanid king of Bokhara, died and his Alptigin, brother and uncle both claimed the throne. Alptigin, the governor of Khorasan was consulted by the nobles of the capital and advised in favour of the uncle ; but before his messenger reached Bokhara, the common consult of the nobles had raised Mansur, the brother of the deceased monarch, to the throne. Realising that he had backed the wrong horse, Alptigin acted with loyalty and discretion.

(3) One of the greatest of historical errors is the prevalent opinion that the kings of medieval India were Pathans. It was originated by General Briggs, the most stupid of translators and the most pedantic of historians. Barring the non-descript Khiljis, all dynasties of Delhi came from the Turkish stock, except the Syeds, Lodhis and Suris. The Sultans of Ghaznin and Ghor, the slave Kings, the Tughlaks and the Great Moghuls all belonged to the Turko-Mongolian race. An Afghan king in Afghanistan even would have been an anomaly before the days of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Leaving Khorasan to its legitimate ruler, the Samanid king, he marched to Ghaznin with his personal retainers, drove out its ruler, Abu Bakr Lawik, and frustrated Mansur's attempts to dislodge him from his new principality. Alptigin died after a prosperous reign of eight years (969) during which his general Subuktigin kept tinkering at the Indian frontier. He was succeeded by his son, Abu Ishaque, who died before he had reigned for a year. After him three of Alptigin's Turkish generals were raised one after another to the throne. (4) The first Bilkatigin (969—977) was a pious and brave man, but his successor Pirey (977) turned out to be 'a great villain' and was deposed in favour of the famous Subuktigin.

Amir Nasiruddin Subuktigin had been for several years the most prominent man in the kingdom when the people, 'quite sated with the villainies of Pirey,' placed him on the throne in 977. He eradicated the foundations of tyranny and 'spread the carpet of justice and mercy on the land'. What was no less important he kept the officers in hand and started his city-state on that career of aggressive conquests which brought it to the notice of the eastern world. Soon after his accession he annexed the territories of Bust and Qasdar, and marching towards the Indian frontier, 'captured a few forts

(4) Some historians have ignored, while others denied the existence of Bilkatigin and Pirey. Their reigns are, however, proved by their coins and the most reliable chronicles refer to them. A great confusion prevails as to dates. Colonel Raverty, after an unnecessarily arrogant criticism of Minhajas Siraj, gives the following dates of the Hijri Era: Alptigin (322-329), Abu Ishaque (352-353), Bilkatigin (353-362), Pirey (362-367). All authorities are agreed in declaring 367 as the year of Subuktigin's accession, but a little reflection would have shown the estimable Colonel that his other dates were preposterous. Abdul Malik died in 350, and Alptigin, who was governor of Khorasan in the reign of that monarch and conquered Ghazni after Abdul Malik's death, could not have reigned in Ghaznin from 322 to 353. The date of the conquest of Ghaznin is 351 according to the joint testimony of Minhajas Siraj, Hamdullah Mustawfi and Ferishta. The question remains—how divide the years 351 to 367 between the four reigns? Hamdullah Mustawfi and Ferishta give sixteen years to Alptigin and one to Abu Ishaque. But they ignore Bilkatigin and Pirey who have to be accommodated. In spite of the criticism of his translator, Minhajas Siraj gives the most rational account—Alptigin, 8 years; Ishaque, 1 year; Bilkatigin, 10 years; and Pirey, 1 year. From this I get the years of the Christian era given above. The corresponding dates for the Samanid Kings, on the testimony of Minhajas Siraj and Hamdullah Mustawfi, are: Abdul Malik bin Nuh (313-350), Mansur bin Nuh (350-365), Nuh bin Mansur (365-387).

do so from terror of crocodiles. Terror of crocodiles signifies gluttony.

What is terror of whirlpools?—Take the case of a young man . . . sum of Ill. When enrolled accordingly as a Pilgrim, he goes for alms in the morning, duly robed and bowl in hand, into a village or township, unguarded of body and speech, without having mustered up mindfulness, and with his faculties not under control. There he sees a householder or his son indulging in the five pleasures of sense to which they are addicted and devoted; and the thought comes to him that in the old days before he left home he too used to indulge in these pleasures to which he was likewise addicted and devoted and that, as his family has plenty of substance, he could enjoy that substance while doing good works. So he throws up his training and reverts to the lower state of a layman. Such a man is said to do so from terror of whirlpools. Terror of whirlpools signifies the five pleasures of sense.

Lastly, what is terror of sharks?—Take the case [462] of a young man . . . sum of Ill. When enrolled accordingly as a Pilgrim, he goes for alms in the morning, duly robed and bowl in hand, into a village or township, unguarded of body and speech, without having summoned up mindfulness, and with his faculties not under control. There he sees a woman not fully dressed and attired, at the sight of whom passion defiles his heart so that he throws up his training and reverts to the lower state of a layman. Such a man is said to do so from terror of sharks. Terror of sharks signifies women.

Such are the four terrors which await those who, in this Doctrine and Rule, go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.



and built some mosques' (978). It was a small affair but had important consequences.

Afghanistan till the eighth century had been politically and culturally a part of India, and its Turkish population had adopted the Buddhist creed.<sup>(5)</sup> But the frontiers of Islam had been gradually pushed across the country and now the two forces stood opposite to each other in the province of Lamaghan on the southern side of the Kabul river. Rai Jaipal of Lahore, over-lord of the Punjab, was driven to desperation by this slow diminution of his ancestral kingdom; Subuktigin's repeated invasions had made his life uncomfortable; and resolved to drive matters to a final issue, he marched to the valley of Lamaghan with 'soldiers black as night and impetuous as a torrent'. Subuktigin and his son Mahmud, advanced from Ghaznin. The battle raged for several days, but the victor could not be distinguished from the vanquished. Then an untimely snow-storm shattered Jaipal's calculation.<sup>(6)</sup> "All at once the sky was covered with clouds; thunder and

lightning appeared; the light of day was changed into the darkness of night; and the cold became so severe that most of the horses and beasts of burden died, and the blood of the Hindus froze within their veins." There was no alternative to a humiliating surrender, and Jaipal promised a million dirhams and fifty elephants to the enemy who had retained his activity in the intense cold.

But in the safety of Lahore Rai Jaipal forgot the promise he had made, and Subuktigin's envoys, instead of receiving the promised tribute, found themselves in prison. "I will not release these men", Jaipal declared, "unless Subuktigin sets free the hostages he has taken from me". The consequence was another war. Subuktigin retaliated by plundering Lamaghan and Jaipal appealed to his brother Rais, who responded to the call. The rulers of Delhi, Ajmere, Kannauj and Kalanjar sent him men and money, and thus strengthened he once more marched to the Lamaghan valley with a hundred thousand horse and foot beyond all computation. The battle which followed demonstrated the futility of an unmanageable crowd. Subuktigin wore out the patience of the Indians by attacking them with picked bodies of five hundred horse; and after a desperate onslaught in which 'swords could not be distinguished from spears, men from elephants and valiants from cowards', drove them pell-mell back to the Indus. Lamaghan and Peshawar fell into the hands of the victor. Subuktigin established his tax-collectors over the conquered territory and garrisoned Peshawar with two thousand men.

Some twelve or thirteen years after these events, a rift in the Samanid kingdom opened the door to a more important acquisition. Abu Ali Simjuri, the governor of Khorasan, and Faiq, an unscrupulous politician experienced in such business, rebelled against the Samanid king, Amir Nuh, a respectable nonentity; and Nuh appealed to Subuktigin for help. The latter came to the assistance of his over-lord with an alacrity that should have made Amir Nuh pause. Subuktigin and Mahmud crushed the rebels in a fierce battle before Herat, and as a reward for the loyal service Mahmud was appointed governor of Khorasan (994) and established

(5) Some time before the Christian era the *Turki Shahi* (Kushan) dynasty of Scythian Turks founded by Barhatigin began a career of conquest till under its greatest monarch, Kanishka, a large part of Northern India, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Mawaraun Nahr was included in the Kushan Empire. The Turks were quickly assimilated by Indian Civilisation, but the result was not altogether fortunate. For Buddhism instead of raising the barbarians to its level found it easier to pander to their idolatrous beliefs; and that preposterous mixture of rationalism and priestcraft, known as Mahayana Buddhism, in which the philosophy of the great Teacher is reconciled with the gods of every locality, became the creed of the peoples included in the Kushan Empire. Kanishka's Capital, Peshawar, became a centre for disseminating the new faith, and centuries later the Mussalmans found the wild tribes of Afghanistan worshipping the Buddha in the form of the lion (Sakya Sinha). From the downfall of the Kushan Empire till the Saracenic invasion of Afghanistan in the Eighth Century all is dark. Alberuni states that the *Turki Shahi* dynasty of Barhatigin included no less than sixty kings, the last of whom, Lagaturman, was deposed by his Brahman *wazir*, Kallur, the first ruler of the *Hindu Shahi* dynasty, which Subuktigin found ruling over the Punjab. The pedigree of the kings written on silk was preserved in the fortress of Nagarkot but Alberuni says he was unable to see it. The order of the *Hindu Shahi* dynasty is given by him as follows: Kallur, Samand, Kamala, Bhim, Jaipal, Anandpal, Tarajanpal (Trilochanpal) and Bhimpal. (*Alberuni*, Vol. II, p. 13.)

(6) The snow-storm is said to have been caused by some dirt thrown into a mysterious pool of clear water by Mahmud's order. Similar beliefs were widely prevalent among the Mongols and Turks. It is obvious that the Indian army would suffer more than the enemy, who was accustomed to the climate.

Second War with Jaipal—annexation of Lamaghan and Peshawar.

Acquisition of Khorasan.



## LXVIII. NAḶAKAPĀNA-SUTTA.

### THE STIMULUS OF EXAMPLE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in Kosala at Naḷaka-pāna in the Butea grove, there were a number of highly distinguished young men who for the Lord's sake through faith in him had gone from home to homelessness as Pilgrims,—the reverend Anuruddha, Nandiya, Kimbila, Bhagu, Kuṇḍadhāna, Revata, and Ānanda, together with other highly distinguished young men. At the time the Lord [468], sitting in the open air in the midst of the Confraternity, asked the Almsmen whether those young men, as Almsmen, found joy in the higher life. The Almsmen were silent, and silent they remained though asked the same question a second and a third time. Then it occurred to the Lord to put the question direct to those young men themselves, and he asked Anuruddha whether they found joy in the higher life.

Certainly we do, was the answer.

Good, very good, Anuruddha and the others of you. It is meet and right that you should do so. You have left home for homelessness as Pilgrims when quite young—with black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of your early prime—at the very age when you might have been leading a life of pleasure. It was under no stress from kings or robbers, or debt or fear, or poverty that you left your homes ;—did you not in faith go forth as Pilgrims because—feeling beset by birth, decay and death, by grief, lamentation, ills, woes and tribulation, beset by ills and spent with ills,—you were asking to be shown how to make an end of all that makes up the sum of Ill ?

Yes, sir.

And what, when enrolled as a Pilgrim, has that young man to do ?—If, on the one hand, he attains not

himself at Naishapur. The finest province of Persia thus became for all practical purposes a part of the kingdom of Ghaznin. The glory of the victory remained with Amir Nuh; its fruits with his allies. It was not Mahmud's principle to give back what had once come in his iron grasp.

Amir Subuktigin died in Balkh (997) after a reign of twenty years, and in accordance with his will his son, Ismail, was placed on the throne. But Mahmud was not prepared to be ousted by his younger brother and Ismail was unwilling to agree to a reasonable compromise. The consequence was civil war. Mahmud marched against Ghaznin from Naishapur while Ismail hurried to protect it from Balkh. The two brothers met near the capital. Mahmud's charge broke Ismail's centre and the 'iron-hearted sword wept tears of blood over the fate of warlike men'. Ismail was imprisoned in a fort of Jurjan and provided with all the requisites of a comfortable existence.

The new Amir, who ascended the throne at the age of thirty, was destined to surprise and stagger his contemporaries with the brilliancy of his achievements and to establish a short-lived empire extending from the Punjab to the Caspian and from Samarkand to Ray. Ever since the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate men of small imaginations and small means had been striving for a supremacy totally beyond their reach. In Mahmud the long expected hero seemed to have arrived. The princes of Persia and Turkestan trembled at his name and Subuktigin's mystic dream of a tree rising out of his fire-place and over-shadowing the world was realised. But contemporaries were too dazzled with the genius of the man, who never lost a battle during forty years of ceaseless war, to discover the impermanence of his work. To posterity on the other hand Mahmud became a legend and a name. Latter-day fanatics have loved to portray him as a hero after their own hearts—the 'Holy Warrior' in the 'Path of the Lord' in whose footsteps all pious Muslim kings should aspire to tread; and moralists of a different type have held him up as an example not of righteousness but of personal greed, of the avarice that clings to worldly possessions, 'so laboriously won, so precariously held, so inevitably lost'. Yet the

astute, wine-loving Sultan of Ghaznin was neither the one nor the other. Far from being a missionary, he was not even a fanatic, though like a clever man with a clear eye to his own profit, he fought with Hindus and Mussalmans alike for the extension of his empire. But if his faith never rose to the heights of a sublime passion, neither did his stinginess amount to a disease. He did not gloat over his hoards like a miser but kept them intact for the financial stability of his Government.

The gift of a commanding personality had been denied to Mahmud. He was a man of medium height with well-proportioned limbs, but the small-pox marks on his face deprived him of all external beauty and grace. It is said on seeing his face in the mirror once he felt very dejected. "Looking at the face of kings is believed to strengthen the eye-sight of men", he remarked to his *wazir*, "but a face such as mine will probably injure the onlooker's eye." "Not one in a thousand sees your face," the quick-witted *Wazir* replied, "but your moral qualities affect them all. Strive in the path of virtue and you will be loved by all." Mahmud was no *pahlwan*, feats of personal prowess were beyond his strength, though his frame bore all the hardships entailed by his continuous campaigns. But he did not subject himself to more discomfort on his campaigns than was absolutely necessary, and his travelling camp surprised his subjects by its splendour. He was too good a general to endanger his personal safety by a needless heroism; nevertheless when the occasion required he mounted an elephant and plunged bravely into the thickest of the enemy lines. His unquestioned supremacy over his fellow-men was due to the qualities of the mind—the acuteness with which he unravelled a complicated situation and read the character of those around him, the restless activity of a man determined to be great, combined with the instinctive behaviour of one born to command. A king had to be reserved, but Mahmud never cast off his veil even before his most intimate companions. He had no favourites in state-affairs. The play-things of his idle hours were not allowed to meddle in matters too high for their understanding. The devotion with which he was served by his officers did not evoke an equal confidence on his side. Even towards his all but indispensable *wazir*, the great Kwaja Ahmad Bin Hasan Maimandi, his attitude was one of distant respect. The smaller fry were

to that zest and satisfaction which is divested of pleasures of sense and all wrong states of consciousness, if he attains not to this or to something higher still, his heart is possessed by covetise, malevolence, torpor, flurry and worry, doubts, [464] dislikes and slackness. But if he does attain to such zest and satisfaction, or to something higher still, his heart is not possessed by any of these things. That zest and that satisfaction are his.

What is your idea about myself? As touching the Cankers—which are depraved and entail re-birth, which are burthensome and ripen unto Ill, with birth, decay and death in their train—, do you think that these have not been put away from him by the Truth-finder and that this is why he knows that this Canker is dealt with by practice, that by endurance, this by avoidance and that by removal?

No, sir; we do not think this. What we think is that the Truth-finder has put away from him all Cankers and that this is why he knows how Cankers are severally to be dealt with.

Right, quite right. The Truth-finder has indeed put from him all these evil Cankers, has grubbed and stubbed them, like a palm-tree that has been rooted out from where it stood, a thing that once has been and now can be no more. Just as a palm with its crown lopped off can never grow again, even so have all these evil Cankers been grubbed and stubbed, like a palm that has been rooted out from where it stood, a thing that once has been and now can be no more. And therefore it is that the Truth-finder knows how Cankers are severally to be dealt with. What think ye?—With what end in view does the Truth-finder indicate the states hereafter of his disciples dead and gone, declaring that this one has passed to one, and that one to an other future state?

[465] All our ideas are derived from the Lord, guided by him and fortified by him. We pray that the Lord may be pleased to explain what he has said, so that the Almsmen may treasure up his words.



mere pawns on the chess-board whom the master-mind moved hither and thither at will.

The Sultan's personal faith, as distinct from the policy of his Government, is a matter of interesting speculation. Contemporary gossip credited him with a disbelief in the Day of Judgment and in the Tradition (*Hadis*) dear to the Muslim priests of all ages, 'that the scholars (*ulamas*) are the successors of the Prophets.' (7) The appearance of the Prophet in a dream was said to have put his mind at rest; and Mahmud, like most Muslim kings, never failed to pay a visit to saints of renown, though with the exception of Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani none seems to have influenced him deeply. But his outlook on life was essentially secular, and he was too conscious of his position as the head of the state to allow priesthood to become supreme. His persecution of the 'heretics,' apart from the pressing demand of the 'orthodox,' may have been due to his conviction that their immoral doctrines would shake the foundations on which Muslim Society was based, and greed for money and power, not an enlightened desire for the spread of Islam, was the motive of his Indian campaigns. A deep and inspiring faith in the one and the unseen God Mahmud certainly had and it brought him the consolation he needed. Apart from that, it would be safe to assume that he shared the rationalistic tendencies of his friend, Ahmad Husain bin Mikal (Hasnak), who refused to believe in any mystifying nonsense, and the firmness with which he protected Hasnak from the Caliph's wrath confirms this view. The private life of the Sultan certainly shows him to be anything but the paragon of virtue idolised by Muslim fanatics. He was morally neither better nor worse than most of the princes who preceded and followed him. He shared their fondness for war and wine and women as well as their appreciation of poetry and music. He was not above quarrelling with his officers for the possession of Turkish slaves, and scandal, which may or may not be true, credited him with illegitimate children. (8) But the prime concern

of the historian is not the private life of Mahmud but the character and value of his work.

Amir Nuh of Bokhara died in the same year as Subuktigin. His son, Mansur, appointed one Begtuzun governor of Khorasan and while Mahmud was fighting with Ismail, Begtuzun established himself at Naishapur. Mahmud's protests were disregarded and when he marched on Naishapur Mansur hastened to defend it. Mahmud was more than a match for the Samanid king but he refrained from pushing matters to extremes, on account of the blame that would attach to him for defying his overlord. But as fate would have it, Begtuzun, joined by the ever-mischievous Faiq, captured and blinded Mansur and placed his brother, Abdul Malik, a boy of tender years, on the Samanid throne. Mahmud's hands were now free. He cleared Khorasan of the enemy and Abdul Malik fled to Bokhara. But I-lak Khan of Kashghar, who had been watching the course of events from beyond the Jaxartes, marched on Bokhara and put the Samanid kingdom to an end (999). I-lak Khan and Mahmud congratulated each other and divided the Samanid Kingdom between themselves with the Oxus as the boundary line. The political alliance was cemented by a family alliance and the intercourse of the two kingdoms resulted in the conversion of a large number of Tartars to Islam.

Towards the end of year 999 Mahmud, the first Muslim ruler to assume the title of Sultan, received a robe of honour from the Caliph with the title of 'Aminul Millat' and 'Yaminud-doulah.' He now stood in the place of the Samanids, his former over-lords, in direct subordination to the Caliph, and recognised the duties of his new position by taking a vow to wage a 'Holy War' against the Hindus every year. Though he invaded India only seventeen times in the thirty years of life yet left to him, it must be acknowledged that the vow was fulfilled in the spirit in which it was made.

(1) In 1000 A.D. Mahmud crossed the Indian frontier but retreated after capturing a few forts.

The Indian invasions.  
(1) Frontier towns  
(1,000).

(7) His mind was also clouded by a dark suspicion that Subuktigin was not his real father. While returning to his palace one night the Sultan ordered his golden lamp to be given to a poor student, whom he saw reading in the light of a shop. 'Son of Subuktigin,' the Prophet appeared to him in a dream that night, "May God honour thee in both the worlds as thou hast honoured my successor"! The Sultan's three doubts were thus removed.

(8) Ahmad Nialtigin, Commander-in-Chief of

Lahore in Masud's reign was considered to be an illegitimate son of Mahmud. "People used to tell stories about his birth, his mother and Amir Mahmud. There was certainly a friendly relation between the king and his mother,—but God knows the truth." (*Balhaf*). E & D, Vol. II, p. 122.

My end in view is not to cajole or delude folk, nor is it to get for myself gains or repute or fame or profit, nor is it to advertise myself as revealing the respective states hereafter of my disciples dead and gone. No; it is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and with gladness, who, on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on imitating it all,—to their own abiding good and welfare.

An Almsman hears that such and such an Almsman has died and has been declared by the Lord to have been established in knowledge. From personal observation or from hearsay he knows what was this departed Almsman's conduct, peace of heart, lore, life, and Deliverance; and when he recalls the faith, virtue, learning, renunciation and lore of the departed, he concentrates his whole heart on becoming like him, so that his life is blessed.

Or the Almsman hears the Lord has declared that, by having burst asunder the Five Bonds which bound him to the world, the Almsman departed has been translated to a heaven never to come back thence to earth. From personal observation . . . life is blessed.

Or he hears the Lord has declared that, by having burst asunder the Three Bonds, and by also reducing passion, hatred and delusion to a minimum, the Almsman departed will come back only once more to earth, and will, when he comes back that last time, make an end of Ill. From personal observation . . . [466] life is blessed.

Or he hears the Lord has declared that, by having simply burst asunder the Three Bonds, the Almsman departed has embarked on the stream of salvation, is safe from future states of punishment, is sure of his future and destined to win full enlightenment. From his personal observation . . . life is blessed.

Similarly, an Almswoman hears the Lord has declared that such and such an Almswoman has died and has been declared by the Lord (etc., as in all the four foregoing cases of the Almsman departed).



(2) Next year (1001—1002) he moved again and pitched his tents before Peshawar with ten thousand horse while Rai Jaipal marched against him with twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand foot and three hundred elephants. On 28th November, 1001, (9) the armies fell on each other and 'did justice to their traditions of warlike courage.' But Rai Jaipal was captured with fifteen royal princes and five thousand Hindus died on the battle field. Mahmud marched on and captured Waihind, (10) where some Hindus had collected together for a second battle. Jaipal and other prisoners were released on payment of tribute, but the defeated Rai, in conformity with the custom of his people, transferred his kingdom to Anandpal and ended his life on a pyre.

(3) During the next two years Mahmud was (3) Biji Rai of Bhera busy with the western affairs of his kingdom and the conquest of Sistan. In the autumn of 1006 A.D. he crossed the Indus for the first time and appeared before Bhera on the bank of the Jhelum. Biji Rai of Bhera, who possessed 'elephants headstrong as Satan' and had never cared to pay homage to Subuktigin or Jaipal, came out of the fort and offered battle. The struggle continued desperately for three days and the condition of the Muslim army became critical. But on the fourth day after the battle had raged indecisively from morning to noon, a desperate charge led by Mahmud in person broke the Hindu centre and Biji Rai fled to the fort with his broken columns. Mahmud sat down to besiege it. The Rai, 'a prey to perplexity and fear,' fled from the fort at night, but was surrounded by a number of Mahmud's soldiers and escaped an inglorious captivity by plunging the dagger into his breast. The city of Bhera (11)

and its dependent territory was annexed to the Ghaznevide empire and Mahmud returned with two hundred and eighty elephants and other spoils.

(4) The province of Sindh, conquered by Mohammad bin Qasim in the beginning of the eighth century, had been converted to the Carmathian heresy about a century before Mahmud. According to the ideas of the age 'heretics' were as worthy an object of Holy War as 'unbelievers'. Shaikh Hamid Lodi, ruler of the Upper Sindh, had kept Subuktigin pleased with occasional presents but his grand-son, Abul Fath Daud, left the cautious policy of his predecessor. Fearing that the fall of Bhera would leave Multan open to Mahmud's attack, he made an ineffectual attempt to come to Biji Rai's assistance—'an act totally beyond the bounds of propriety and reason'. Mahmud connived at it for the time but next year (1005-1006) he marched on a holy campaign against the Carmathian Daud. Daud in desperation appealed to Anandpal, son of Jaipal, and Anandpal made a bold attempt to block Mahmud's progress. But Mahmud, not unwilling to obtain 'two paradises', turned aside to fight out the Hindu before he struck at the 'heretic'. Anandpal's officers were driven back, the Rai himself was pursued over 'hill and dale' up to the Chenab, and the path to Multan was cleared. Daud, who was in no condition to fight an open battle, shut himself up in the fort, and after a siege of seven days promised to recant from his heresy to the religious law (*Shariat*) of the orthodox and to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *dirhams*. But the treaty was hardly concluded when Mahmud heard of the danger threatening his capital and marched back in desperate haste to protect the home-lands of his empire from the Chinese Turks.

I-lak Khan and Mahmud had made an alliance in 999 A.D. on the basis

I-lak Khan's invasion of Khorasan—of an equitable division of the Samanid Kingdom.

But this did not prevent the Khan from casting longing looks on the fertile lands on the other side of the Oxus. In 1004—1005 when Mahmud was away at Multan, I-lak Khan found his opportunity. He over-ran Khorasan and Balkh, and Arsalan Hajib, Mahmud's governor of Herat, was forced to withdraw to Ghaznin. But the simple-minded

(9) Winter is the campaigning season in India. Mahmud generally left Ghaznin in autumn (i.e. the end of the rainy season), and after spending the winter in India, returned to Ghaznin by the beginning of the summer. His campaigns, consequently, have to be indicated by two years of the Christian era.

(10) "It is a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock, on the old high-road from Lahore to Peshawar, and only three marches from the latter." E and D, Vol. ii. p. 438.

(11) "Bhera lies on the west bank of the Jhelum, under the Salt Range. It bears evident marks of great antiquity, and has on the opposite side of the river the extensive ruins of Burarie, above Ahmadabad, which strike every beholder with astonishment." (E & D, Vol. II, p. 440).

[467] Similarly a lay-follower—man or woman—hears that such and such a lay-follower has died and that the Lord has declared that, by having burst asunder the Five Bonds which bound him—or her—to the world, the departed has been translated to a heaven never to come back thence to earth . . . (etc., as in the 2nd., 3rd. and 4th. cases of the Almsman departed) . . . [468] his—or her—whole heart is concentrated on becoming like him—or her—, so that his—or her—life is blessed.

Thus the Truth-finder's end in view is not to cajole or delude folk, nor is it to get for himself gains or repute or fame or profit, nor is it to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples dead and gone. No; it is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who, on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these,—to their own abiding good and welfare.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the reverend Anuruddha rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXIX. GULISSĀNI-SUTTA.

### OF RUSTICITY.

[469] Thus have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove where the squirrels are fed, there appeared among the Confraternity on some business or other an uncouth Almsman from the wilds, named Gulissāni, concerning whom the reverend Sāriputta held forth to the Almsmen as follows:—

An Almsman who comes in from the wilds to the Confraternity and lives with them should show respect and consideration to his fellows in the higher life. If he does not, there will be talk of what to do with his reverence from the wilds, who has lived alone in his wilds and done what he liked there, and shows no respect



Chinese had calculated without the host. Mahmud reappeared at Ghaznin long before he was expected; his boundless energy revived the failing courage of his officers; the army was reorganised with remarkable speed; and Mahmud faced the invader with a powerful force near Balkh. The careful way in which Mahmud attended to the disposition of his columns shows the terror his opponent inspired. At first the Turkish attack seemed to carry all before it, but in the end the Ghaznavides, led by the Sultan in person, succeeded in driving the enemy away. Mahmud pursued the flying enemy for two stages, but the severity of the winter made a campaign in the desolate region of Trans-Oxonia impossible, while an unexpected revolt drew his attention to India once more.

(5) Bhera was the only territory Mahmud possessed on the eastern side of the Indus.

(6) Sukhpal (1005). While returning from Multan he had assigned the governorship of Bhera to Sukhpal (Newasa Shah), a son of Anandpal who had been converted to Islam. Seeing Mahmud absorbed in a deadly struggle with the Turks, Sukhpal returned to the faith of his ancestors and drove away Mahmud's officers. The Sultan started for Bhera after the battle of Balkh but before he could reach the scene of action, the frontier Amirs captured Sukhpal and brought him captive to the royal camp. He was forced to give up the 400,000 *dirhams* he had accumulated and was imprisoned for life.

(6) The strategical importance of Bhera explains the rebellion of Sukhpal as well as

Mahmud's anxiety to recapture it before it could be garrisoned by a strong Indian force. From his footing on the Jhelum he could strike either at Multan in the south or at

Anandpal in the east. Multan was lying prostrate at his feet but not much was to be got out of the poor and harrassed kingdom. The gates of Hindustan were in Anandpal's possession. Mahmud's relation with that prince were already strained. Anandpal cherished the 'bitterest hatred' towards the Mussalmans ever since the capture of his son, Sukhpal, at Peshawar (1001-1002). His attempt to prevent Mahmud's march on Multan had furnished the latter with a technical cause for declaring war, but when Mahmud was fighting with his back to the wall

against the Kashghar army, Anandpal sent him a heroic offer of assistance in a spirit which won the approbation of the philosopher, Alberuni. "I have learned" ran Anandpal's letter, "that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression this will make on you. I have been conquered by you and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you." The impression created by the letter may, none the less, have had a share in maintaining peace for the next three years. But so long as Anandpal remained strong and independent, a permanent peace between him and Mahmud was impossible. This Sultan had as yet only touched the fringe of a continental country, and the spoils he had obtained were insignificant. Beyond the Sutlej lay the temples to which generations of pious Hindus had dedicated their wealth. It was necessary for Mahmud to strike down Anandpal, if he was ever to possess himself of the treasures of the Punjab and the prosperous Trans-Gangetic plain. Conversely the Rais of Hindustan could not fail to recognise the importance of Anandpal as a buffer between them and the aggressive kingdom of Ghaznin. So long as the struggle had been waged beyond the Indus, they could afford to look on unconcerned and leave the Rai of Lahore to protect his Turkish subjects. The arrogance of Biji Rai made them indifferent to his fate, nor did anyone, save Anandpal, feel it his duty to come to the help of the Multan 'heretics.' But now the deluge that 'took no account of heights and depths' had reached their sacred frontiers and was threatening to put an end to their fratricidal warfare, their local independence and their somnolent ease.

The importance of the struggle was well understood on both sides when Mahmud marched against Anandpal as the end of the rainy season, 1008 A.D. Anandpal appealed to the other Rais and their response certainly showed that the national spirit of the country though disorganised was not dead. The rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kannauj, Delhi and Ajmere, marched to the Punjab with their troops. Help came from every side. Even 'the infidel Gakkhars' crowded under Anandpal's banner. A patriotic breeze swept over the towns and hamlets of Hindustan calling its men to arms.

(6) Anandpal and the Hindu Confederacy—Second battle of Wabind: Nagarkot (1008—1009).

or consideration here for his fellows in the higher life. That is what will be said. And therefore an Almsman from the wilds, when he comes in to the Confraternity and lives with them, should show respect and consideration to his fellows.

Such an Almsman from the wilds should be correct in the matter of seats, punctilious neither to displace seniors nor to oust juniors. If he shows himself the reverse, there will be talk of what to do with this Almsman from the wilds who is deficient even in the common decencies which the Doctrine prescribes. That is what will be said. And therefore an Almsman from the wilds when he comes in to the Confraternity and lives with them, should be correct in the matter of seats.

Similarly, and for the like reasons, an Almsman from the wilds should not visit the village for alms at too early an hour, nor return ahead of the others; he ought not to call on families [470] either before or after the midday meal; he ought to be composed and sedate; he ought to be reserved and not loquacious; he ought to be pleasant spoken and amiable; he ought to keep watch and ward over his faculties; [471] he should be moderate in his eating, ever vigilant, strenuous, mindful, stedfast, and profound in goodwill; [472] he should be a zealous student of the higher branches of the Doctrine and the Law. He will be asked questions thereon, and if he can find nothing to say, there will be talk of what is to be done with this Almsman from the wilds, where he lived alone and did what he pleased, who, on being asked questions about the higher branches of the Doctrine and the Law, can find nothing to say. That is what will be said. And therefore an Almsman from the wilds ought to be a zealous student of the higher branches of the Doctrine and the Law.

For like reasons, he ought to be a zealous student too both of those excellent Deliverances which transcend the visible and are incorporeal, and also of transcendental states of consciousness, lest it be said of



'Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Mussalmans.' Their poorer sisters, who had no jewels to sell, worked feverishly at the 'spinning-wheel or as hired labourers to be able to send something to the men of the army.' All that excites a nation to heroic deeds was there—the preservation of an ancient and ever-living civilisation, the sacred temple and the no less sacred hearth. Yet the patriotic spirit of the people was paralysed by suspicions created by years of civil war; the Rais were doubtful of each other's intentions and their followers shared their doubts. Anandpal was important enough to take precedence but not strong enough to order; and the Indian army was directed by no single commander on the field of battle. But discipline reigned supreme in the camp of the warrior-statesman of Ghaznin. His troops, more racially heterogenous than the citizen-mob opposed to them, had been welded into one by years of continuous campaigning; and unlike their Rajput opponents, they knew their master and were not liable to panic. Even as such the scale hang evenly.

Anandpal marched bravely to Waihind with the largest Indian army Mahmud was ever destined to face. The Sultan whose extraordinary intuition never played him false, saw that the Indians would 'fight with devotion' and was more cautious than usual. He dug a trench on both sides of his camp, and reluctant to begin the engagement, sat facing the enemy for forty days. But hourly the strength of the Indian army increased with new reinforcements, and Mahmud, afraid lest further delay should enable Anandpal to overpower the Ghaznavide veterans through sheer force of numbers, sent forward a thousand archers to commence the engagement. But almost immediately his calculations were thrown into disorder by thirty thousand Gakkhars, 'who with bare heads and feet, crossed the trenches in the first attack, broke into the camp from both sides, and falling on the Muslim cavalry with desperate courage, cut down man and horse, so that in the twinkling of an eye three or four thousand Mussalmans had tasted the wine of martyrdom.' Mahmud was desperately trying to clear his camp of the Gakkhars when a whim of the god of battles decided the struggle in his favour. Anandpal's elephant, frightened by the explosions of naphtha, fled away from the field of battle and the Indian soldiers concluded this to be a base desertion of

their cause by the 'premier king of Hindustan.' A general rout ensued, and the Ghaznavides pursued the flying enemy for two days and nights. The Indian losses were not more than eight thousand, but the phenomenon of a multitudinous army breaking up from sheer lack of internal cohesion and flying away before an enemy not strong enough to meet it in the open field was thoroughly demoralising. The only national opposition ever offered to Mahmud ended in a storm of mutual recriminations. Henceforth he had no Indian confederacy to fear, and the Rais were one after another overpowered and deprived of all their valuables in a struggle which the superior generalship of the Ghaznavide never left in doubt.

Mahmud took advantage of the disorganisation of his opponents to make a dash for the temple of Nagarkot<sup>(12)</sup> (Kangra), known as the Fort of Bhim, situated on the top of a hill on the upper Bias. He had already penetrated as far as the Chenab and the new expedition only took him twelve marches further. The Rajputs of the place had gone to fight at Waihind and the quickness of Mahmud's movements left them behind. The Brahmans, who alone were left, opened their gates after a siege of seven days and allowed Mahmud to visit the fort with a few companions. The temple contained more wealth than existed in the treasury of any king and the fine exacted by the Sultan from the helpless Brahmans was immense—'700,000 gold *dinars*, 700 maunds of gold and silver vessels, 200 maunds of pure gold, 2000 maunds of unpurified silver and 20 maunds of various jewels which had been collected together from the time of Bhim.' It was the Sultan's first great find and naturally whetted his appetite for more.

(7) Anandpal had lost his reputation but not his power at the second battle of Waihind and the Sultan's next move

(7) Demonstration  
against the confeder-  
acy (1009-1010).

(1009-1010) was a demon-  
stration rather than a cam-  
paign. He is said to have

marched in the direction of Gujrat, but his real

(12) "That Nagarkot is the same as Kot Kangra can admit of no doubt, for the name Nagarkot is still used. The impassable waters which surround it are the Ban-ganga and the Biyah (Bias). The town of Bhim, which is a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan, which means a temple raised to a Sakti, or female deity, and Bhim is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhim." (E & D, Vol. II, p. 445). Most medieval temples were fortified and so were most towns and villages.

him that he knows nothing of that for which he became a Pilgrim.

Hereupon, the reverend Mahā-Mogallāna asked the reverend Sāriputta whether these states of consciousness were incumbent only on an Almsman from the wilds or [473] whether they were the business also of an Almsman from the confines of a village.

They are incumbent on the Almsman from the wilds, sir, and still more are they the business of an Almsman from the confines of a village.

## LXX. KĪṬĀGIRI-SUTTA.

### OF IMPLICIT OBEDIENCE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was on an alms-pilgrimage in Kāsī with a large train of Almsmen, he addressed them as follows :—I go without a meal at night and find that on this regimen<sup>1</sup> I am healthy and well, buoyant, hale and hearty. Do like me, and you too will benefit in the same way.

Yes, sir, said those Almsmen dutifully.

In the course of that alms-pilgrimage through Kāsī, the Lord came to a township of theirs called Kīṭāgiri, where he stayed. Resident there, were two Almsmen Assaji and Punabbasuka,<sup>2</sup> to whom there came a number of Almsmen to say that the Lord himself ate no meal at night and that the Confraternity were doing the same and were hale and well on it ; and they urged the two to conform to a regimen which would suit them too.

[474] Thereupon Assaji and Punabbasuka made answer that they took meals in the evening and early in the morning and at noon, outside prescribed hours, and found that on this regimen they were healthy and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suttas No. 21 and 65.

<sup>2</sup> Two leaders, says the Commentator, of the six recalcitrants of the Vinaya.



object was to terrorise Anandpal into receding from the brittle alliance in which his position was already uncomfortable. The Sultan 'urged his horses over ground, hard and soft, put to the sword the vagabonds of the country and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design.' The friends of God 'did not fail of their object after having committed slaughter in every hill and valley; for Anandpal's messengers waited on the Sultan at Ghazni with offers of peace and *'their best wishes for his future prosperity.'* The Rai's mind was made up. He 'had witnessed the calamities which had inflicted ruin on his country and subjects in consequence of his contests with the Sultan' and decided to desert the confederacy which had left him to his fate. Peace was rapidly concluded. Anandpal promised an annual tribute of thirty elephants and offered two thousand men for service at the Sultan's court. The way to the heart of India was now open. Mahmud could march over the friendly territory of Anandpal and strike at the Rais beyond.(13)

Mahmud utilised the summer of 1010 A.D. for bringing the presumptuous inhabitants of

Conquest of Ghor  
(1010).

Ghor to a sense of their insignificance. The

Ghorians, ten thousand in

number, dug a trench round their camp and fought bravely from morning till noon. But the stouthearted hill-men were no match for the greatest military genius of the age. Mahmud lured the simple folks out of their safe position by a feigned retreat and annihilated them in the plain below. Mohammad bin Suri, the ruler of Ghor, was so heart-broken that he sucked a poisoned jewel when brought a captive to Mahmud's court and died immediately after. The princes of Ghor remained subordinate to Ghaznin till the time of Alauddin Jahansoz.

(8) Next winter (1010-1011) Mahmud marched against the Kingdom of Multan which had been long waiting for the day of its extinction. The city was captured 'through terror and force' and Mahmud pleased

(8) Second invasion  
of Multan (1010-1011).

(13) Utbi's account of the campaign is obscure in its geographical references. The real object, undoubtedly, was to frighten Anandpal into an alliance, and this interpretation of Mahmud's intention harmonises well with the treaty described by Utbi later. The 'best wishes' for the Sultan's 'future prosperity' apparently implied a willingness to allow him to march across the Punjab.

the 'orthodox' by slaying a large number of Carmathian 'heretics' and cutting off the hands and feet of many others. Daud ended his life as a prisoner in a Ghorian fort.

(9) In 1011-1012 Mahmud, who had heard that Thaneswar, owing to its idol, Cakravasmin,

(9) Thaneswar (1011-1012).

was as holy in the eyes of the Hindus as Mecca in the eyes of the Mussalmans, marched thither for the treasures a place so ancient was sure to possess.(14) Anandpal in consonance with the treaty provided all the 'requisites of hospitality' by ordering his merchants and shopkeepers to look after the needs of the commissariat and his brother accompanied the Sultan with two thousand men. Mahmud refrained from injuring the Rai's(15) territory but refused his tribute should be accepted from the people of Thaneswar, because 'my royal wish is to remove the practice of idolatry totally from all the lands of Hindustan.' Too late in the day the Rai of Thaneswar reflected on the necessity of an Indian Confederacy. "If we do not raise a dam to keep off this deluge," he wrote to his brother Rais, "it will soon spread over the whole plain and submerge all kingdoms, great and small." This was true enough. But Mahmud reached Thaneswar before the clumsy machinery of the confederation could stir and the Rai fled in despair. Mahmud collected the treasures and broke the idols of the undefended city at leisure. He wished to march further east, but as such a movement would have left him entirely at Anandpal's mercy, he accepted the advice of his officers and turned back with a fabulous number of 'servants and slaves.' Mahmud's army, like the army of most Asiatic conquerors was essentially a cosmopolitan institution, kept intact by its *esprit de corps* and loyalty to its master's person. Mahmud took good military men into his service wherever he found them. Indians, who were mostly non-Muslims, were freely enrolled, and at a later stage were formed

(14) Utbi places the Thaneswar campaign after the Nardin (Ninduna) expedition, and Elliot follows him in the error. This is clearly wrong. The Thaneswar campaign was undertaken during the life of Anandpal; consequently the Ninduna campaign which was directed against his son, Trilokanpal, could not have preceded it. Perishta adheres to the correct order.

(15) The *Cakravasmin* was a bronze image of Vishnu, which held the weapon, *Cakra*, in one of its hands. It was taken to Ghaznin and thrown into the hippodrome of the city. (*Alberuni*). suggestion that an indemnity and a yearly

well, buoyant, hale and hearty. Why should they sacrifice to-day for hereafter? They would continue to take meals in the evening and early in the morning and at noon outside prescribed hours.

Failing to win the two over, the Almsmen went to the Lord and after salutations took their seats to one side, narrated all that had passed, ending up by saying that, as they could not prevail with the two, they had come to inform the Lord. He thereupon bade an Almsman to go to the two with the message that the Lord desired their presence. On receipt of this message, the two dutifully appeared and after salutations took their seats to one side, to be asked by him [475] whether what was reported to him was true.

Quite true, sir ; was their answer.

Is it in your knowledge, Almsmen, that I ever taught that—no matter what the feelings a man experiences, whether agreeable or disagreeable or neutral—his wrong states of consciousness wane while his right states wax apace ?

No, sir.

Is it not in your knowledge that my teaching has been that right and wrong states of consciousness depend on the particular feeling experienced ; that according to the nature of the specific feelings—be they agreeable or disagreeable or neutral—wrong states of consciousness wax apace while right states wane, or *vice versâ* ?

Yes, sir.

Quite right. If I had not known, seen, discerned, realized, and apprehended by comprehension that, with a given agreeable feeling experienced by a man, wrong states of consciousness wax apace and right states wane,—if I had not this knowledge, should I say, would it besem me to say, that you should eschew that agreeable feeling ?

No, sir.

It is just because I have that knowledge that I [476] bid you eschew it.

Also, if I had not known, seen, discerned, realized and apprehended by comprehension that, with a given



into a separate regiment commanded by Hindu general who enjoyed a very high status among his fellow officers.

In 1012-1013 Mahmud's officers conquered Gharjistan, and the Sultan compelled the Caliph,

Mahmud and the Caliph, Al Qadir Billah, to hand over to him the districts of Khorasan which were

still in his hands. But the Caliph stoutly refused Mahmud's further demand that he should be given Samarkand also. "I will do no such thing," he replied, "and if you take possession of Samarkand without my permission, I will disgrace you before the whole world." Mahmud was furious, "Do you wish me to come to the capital of the Caliphate with a thousand elephants," he threatened the Caliph's ambassador, "in order to lay it waste and bring its earth on the backs of my elephants to Ghaznin?" But the policy of plundering the centres of Muslim and Hindu civilisation simultaneously was too bold even for Mahmud, and he had to apologise humbly to the power which even in its hour of weakness could have shattered the moral foundations of the Ghaznavide kingdom. But none the less he established his power over Samarkand.

(10) Meanwhile Anandpal's death had upset Mahmud's calculations in India. The new Rai,

(10) Trilochanpal and Bhimpal—Ninduna (1013-1014). Trilochanpal, unlike his father, was well inclined towards the Mussalmans,

but he seems to have been a weak man and the direction of affairs came into the hands of his son, known to contemporaries as the 'Nidar' (Fearless) Bhim, who stoutly reversed the policy of his grand-father and put an end to the Ghaznavide alliance. Mahmud was once more forced to fight the kingdom of Lahore in order to keep the road to Hindustan open. He started from Ghaznin in the autumn of 1013 but snow began to fall before he reached the Indian frontier, and it was found necessary to go into winter quarters. With the spring the Ghaznavides moved forward once more, 'ascending the hills like mountain-goats and descending them like torrents of water.' Nidar Bhim fortified himself in the Margala Pass, (16)

which was narrow, precipitous and steep, but on the arrival of his vassals he came down and offered battle. The Ghaznavides won after a severe contest. Bhim threw a garrison into the fort of Ninduna on the hill of Balanath and fled to the Pass of Kashmir. Mahmud, who now seems to have made up his mind to annex the Punjab, reduced Ninduna and after placing a garrison in it, pushed on in pursuit of Bhim. But the elusive hero could not be captured and the Sultan turned back from the foot of the Kashmir hills.

(11) Next year (1013-1016) the Sultan again attempted to force his way through the Kashmir Pass. But the fortress of

(11) The Kashmir Pass—Lohkot. 1015-1016. Lohkot defied all his efforts. Reinforcements

reached the garrison from Kashmir; snow began to fall; and for the first time Mahmud retired discomfited from before an Indian fort. While retreating he lost a large number of his men in the floods of the Jhelum, extricated himself with difficulty from the watery peril, and returned to Ghaznin 'without having achieved anything.'

This failure in the east was compensated by an acquisition in the west. Mahmud's sister had

Annexation of Khwarazm (1016). been married to Abul Abbas Mamun, the ruler

Khwarazm. But the bride had hardly been in her new home for a year when Abul Abbas was slain by rebels. Mahmud marched forth to revenge his brother-in-law's death, defeated the rebel army before the famous fortress of Hazar Asp and appointed his general, Altuntash, governor of the newly conquered territory with the title of 'Khwarazm Shah.'

(12) Towards the end of the rainy season, 1018, Mahmud at last started for that expedition to the Trans-Gangetic

(12) The Doab (1018-1019). Barran and Mahaban. plain of which he had been dreaming for years.

His regular army of one hundred thousand was strengthened by twenty thousand volunteers from Khorasan and Turkestan. The omens were favourable. The Hindu Confederacy had disappeared and none of the Rais was strong enough to oppose Mahmud single-handed. He had established a reputation for generalship which none could question and everyone knew that his methods

(16) The action which preceded the capture of Ninduna appears to have been fought at the Margala Pass, which answers well to the description given of it by Utbi. The hill of Balanath is a conspicuous mountain over-hanging the Jhelum and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Balanath, and there is a famous *jogi* establish-

ment on its highest summit, of great repute and resorted to by members of that fraternity from the most distant parts of India." (E & D).



were thorough. Trilochanpal and Nidar Bhim, though still eluding their pursuers, were driven beyond the Punjab, while Sabli, Rai of Kashmir, made peace with the Sultan and led the van of the invading troops. The Ghaznavides marched through forests in which 'even winds lose their way,' forded the five rivers of the Punjab, and crossing the Jamna on December 2nd, moved against Barron (Bulandshahr) 'like the waves of the sea.' But Rai Hardat solved the problem by coming out of his city with ten thousand men, who either from policy or conviction proclaimed 'their anxiety for conversion and their rejection of idols.'<sup>(17)</sup> The conversion saved the citizens and Mahmud marched down the Jamna to Mahaban. Its ruler, Rai Kulchand, who had established a reputation for invincibility in local warfare, drew up his army in the midst of a thick forest. But Mahmud penetrated the forest 'like a comb through a head of hair' and scattered the Mahaban army. Many of the fugitives were drowned in the attempt to cross the Jamna, and the valiant Kulchand escaped the disgrace of captivity by slaying his wife and son and then plunging the dagger into his own breast.

On the other side of the Jamna lay the ancient and famous city of Mathura, the birth-place of Krishna-Basdeo. 'The wall

Mathura. of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates, which opened upon the river flowing under the city, were erected on strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rains. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work, and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars to give them strength. In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted; the inhabitants said it had been built not by men but by genii.' 'In population and splendid edifices the city of Mathura was unrivalled; human tongue cannot describe the wonderful things it contained.'

(17) Nizamuddin and Perishta by mistake attribute the conversion to the Rai of Kannauj, which they also describe as the first city attacked by Mahmud. They have also confused the line of Mahmud's march and make him cross and recross the Jamna many times over. I have followed Utbi's contemporary account which is free from the geographical blunders of later writers.

But no attempt was made to defend the inimitable monument of Hindu art when Mahmud crossed the Jamna, and the inhabitants, anxious to save their skins, left him to work havoc with their sacred inheritance. 'The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground.' Envy rather than fanaticism seems to have been the predominant motive in Mahmud's artistic mind. "In this city," he wrote to the nobles of Ghaznin in praise of what his vandalism had destroyed, "there are a thousand towering places, most of them constructed of huge stones. The temples are more than can be counted. Anyone wishing to construct the like will have to spend a hundred thousand thousand *dinars* and employ the best skilled workmen for two hundred years." As a financial venture the expedition succeeded beyond all expectation—98,300 *misqals* of gold were obtained from idols of that metal; the silver idols, two hundred in number, could not be weighed 'without being broken and put into scales;' two rubies valued at 5000 *dinars*, a sapphire weighing 450 *misqals*, and in addition such other spoils as a rich and prosperous city could not fail to yield. A few miles from Mathura is the historic town of Bindraban where seven proud forts raised their heads to the sky by the riverside. The owner of the forts fled at Mahmud's approach and he took from them all they contained.<sup>(18)</sup>

The Sultan then left behind him the greater part of his army, which Kannauj, Asni and Sharwa. was too large for the rapid movements he desired and proceeded against Kannauj with his best veterans. The ancient city had risen to prominence as the capital of Harsha Vardhana; it was defended by seven forts washed by the Ganges and contained about ten thousand temples, great and small. 'The Rais of Kannauj had not been slow in helping Jaipal and Anandpal

(18) The situation of Mathura by the side of the Jamna is charming beyond description, and walking by the river side on a summer evening under the guidance of its leading citizen, Pandit Radha Krishna, I could just have a dream of what the place might have been in the days of its glory. The road to Brindaban, so famous in the legend of Lord Krishna, still retains its poetic associations. Even to-day a visitor, with eyes that can see, will find much to captivate him in the work of later artists—and the landscape is as beautiful as it was in the days of the Mahabharata.

agreeable feeling experienced by a man, wrong states wane and right states wax apace,—if I had not this knowledge, should I say, would it beseem me to say, that you should develop and abide in that agreeable feeling?

No, sir.

It is just because I have that knowledge that I bid you develop it and abide therein.

[Similar paragraphs about (a) disagreeable and (b) neutral feelings.]

[477] I do not aver that all Almsmen alike need to toil on with diligence; nor do I aver that all Almsmen alike have no such need. Those Almsmen who are Arahats, in whom the Cankers are dead, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have shed their burthen, who have won their weal, whose bonds are no more, who by utter knowledge have won Deliverance,—of such Almsmen as these I do not aver that they need to toil on with diligence. And why?—Because they have already achieved all that toil can achieve and now are incapable of slackness. But of those Almsmen who are still under training and have not won their hearts' desire but live in earnest yearning for that utter peace,—of such Almsmen as these I do aver that they need to toil on with diligence. And why?—I do so because the fruit of diligence which I can see for such Almsmen is that—, in suitable surroundings, with a picked circle of good friends, and with faculties duly regulated—they will surely win that for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims and will surely reach the goal of the higher life, discerning it of and by themselves here and now, realizing it, developing it and abiding therein.

Here are seven types found in the world:—(1) he that is Delivered both ways, (2) he that is Delivered by intellect, (3) he that has fathomed the corporeal, (4) he that has come to see, (5) he that is Delivered by faith, (6) he that lives up to the Doctrine, and (7) he that lives up to faith.



against the aggression of Ghaznin, but the reigning prince, Rajyapala, (19) fled away on Mahmud's approach. Most of the citizens followed the example of their Rai and Kannauj repeated the story of Mathura. Mahmud captured the seven forts in a single day and plundered the undefended city. Further down the Ganges, near the modern Fatehpur, was Rai Chandal Bhor's fort of Asni. Chandal Bhor, who had been busy in fighting the Rai of Kannauj, also fled and Asni was plundered. Then proceeding southwards Mahmud came across the fort of Munj (19a.) (Mujhavan) the garrison of which, 'independent as head-strong camels,' fought like 'obstinate satans,' and when all hope had disappeared threw the women and children into the fire and died fighting to the last man. The next objective was Chand Rai of Sharwa (19b.) who had been harassing the unfortunate Trilocanpal of Lahore in the east while Mahmud was pressing him so hard on the other side. To prevent the suicidal strife, Trilocanpal had even sought his enemy's daughter in marriage for his son, but 'Nidar' Bhim was imprisoned by his father-in-law when he went to bring his bride and the strife continued. As Mahmud marched eastwards, Trilocanpal fled before him and found a refuge with Chand Bhor of Asni. Common misfortune at last created some sympathy between the dynasties of Lahore and Sharwa, and 'Nidar' Bhim, who seems to have regained his freedom, sent Chand Rai a piece of friendly advice. "Sultan Mahmud is not like the rulers of Hind. He is not a leader

of black men. Armies fly away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment." The suggestion was adopted. Chand Rai fled to the hills with his elephants and treasures. But Mahmud captured Sharwa and then hastened after the flying Rai, whom he managed to discover and defeat on the night of January 6, 1019. The campaign beyond Kannauj had not taken more than seventeen days when Mahmud turned back with Chand Rai's much coveted elephants.

Mahmud's exploit could not fail to captivate the imagination of his co-religionists. Neither Alexander, the Great, nor the heroes of the *Shah Namah* had anything so romantic to their credit. A mysterious wonder land had been explored. Beyond the thick and impenetrable frontier forest, beyond the five great rivers of the Punjab, the Muizzin's call to prayer had resounded over many a desolate wilderness and amidst the conflagrations of many a hamlet and town. The success was duly celebrated. The Caliph summoned a special *darbar* to receive Mahmud's message of victory. Accounts of the expedition were read out from the pulpits and pious Mussalmans fondly imagined that 'what the Companions of the Blessed Prophet had done in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Iraq, Mahmud has achieved in Hindustan'. Nothing could be further from truth. He had rolled in immense riches but had only disgusted the Indians with his faith. The plundered people were not likely to think well of Islam when it came to them in the shape of the Ghaznavide conqueror and left behind it an everlasting story of plundered temples, desolated cities and trampled crops. As a faith Islam had been morally disgraced, not elevated, by the Ghaznavide's achievement. The booty amounted to 3,000,000 *dirhams*. "The number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact that each was sold from two to three *dirhams*. These were afterwards taken to Ghaznin and merchants came from distant cities to purchase them, so that the countries of Mawarun Nahr, Iraq and Khorasan were filled with them, and the fair and the dark, the rich and the poor, were commingled in one common slavery." It was perhaps the remembrance of Mathura which led Mahmud to build a Juma mosque and a college in Ghaznin after his return. The *amirs*

(19) Utbi calls him Rai Jaipal which is equivalent to Rajyapala but he is not to be identified with the Rai Jaipal of Lahore who had been dead for years. But further on Utbi speaks of Pur-i Jaipal's war with Chand Rai. Pur-i- Jaipal is not Anandpal but Trilocanpal, whom Alberuni calls 'Tarocanpal for which Pur-i Jaipal (Jaipal's son) is a natural misreading. Much confusion has, however, been caused by later historians. Ferishta gives the name of Korah to the Rai of Kannauj. V. A. Smith transfers the name of Trilocanpal to Rajyapal's son. It is useless to mention what mess of names and places other scholars have been responsible for. But the list of the Hindu Shahi dynasty given by Alberuni, and enumerated in a foregoing note, settles the question definitely. The other difficulties will be removed if the Pur-i Jaipal of Utbi is read as Trilocanpal, and not as Jaipal's son.

(19a) Utbi calls Munj 'the fort of Brahmans' and places it before the capture of Asni. This seems highly improbable as Mahmud would come across the fort while marching against Sharwa. Utbi would seem to take him to Bundelkhand twice.

(19b) Either Sennra on the Ken between Kalanjar and Banda, or Sriwagarh, on the Pahonj, not far from Kunch (*E & D, Vol. II. p. 659*).

(i) Delivered both ways is he who (a) has reached through the medium of his physical senses those tranquil Deliverances which are immaterial and transcend all that is material, and (b) has destroyed Cankers through intellectual vision. Of such an Almsman I do not say that he needs still to toil on with diligence,—because he has already achieved all that toil can achieve and now is incapable of slackness.

(ii) Delivered by the intellect is he who, though he has not reached through the medium of his physical senses those tranquil Deliverances which are immaterial and transcend all that is material, has destroyed Cankers through intellectual vision. [478] Of such an Almsman, too, I do not say that he needs still . . . incapable of slackness.

(iii) He has fathomed the corporeal who (a) has reached through the medium of his physical senses those tranquil Deliverances which are immaterial and transcend all that is material, and (b) has destroyed some Cankers by intellectual vision. Of such an Almsman I do say that he needs still to toil on with diligence,—because the fruit of diligence which I can see for such an Almsman is that, in suitable surroundings, with a picked circle of good friends, and with faculties duly regulated, he will surely win . . . and abiding therein.

(iv) He has come to see who, not having reached these Deliverances through the medium of his physical senses, has destroyed some Cankers by intellectual vision, and by intellect has plumbed and fathomed those states of consciousness which the Truth-finder has preached. Of such an Almsman, too, I do aver that he needs still to toil on . . . and abiding therein.

(v) Delivered by faith is he who, not having reached these Deliverances through the medium of his physical senses, has destroyed some Cankers by intellectual vision, but has his faith in the Truth-finder fixed, rooted and stablished. Of such an Almsman, too, I do aver that he needs still to toil on . . . [479] and abiding therein.



followed his example and Ghaznin was soon adorned with palatial buildings.

(13) Two distant storm-centres still troubled Mahmud's mind. Trilochanpal and his son, 'Nidar' Bhim, had been defeated but not crushed and were still in the Doab. In Bundelkhand Rai Nanda(20) of Kalanjar had also adopted a hostile attitude. After Mahmud's withdrawal from the country he had marched with the Rai of Gwalior against Rajyapala, and either as a punishment for the latter's cowardly attitude towards Mahmud, or on account of some other forgotten grievance, put him to death. An alliance between Trilochanpal and Nanda was natural. But it was not Mahmud's principle to let the grass grow under his feet. He determined to crush the possibility of another Hindu Confederacy, and in the winter of 1019-20 again crossed 'the five and the two rivers. Trilochanpal withdrew beyond the lower Rahib (Ramganga) but Mahmud's officers forced their passage across the river by swimming on inflated skins (*mashaks*); and after scattering Trilochanpal's army plundered the newly built town of Bari(21), which Rajyapala had built after the destruction of Kannauj. Whether to help Trilochanpal, or with the intention of fighting the invader single-handed, Nanda had already started from Kalanjar with 36,000 horse, 40,000 or 50,000 foot and 640 elephants. The Sultan also moved forward. It is difficult to say where the two met, but on surveying the enemy troops from an eminence, the Sultan regretted the dangerous expedition he had undertaken. The Rai was even more afraid, for that very night a great terror took possession of his mind and he left all his baggage and fled. Mahmud, after making sure that the Hindus had not attempted an ambush, plundered the deserted camp. Five hundred and eighty elephants, in addition to the two hundred and seventy obtained from Trilochanpal fell into his hands. But the Punjab was still unsubdued. Mahmud's position

in a far off territory with the armies of Nanda yet undefeated was extremely critical, and afraid lest his retreat should be cut off, he marched back rapidly to Ghaznin.

(14) The conquest of India was not Mahmud's aim. Nevertheless the Doab campaigns had brought him far from his base, and he saw that if his armies were to penetrate to such distant territories as Bundelkhand, he must at least have the Punjab under his complete control. In 1021 he started from Ghaznin with 'a large number of carpenters, blacksmiths and stone-cutters with the definite intention of establishing a regular Government over the Punjab. The first objective were the frontier tribes of Swat, Bajaur and Kafiristan, who had 'not yet put the yoke of Islam round their neck,' and worshipped the Buddha in the form of the lion (Sakya Sinha). The inhabitants were subdued and converted and a fort was built in their territory.(22) Marching further Mahmud repeated his former attempt, and tasted again the bitterness of his former failure, at the foot of Lohkot, the impregnable fortress of the Kashmir Pass. But the Punjab was cleared. Mahmud forsook plundering and established a regular administration. A reliable *Amir* was placed at Lahore, the rest of the province was assigned to various officers and garrisons were established at important points. Trilochanpal had died soon after the battle of the Rahib 'Nidar' Bhim fled to the Rai of Ajmere and died in 1026. With him the House of Kallur came to an end. A contemporary Muslim scholar, untouched by the passions and prejudices of those around him, supplied a befitting epitaph to the dynasty that had ended in such a hero: "They were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing. In all their grandeur, they never slackened in the desire of doing what is good and right." (22a).

(20) V. A. Smith calls him 'Ganda.'

(21) 'Kanoj lies to the west of the Ganges, a very large town, but most of it is now in ruins since the capital has been transferred thence to the city of Bari, east of the Ganges. Between the two towns is a distance of three to four days' marches." (*Alberuni*, vol. i. p. 199). The battle must have taken place not far from where the Ramganga falls into the Ganges. V. A. Smith's identification of the defeated prince with the son of Rajyapala is a mistake. Utbi's account leaves no doubt that Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, is meant.

(22) The Persian chronicles speak of Qirat and Nardin (or Nur), which Elliot, on the authority of Alberuni, identifies with the Kuner and the Landaq rivers that fall into the river Kabul. Doubtless the frontier tribes are meant. Plenty of Buddhist remains survive to explain the worship of lions. (*E and D*, vol. ii., p. 444). On breaking a great temple situated there the ornamented figure of a lion came out of it, which according to the belief of the Hindus was four thousand years old" (*Perishta*). The carpenters, blacksmiths and stone-cutters were brought for the construction of forts at the strategic points on the frontier and in the Punjab.

(22a) Alberuni.

(vi) He lives up to the Doctrine who, having neither reached these Deliverances through the medium of his physical senses nor destroyed the Cankers, has through the intellect a message of delight in the states of consciousness which the Truth-finder preaches,—possessing faith, effort, mindfulness, rapt concentration and understanding. Of such an Almsman, too, I do aver that he needs still to toil on . . . and abiding therein.

(vii) Lastly, he lives up to faith who, having neither reached these states of Deliverance through the medium of his physical senses nor destroyed the Cankers, just reposes faith and affection in the Truth-finder,—possessing faith, effort, mindfulness, rapt concentration and understanding. Of such an Almsman, too, I do aver that he needs still to toil on . . . and abiding therein.

I do not say that the plenitude of knowledge comes straightaway ;—it comes by gradual training, by gradual attainment and by gradual progress. [480]—Take the case of a man with faith who first draws near, then attends constantly, then pays attention, then hears the Doctrine, then carries it away with him, then examines the import of the ideas he has carried away, then is in an ecstasy of delight over those ideas, then grows to ardour, is emboldened by his ardour, becoming emboldened, weighs it all, and, weighing it, strives, till, void of self, he, through the medium of his bodily senses, realizes the truth sublime and by his intellect penetrates it and sees it clear. Had that faith not been there, he would not have drawn near, nor come again, nor would any of the other things have happened, nor would he have striven at all.

Almsmen, ye have gone far astray ; ye have erred grievously. Ah, how very far have these foolish persons departed from this Doctrine and Rule !

There is a fourfold exposition, the import of which, when it is propounded, can speedily be mastered by the intellect of a man of intelligence. This I will propound to you and you shall understand it from me.



Who, sir, are we? And who are they who know the Doctrine?

Why, Almsmen, even a master who put store on things material who made them his heritage and cherished them,—even he is not met by higgling and haggling stipulations that, if they like a thing, his followers will do it, but will not do it if they do not like it. How can this chaffering beseem the Truth-finder who dwells wholly apart from things material? To the follower with faith and in unison with his Master's teachings, it is a principle that the Lord is his Master, and he his disciple; that the Lord knows and he does not. To the follower with faith, in unison with his Master's teachings, those teachings impart strength and affection. To the follower with faith, in unison with his Master's teachings, [481] it is a principle that—let only skin and sinews and bone persist and let flesh and blood dry up, there still shall be no slackening of effort till what a man's strength and a man's perseverance and a man's energy can win for him, has been won.

From the follower with faith, in unison with his Master's teachings, one of two fruits may be looked for,—either Knowledge here and now or—if the stuff of life be not wholly spent—no return to life on earth.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXXI. TEVIJJA-VACCHAGOTTA-SUTTA.

### THE TRUE THREE-FOLD LORE.

THUS have I heard. Once the Lord was staying at Vesālī in the Great Wood in the Gabled Hall, and at the same time the Wanderer Vaccha-gotta was resident in the Wanderers' Pleasaunce where the White Mango stands alone. Early in the morning, duly robed and bowl in hand, the Lord came into Vesālī for alms, but, reflecting that it was too early yet,

(15) Next year (1022-1023) Mahmud once more marched by way of Gwalior and Lahore against Nanda. But he had taken all that was best from the lands in the direction of his march and was not inclined to push matters to extreme. Gwalior was invested but the Rai obtained peace by a present of thirty-five elephants. Even Nanda, when besieged in Kalanjar, found the Sultan reasonable. A present of three hundred elephants, whom the Rai turned unceremoniously out of the fort for the 'Turks to 'capture and ride on', served to create a good will, which was further strengthened by some Hindi verses written by the Rai in the Sultan's praise. All the Scholars of Hind, Persia and Arabia present in Mahmud's camp applauded Nanda's composition and Mahmud sent him at order (*firman*) confirming him in the possession of his fifteen forts. Nanda acknowledged the favour by a present of money and costly jewels and the Sultan turned back from the most eastern point he was ever destined to reach.

On returning to Ghaznin the Sultan held a muster of his forces. Apart from the troops stationed in the provinces, Mahmud in Trans-Oxonia (1023).

the royal army at Ghaznin amounted to 54,000 horse and 1,300 elephants(23) and with this he crossed the Oxus and proceeded to overawe the chiefs of Trans-Oxonia. Ali Tigin, the recalcitrant ruler of Samarkand was brought in chains before the Sultan and sent a prisoner to India. The smaller chiefs crowded to offer their allegiance. Even Yusuf Qadr Khan, brother of the late I-lak Khan(24) came to meet him and requested him to transport the Seljuqs

The Seljuqs. across the Oxus into Khorasan. This body of pastoral and barbaric Turkomans, destined to an unexpected but not undeserved greatness, had long been a source of trouble to its neighbours. During the reign of the Samanid kings they had migrated from Turkestan, and crossing

the Jaxartes, had settled in Nur of Bukhara from which they used to migrate to Darghan of Khwarazm. Their leader, Israel, son of Seljuq, the chief after whom the tribe came to be named, was a perpetual terror to the *maliks* of Turkestan and Trans-Oxonia. 'He was wont to enter the chase or the conflict like a whirlwind and a thunder-cloud and vanquished every one who ventured into a personal contest with him. Not a bird in the air and not a deer in the forest escaped his arrow.'(25) Like others he came riding at the head of his Turkomans to offer his allegiance to Mahmud, 'with a cap placed jauntily on one side of his head and bestriding a horse like the spur of a mountain'. The astute Sultan looked suspiciously at the ambitious young chief and asked him how many men he could bring to the army. "If you send one of these arrows into our camp," Israel replied, "fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horse back." "And if that number" continued Israel, "be not sufficient, send the second arrow to the horde of Balik (Bilkhan Koh), and you will find fifty thousand more." "But," said the Ghaznavide dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Israel, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse."(26) Mahmud made up his mind to crush the Seljuqs before it was too late. An order was served on Israel commanding him to remain within his tent while four thousand Seljuq families with their goods and chattels were transported across the Oxus under the eye of the Ghaznavide army. The Sultan's chamberlain, Arsalan Hajib, suggested that the barbarians should be drowned while crossing the river. "Destiny cannot be averted by perfidy any more than by valour," Mahmud remarked, and refused to break his promise.(27) Israel with his two sons was despatched to the distant fortress of Kalanjar

(25) *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*.

(23) The total number of elephants possessed by Mahmud is said to have been 2,500.

(24) 'I-lak Khan' was the title of the Khans of Kashghar. Mir Khond, Ferishta and Hamdullah Mustawfi greatly differ in their account of Qadr Khan; the 'Rahatus Sudur' of Mohammad ibn-i Ali ibn-i Sulaiman Ae. Rawandi (edited by Dr. M. Iqbal) calls him I-lak Khan. The question is of the remotest interest to the student of Indian history. It will be remembered that the Caliph had refused to transfer Samarkand to Mahmud.

(26) Gibbon, Vol. vi. I have adopted the great historian's version of the famous conversation. *Rahatus Sudur* is more particular: the first arrow would raise 1,00,000 horse from Israel's own followers, the second arrow 50,000 from the Turkomans settled in Trans-Oxonia while his bow would bring 2,00,000 from the Turkomans still in Turkestan.

(27) *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. The *Rahatus Sudur* says the Seljuqs were allowed to cross to Oxus at their request after the imprisonment of Israel which Mahmud allowed in spite of Arsalan's advice to the contrary.



where he died after seven years.(28) The exiled families were allotted grazing grounds in the districts of north west Khorasan and placed under the guardianship of the Khorasani nobles who were ordered to disarm them. But it was easier to bring the Seljuqs into the more fertile tracts of Persia than to keep them in subjection. The migration once begun could not be stopped and the Ghaznavide empire was ultimately converted into a Seljuq pasture-land.(29) These troubles, however, lay in the womb of the future. For the present Mahmud was supreme, and the fall of Israel, whatever its future effects, served as an example to all Turkoman chiefs.

(16) Northern India had ceased to attract

(16) Somnath (1025— its most wealthy temples  
1026).

were already in his treasury. But the rich and prosperous province of Gujrat was still untouched, and on October 18, 1020, he started from Ghaznin with his regular troops and thirty thousand volunteer horsemen for the temple of Somnath, situated at the distance of a bow-shot from the mouth of the Saraswati, by the side of which the earthly body of Lord Krishna had breathed its last.(30)

"The people of Hind," says Ferishta following Ibn-i Asir, "believed that souls after separating from their bodies came to

Somnath, and the god assigned to each soul, by way of transmigration, such new body as it deserved. They thought the tide rose and fell in order to worship the idol. The Brahmans said that as the god was angry with the idols Mahmud had broken, he did not come to their help; otherwise he could destroy anyone he wanted in the twinkling of an eye. Somnath was the king while other idols were merely his door-keepers and chamberlains. A hundred thousand people used to collect together in the

temple at the time of the solar and lunar eclipses. Presents came to it from distant parts. The princes of Hindustan had endowed it with about ten thousand villages.(31) A thousand Brahmans worshipped the idol continuously: and every night it was washed with fresh water from the Ganges, although the Ganges is six hundred *karohs* from there.(32) A chain of gold, weighing two hundred *mans*, with bells fastened to it, was hung in a corner of the temple; it was shaken at the appointed hours to inform the Brahmans that the time for prayer had arrived. Five hundred singing and dancing girls and two hundred musicians were in the service of the temple, and all their requisites were provided out of the endowments and offerings. Three hundred barbers were employed to shave the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Many Rajas of Hindustan dedicated their daughters to Somnath and sent them there. The temple was a spacious edifice and its roof was supported by fifty-six ornamented columns. The idol was cut out of stone; it was five yards long, of which two yards were below, and three above, the ground. The '*Tarikh-i Zainul Ma-asir*' says that the inner chamber of the temple, in which the idol was placed, was dark, the requisite light being supplied by the rays of fine jewels attached to the hanging lamps.(33)

(31) I have corrected the figures in this paragraph from Ibn-i Asir.

(32) Alberuni says they also brought a basket of flowers from Kashmir.

(33) The legend to which Somnath owed its origin is thus described by Alberuni: "The Moon being married to the daughters (lunar stations) of Prajapati (Brahman-First Cause) preferred one of them, Rohini, to all others, and Prajapati, unable to induce his son-in-law to do justice to all his wives, cursed him so that he became leprous. The Moon repented, but Prajapati's curse was beyond recall. He however, promised to cover the Moon's shame for half the month and advised him to raise a *linga* of Mahadeo to wipe off the trace of his sin. "This the Moon did. The *linga* he raised was the idol of Somnath, for *Soma* means the moon and *nath* means the master, so that the whole word means the master of the moon. The image was destroyed by Prince Mahmud in 416 A.H. He ordered the upper part to be broken and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghaznin, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels and embroidered garments. Part of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town, together with the *Cakrasmin*, an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Thaneswar. Another part of the idol of Somnath lies before the door of the mosque of Ghaznin, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet. The reason why Somnath, in particular, has become so famous is that it was a harbour for sea-faring people. The fortress which contained the idol and its treasures was not ancient but was built only a hundred years ago." The original position of the

(28) He escaped out of prison once but lost his way and was recaptured.

(29) *Ferishta*, *Ranzatus Sofa*, *Rahatus Sudur* and *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* greatly differ in their account of the earlier events that brought the Seljuqs into prominence. The matter cannot be discussed here in greater detail and I must content myself with giving what appears to me to be the most rational account. See also *art. 'Seljuq'*, *Ency. Brit.* by Prof. Houtoma.

(30) The Somnath expedition is not described by *Uthi*, whose chronicle closes after the defeat of Trilochanpal on the Rahib. The earliest authority seems to be the *Kamilut Tawarikh* of the Arab historian, Ibn-i Asir. *Ferishta* gives a detailed account but he has included later accretions which require a critical examination.

settled to go to the Wanderers' Pleasaunce and visit Vaccha-gotta,—as he did. From some way off the Wanderer saw the Lord coming and said:—Sir, let the Lord be pleased to draw near; the Lord is right welcome; it is a very long time since the Lord managed to come here. Let the Lord be seated; here is a seat set for him. The Lord having seated himself accordingly, Vaccha-gotta the Wanderer [482] took a low seat for himself to one side and thus began:—

I have heard it said that the recluse Gotama<sup>1</sup> is all-knowing and all-seeing, with nothing outside his ken and vision, and that he claims that, whether he is walking or standing still, whether he is asleep or awake, his ken and vision stand ready, aye ready. Pray, sir, is this witness true, not misrepresenting the Lord and not mis-stating the gist of his Doctrine?

The witness, Vaccha, is not true; it imputes to me what is false and untrue.

Well, sir, what account ought we to give of the Lord, so as not to misrepresent him or misinterpret the gist of his Doctrine or entail the censure of an orthodox expositor thereof?

He would bear true witness, neither misrepresenting me nor misinterpreting the gist of my Doctrine nor entailing the censure of an orthodox expositor thereof,—who should say:—The recluse Gotama has the three-fold lore (te-vijja). For, Vaccha, (i) as long as I please, I can call to mind all my own past existences, from a single one onwards, in all their details and features. (ii) As long as I please, I can see—with the Eye Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the eye of man—creatures in act to pass hence and re-appear elsewhere (etc., as in Sutta No. 4). (iii) By destroying the Cankers, I have won that Deliverance of heart and mind in which no Cankers are; here and now have I entered on and abide in this Deliverance, which of and by myself I have discerned and realized. So it would

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<sup>1</sup> This is the claim of the Jain Nāthaputta in (e.g.) the 14th Sutta. Cf. Sutta No. 76



The Somnath expedition is the one by which Mahmud is most remembered. It was the finest achievement of his military genius. His marches into Hindustan had been through a fertile country and he was never in danger of starvation. In moving southwards Mahmud for the first and last time threw his caution aside, defied the inclemencies of nature as well as the spears of his opponents and ventured into a territory where the slightest mishap would have meant complete ruin. Multan was reached by the middle of Ramazan (November) and Mahmud made careful preparations for crossing the extensive desert of Rajputana. Every man in the army was ordered to carry enough water and corn for several days and thirty thousand camels were loaded as a further precaution. The Rai of Ajmere fled at the approach of invader. Mahmud plundered the city but refused to delay his march by investing the fort. A general panic seems to have deprived the garrisons on the line of his advance of all power of resistance. Even Anhilwara, the capital of Gujrat, was left undefended, and Mahmud after taking from the city the provisions he required, moved down the Saraswati and reached the famous temple in the second week of January. 'The fort of Somnath raised its towers to the sky; the waves of the sea washed its feet'. The Hindus had climbed the ramparts to witness the arrival of the besiegers. "Our god, Somnath," they shouted to the Mussalmans, "has brought you here to destroy you at one blow for the idols you have broken in Hindustan."

Next morning, which was Friday, the struggle commenced. The Battle of Somnath. Ghaznavides succeeded in scaling the city-walls and the Hindus made a desperate attempt to dislodge them. But night came on before the battle on the ramparts could end and the besiegers withdrew to their camp. On Saturday Mahmud captured the ramparts and entered the city. The Hindus, driven out of their houses, collected round the temple for a last despairing struggle. Band after band prayed fervently to the idol and after bidding it farewell

dreadful slaughter followed at the gate of the temple and few were left alive'. But once more the darkness of night stopped Mahmud's hands while the intervention of a new factor reminded him of the fickleness of fate.

The Sultan's march had been too rapid to allow the Rais of Gujrat to collect their forces for the defence of the temple. But the desperate resistance of the besieged gave them the time required; their clumsy military machine began to work with feverish haste; and on the morning of the third day Mahmud found his camp being encircled by an Indian force sent by the neighbouring Rais for the relief of the garrison. Mahmud left a part of his army to continue the siege and advanced to meet the new comers with the rest. 'Both sides fought with indescribable courage and valour, and the field of battle was set aflame with their anger and their hate.' But the Indian army was constantly strengthened by new reinforcements and the Ghaznavides were brought to the verge of an irretrievable disaster. Mahmud's position was extremely critical. Defeat would have meant annihilation and further delay would have entailed defeat. So after a fervent prayer to the Almighty with the cloak of Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani in his hands, he led his army to a last attack, and with the good fortune that never permanently deserted him, succeeded in breaking the enemy ranks. The defeat of the relieving force decided the fate of Somnath, and the garrison overcome by panic and fear offered no further resistance.

Mahmud entered the temple and possessed himself of its fabulous wealth. 'Not a hundredth part of the gold and precious stones he obtained from Somnath were to be found in the treasury of any king of Hindustan'. Later historians have related how Mahmud refused the enormous ransom offered by the Brahmans, and preferring the title of 'Idol-breaker' (*But-shikan*) to that of 'Idol-seller' (*But-farosh*) struck the idol with his mace, his piety being instantly rewarded by the precious stones that came out of its belly. This is an impossible story<sup>(34)</sup>. Apart from the fact that it lacks all contemporary confirmation, the Somnath idol was a solid unsculptured *linga*, not a statue, and stones could not come out of its belly. That the idol was broken is un-

idol was three miles from the mouth of the Saraswati at a spot which was uncovered when the tide receded; hence the legend of the Moon worshipping the *linga*. Later on the temple was built a bow-shot from the mouth of the river. (*Alberuni*, Vol. II, p. 103).

in 'sorrow and tears', sallied forth to fight. 'A

(34) It is not found in the *Kamilut Tawarikh*. The earliest authority seems to have been the *Tarikh-i Alf*, written six hundred years after Mahmud. The story could have been invented (and believed) only by those who were ignorant of the true structure of the Somnath idol.

be a true witness, Vaccha, to say that I have the three-fold lore.

[483] At this point Vaccha-gotta the Wanderer put this question : Is there any layman, Gotama, who, without shedding the trammels of house and home, has, at the body's dissolution, made an end of Ill ?

Not one, Vaccha.

Is there any layman who, without shedding the shackles of house and home, has, at the body's dissolution, got to heaven ?

Not one hundred, not two or three or four or five hundred, have achieved this ; there are many more laymen than that who, without discarding the trammels of house and home, have, at the body's dissolution, got to heaven.

Has any Mendicant (ājīvaka) at death ever made an end of Ill ?

Not one.

Has any Mendicant at death got to heaven ?

Going back in memory for ninety-one æons, I can only recall one single Mendicant who did ;—and he preached a gospel of Karma and the after-consequences of actions.

On this showing, Gotama, that school's efficacy is wholly impotent to get a man even to heaven.

Yes, Vaccha ; it is so.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, the Wanderer Vaccha-gotta rejoiced in what the Lord had said.

## LXXII. AGGI-VACCHAGOTTA-SUTTA.

### OF FUEL.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's wood in the pleasure of Anāthapiṇḍika, there came to him the Wanderer Vaccha-gotta, who, [484] after salutations, took his seat to one side and thus began :—

Do you hold, Gotama, that the world is eternal, and



fortunately true enough, but the offer of the Brahmans, and Mahmud's rejection of the offer, is a fable of later days.

From Somnath Mahmud advanced against Mahmud at Anhil-Param Deo, Rai of wara. Anhilwara, who seems to have been mainly responsible for the relieving force that had pushed the Ghaznavides so hard. The Rai took refuge in the fort of Khandah, forty *farsakhs* from Somnath, which was surrounded by the sea. But when Mahmud forded the sea at low tide, the Rai fled away, leaving the fort and its treasures to the Sultan. On returning to Anhilwara Mahmud for the first and last time seems to have harboured the desire of establishing himself in India. He wanted to make Anhilwara his capital while assigning Ghaznin to Masud. The climate of Gujrat, 'the beauty of its inhabitants, its alluring gardens, flowing rivers and productive soil' attracted him, and his cupidity was further excited by the treasure to be obtained from Southern India and the islands beyond the sea. But his officers would have none of it. "To leave the country of Khorasan," they protested, "for which we have sacrificed the finest of gems—our own lives—and to make Gujrat our capital, is far from political wisdom." Mahmud had to yield. He assigned the governorship of Gujrat to Dabshilim (Devasarum), an ascetic of Somnath, and started for Ghaznin. Dabshilim loyally sent the tribute due to the Sultan for some time, but his power failed to take root and he was over-thrown by his

was harrassed by the Jats, but in spite of many hardships, it succeeded in reaching Ghaznin.

(17) Mahmud's last invasion (1027) was intended to punish the Jats (17) The Jats (1027) who had so wantonly insulted his army while returning from Somnath. He constructed a flotilla of fourteen hundred boats at Multan, and placing twenty men armed with bows, arrows and flasks of naphtha in every boat, proceeded against the recalcitrant tribe. The Jats collected together four thousand boats and offered a stout resistance; but they were defeated in the naval battle owing to the superior construction of the Sultan's boats, which had been provided with one pointed iron spike in front and one on each side, and the havoc wrought by explosions of naphtha. Many of the Jats were drowned and their families, which they had removed to the Islands of the Indus for safety, were captured.

The Sultan's remaining years were exclusively absorbed in western affairs. The Seljuq trouble increased day by day. His generals were unable to subdue them and appealed to him to come in person. He did so. The Seljuqs were defeated and dispersed, but their pastoral bands parted only to unite again. Meanwhile his officers had overthrown the Buwaihid kingdom of Ray and the Sultan marched thither to establish his Government over the newly conquered territory. His hand fell heavily on the 'heretics' and Carmathians who had multiplied under the protection of the Shia dynasty, and every one, against whom heresy could be proved, was put to death. But the Sultan's days numbered, and the first symptoms of pthisis (*sil*) had already appeared when in the autumn of 1029 he assigned the Government of Isfahan and Ray to Masud and returned to Balkh. Here his condition grew worse, though 'he bore up bravely in the eyes of the people'. In the spring he moved to Ghaznin, where on the 30th April, 1030 A.D. after forty years of ceaseless activity he was called back to the land of everlasting rest at the age of sixty-three.

"The world grips hard on the hard-striving,"

Hafiz has said; and tradition will have us believe that two days before his death the great Sultan, unable to reconcile himself to the loss of a world that was slipping out of his grasp, ordered the precious stones of his treasury to be brought and

The Rais of Rajputana, who had been taken unawares by Mahmud's march through their country, now prepared to contest his return. But the Sultan's army was loaded with spoils. He had no stomach for campaigns in a wilderness where nothing was to be had save hard blows and preferred to march to Multan through the Sindh desert. Even this route was full of dangers. First a Hindu devotee of Somnath undertook to guide the army, and after marching it for a day and a night confessed that he had intentionally led them on a path where no water could be found. Mahmud slew the guide and a 'mysterious light' that appeared in the horizon in response to his prayers led the Mussalmans to fresh water. After crossing the desert the army

(15) Ferishta's detailed account of the two Dabshilims seems to have no better foundation than the *Anwar-i Suhaili*. It is difficult to say what element of truth it contains.

that this is the only true view, all other views being false?

No, Vaccha.

Well then, do you hold that the world is non-eternal, and that that is the only true view, all other views being false?

No, Vaccha.

Do you hold that the world is finite, and that this is the only true view, all other views being false?

No, Vaccha.

Do you hold, then, that the world is non-finite, and that that is the only true view, all other views being false?

No, Vaccha.

[Similar questions and answers follow about—Life and the body are identical, Life and the body are distinct; The truth-finder passes to another existence after death here, The truth-finder does not pass to another existence after death here, The truth-finder both does and does not pass to another existence after his death here, [485] The truth-finder neither passes nor does not pass to another existence after his death here.]

To each and all of my questions, Gotama, you have answered in the negative. What, pray, is the danger you discern in these views which makes you scout them all?

To hold that the world is eternal—or to hold that it is not, or to agree to any other [486] of the propositions you adduce, Vaccha,—is the thicket of theorizing, the wilderness of theorizing, the tangle of theorizing, the bondage and the shackles of theorizing, attended by Ill, distress, perturbation and fever; it conduces not to aversion, passionlessness, tranquillity, peace, illumination and Nirvana. This is the danger I discern in these views, which makes me scout them all.

Is there any view which you have adopted, Gotama?

The adoption of views is a term discarded for the truth-finder, who has had actual vision of the nature, origin and cessation of things material—of feelings—of



displayed in the court-yard of his palace. He gazed at them yearningly and with weeping eyes ordered them to be locked up again, without finding it in his heart to give any thing in charity. Next day he got into his litter and reviewed his horses, elephants and camels, and still more overcome burst into loud and helpless sobs.(36) But it would be unbecoming to pause over the last moments of a strong and powerful mind. Perhaps the slow and wasting disease had so bereft him of his strength, that at the door of death he was no longer able to hold over his face the veil with which he was wont to conceal his human frailties! Perhaps his rationalistic mind, too critical for the commonplace orthodoxy of the day and not profound enough for the deeper convictions of the philosopher and the mystic, trembled at the mysterious land before him as he saw it approaching nearer hour by hour, and was unable to embark on his last campaign with that confident courage with which he had plunged into the forests of Hindustan! It is by the manner of his life, not the mode of his death, that a man is to be judged. The invincible hero of thirty campaigns had disappeared weeks before his officers buried his emaciated body in the Ferozah Palace of Ghaznin.

### III: The Character and value of Mahmud's work.

All men are more or less the product of their environment, and a rational criticism of Mahmud's work must begin with an examination of the spirit of his age.

Most Mussalmans imagine that their faith has always been what it is to-day, or in the alternative they deplore that it has since the time of the Pious Caliphs been subject to a slow but continuous decline. This is, of course, absurd. Islam, like all other religions, has had its recurring periods of spiritual rise and fall; it has been differently conceived by different people at different times; like all things really and truly human, it is always changing and never permanently the same. We are here only concerned with the

broadest changes in the Muslim world, and these from the rise of Islam to the conquest of Muslim Asia by Chengiz Khan, may be divided into four parts. (1) The first Period of Expansion (622-748) which includes the conquest of Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Persia, and Northern Africa under the Pious Caliphs and their Omayyad successors. It is an epoch characterised by fervent religious zeal, and owing to the captivating appeal Islam made to the depressed classes, the conquered peoples were converted to the new faith. (2) The Period of the Abbaside Caliphate (748-900) is a period of prosperity and peace with no conquest to its record. It is characterised by a cosmopolitan civilisation in which Arabic became the language of the educated classes of all countries, while a centralised administration kept the Muslim world together. (3) The Period of 'Minor Dynasties' (900-1000) is essentially a period of transition in which the administration of the Caliph disappears and a number of small principalities rise on its ruins. Its most prominent feature is the Persian Renaissance, which made Persian the language of literary classes and brought a new imperialistic idea to the fore-front in place of cosmopolitan Caliphate of the Abbasides. (4) The Period of the Turco-Persian Empires (1000-1220) is to be regarded as the political expression of Persian ideals and includes the reign of the Ghaznavide, the Seljuq and the Khwarazmian dynasties.

Mahmud was the last of the 'Minor Kings' and the first of the great Turco-Persian Emperors. The inspiring motive of his life and the lives of his contemporaries was not Islam but the spirit of the Persian Renaissance.

The age of Mahmud of Ghaznin was devoid of the higher spirit of faith; and theological discussions, which prosper most when religion is dead, diverted such zeals as existed towards a war of sects. When men find it difficult to believe in God, they try to prove Him; when they cease to love their neighbour, they attempt to convince themselves that hating him is a moral duty. The conversion of the non-Muslim was given up in favour of the more entertaining game of exterminating the 'heretic'. From east to west the Muslim world was torn by sectarian feuds and the strong arm of the persecutor was called in vain to heal the troubles of a people weltering in fanaticism but innocent of faith. From this war of hair-splitting

Four epochs of Muslim History.

Spirit of the Persian Renaissance.

(36) This account is found in *Perishta*, who says that Mahmud died with 'much reluctance and regret,' and all later historians repeat the incident. Its origin is hard to discover. It may have been taken from the lost portion of *Baihaqi*. There is nothing improbable in the story. Consumptive diseases have such effects.

perception—of plastic forces—and of consciousness. Therefore it is that, by destroying, stilling, suppressing, discarding and renouncing all supposings, all imaginings, and all tendencies to the pride of saying I or mine, the truth-finder is Delivered because no fuel is left to keep such things going.

When his heart is thus Delivered, Gotama, where is an Almsman<sup>1</sup> reborn hereafter?

Reborn does not apply to him.

Then he is not reborn.

Not reborn does not apply.

Then he is both reborn and not reborn.

Reborn and not reborn does not apply.

Then he is neither reborn nor not-reborn.

Neither reborn nor not-reborn does not apply to him.

To each and all of my questions, Gotama, you have replied in the negative. [487] I am at a loss and bewildered; the measure of confidence you inspired by our former talk has disappeared.

You ought to be at a loss and bewildered, Vaccha. For, this Doctrine is profound, recondite, hard to comprehend, rare, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle, only to be understood of the wise. To you it is difficult,—who hold other views and belong to another faith and objective, with a different allegiance and a different master. So I in turn will question you, for such answer as you see fit to give. What think you, Vaccha?—If there were a fire blazing in front of you, would you know it?

Yes.

If you were asked what made that fire blaze, could you give an answer?

I should answer that what made it blaze was the fuel consisting of bracken and sticks.

If the fire went out, would you know it had gone out?

Yes.

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<sup>1</sup> The interlocutor, it will be noted, assumes that, here, *ta t h ā - g a t a* means not the Buddha but a Saint, or Arahāt in general.



theologians the finer minds of Persia turned with a sense of relief to the resuscitation of their national culture and the minor dynasties that had grown on the decay of the Caliphate gave them the protection and patronage they needed. Every provincial court became the centre of a revivalist movement. Ancient Persian legends were rediscovered and popularised. The Persian language, which had been cast aside as the vernacular of the common people, assumed the dignity of a national tongue. Every one, who could, began to turn out verses in a language singularly capable of conforming to the hardest rules of metre and rhyme, and even poets of mediocre abilities could be sure of a good career. Moreover the glories of the Kiani and the Sassani Empires, alluring with the dream of a half-forgotten greatness, exercised on more imaginative minds a fascination which slowly but definitely drew them away from the Path of the Prophet. The change was, of course, unconscious. Like the school-men of medieval Europe, who talked as if the philosophy of Aristotle was a commentary on the 'Ten Commandments, the contemporaries of Mahmud were aware of no difference between the lessons of the 'Shah Nama' and the principles of the Quran. Faridun and Jamshed, Kai-Kaus and Kai-Khusrau, the heroic Rustam and the Macedonian Alexander won from the rising generation the homage which all true Mussalmans should have paid to the Prophet and his Companions. Now while the Prophet and his Companions stood for certain principles to be established at all costs and had resorted to war as a means for *their* promulgation, the legendary heroes of Persia only evoked in their devotees an ambition for greatness and ruthless imperialism without the sense of a moral mission, and instilled them with precepts of worldly wisdom, such as Polonius bequeathed to Laertes and such as Sadi's 'Gulistan' has taught to the children of later generations—a wisdom essentially selfish in its out-look and superbly unconscious of all higher aims.

Thus the new spirit on one hand helped the evolution of a new culture and brought an atmosphere of refinement and polish in the court and the camp, and on the other hand it heralded in an era of futile and purposeless wars through which provincial kings, rebellious governors, tribal chiefs and even daring robbers, expected to reach the insecure eminence of Alexander, the Great.

Fighting was looked upon, thanks to the militant spirit of the Turks, as a sport and an attribute of manliness, a good thing to be sought for itself—not as a painful process for the attainment of peace. For a century before Mahmud princes of the 'minor dynasties' had been acting Jamshed and Kai-Khusrau, and their court-poets, richly paid for the work had proclaimed their greatness in panegyrics of which men less lost in ambition would have felt ashamed. Then came the great Mahmud to achieve that for which others had fought and died in vain, and kings and princes licked the dust humbly before the figure of a new Alexander. But the giant for all his grandeur was made of the same moral stuff as the dwarfs that had gone before. It was his abilities, not his character, that raised him to an unquestioned pre-eminence.

The Literary Renaissance of Persia found in Mahmud its most magnificent, if not its most discriminating patron. Four hundred poets, with Unsari, the poet-laureate, at their head, were in constant attendance on the Sultan's court. Their official duty was to sing his praise, and the Sultan, in spite of the stinginess attributed to him, seems to have been extremely generous. Ghazari Razi, a poet from Ray, was awarded fourteen thousand *dirhams* for a *qasida* that pleased the Sultan, while the poet-laureate's mouth was thrice filled with pearls for an unpremeditated *qita*. Among others who came flocking from far and near, Farrukhi, the author of a *qasida* remarkable for its captivating rhythm, Minuchihri, who specialised in the cult of vine, and Asjadi, who is responsible for the following well-known quatrain, are most famous.(37)

"I do repent of wine and talk of wine,  
"Of idols fair with chins like silver fine.  
"A lip-repentance and a lustful heart—  
"O God, forgive this penitence of mine!"

But it is obvious that the Sultan's patronage, while stimulating men of decent merit to do

(37) The details of the lives of the poets cannot be given here nor an examination of their work attempted. Prof. Browne's "Literary History of Persia," Vol. II, Chap. II and Maulana Shibli Numani's "Shirul-Ajam," Vol. I, have put in a modern form all that is found in old *Tazkirahs*. See also Hadi, "Studies in Persian Literature" published by the National University, Aligarh. The Firdansi legend has been subjected to a trenchant criticism by the journal 'Urdu' edited by Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, which has robbed the time-honoured story of all its charm.

If now you were asked in what direction the fire had gone, whether to east, west, north or south, could you give an answer?

The question does not apply. Since the fire was kept alight by bracken and sticks, and since it had consumed its supply of fuel and had received no fresh supplies, it is said to have gone out for lack of fuel to sustain it.

Just in the same way, Vaccha, all things material [488]—all feelings—all perception—all plastic forces—all consciousness—everything by which the truth-finder might be denoted has passed away for him,—grubbed and stubbed, leaving only the bare cleared site where once a palm-tree towered,—a thing that once has been and now can be no more. Profound, measureless, unfathomable, is the truth-finder even as the mighty ocean; reborn does not apply to him nor not-reborn nor any combination of such terms; everything by which the truth-finder might be denoted, has passed away for him, utterly and for ever.

At the close of these words, the Wanderer Vacchagotta said to the Lord :—It is like a giant Sāl-tree on the outskirts of a village or township which, by the course of change, loses its leaves and foliage, sheds its bark and rotten stuff and poorer wood, so that in time, when all that is gone, it stands in the clean strength of its choice timber alone. Wonderful, Gotama; quite wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or [489] bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them,—even so, in many a figure, has Gotama made his Doctrine clear. To the reverend Gotama I come as my refuge, and to his Doctrine and to his Confraternity. I ask him to accept me as a disciple from this day forth while life lasts.



their best, would fail to reach the highest genius, which in every country and every age has scorned to bow its knees to democracies and kings. For this Mahmud is in no way to blame. Mankind has yet to discover a method for dealing with its finest product. Whatever be the element of truth in the famous Firdausi legend, the tradition that represents the great poet, in whom Persian nationalism amounted to a religion, as flying from an Emperor of Afrasiyab's (Turkish) race, certainly gives us an idea of the gloom that sat oppressively on the most sensitive Persian minds. Two persons of a radically different stamp were destined to share Firdausi's fate. The great physician and biologist, Shaikh Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna), refused to come to the court of a king to whom the scientist's views and his sense of personal independence would have been equally unpalatable, and after flying from town to town before the agents of Mahmud's wrath, at last found a safe asylum with the Buwaihîd ruler of Ray. His friend, the mathematician-scholar Abu Rihan Al-Bîrûnî, whose appreciative study of Hindu philosophy stands in such pleasant contrast with the prejudices of a stormy time, was less fortunate. Brought a prisoner from his native Khwarazm, he was thrown into prison and thence exiled to India on that life of wandering to which we owe the immortal 'Tarikhul Hind'. (38)

The poetry of Mahmud's age reflects the spirit of the time. It is brilliant but not deep. Mystic ideas had not yet become current coin, and the *ghazal*, the grand vehicle of mystic emotion, had not yet been discovered. *Qasidas* (panegyric odes) in praise of generous patrons were the poets' principal occupation. The genius of Firdausi brought the *masnavi* (romance) into vogue, while his master, Asadi, is credited with the not very commendable invention of the *Munazirah* or 'strife-poem'—a composition which leaves little room for poetic thoughts. *Qitas* (fragments) and *rubais* (quatrains) served to express the poets' lighter moods. Yet the Ghaznavide poets, for all their short-comings, have a certain freshness which succeeding ages have lacked. There is no artificiality about them. They had tasted the joy of material prosperity and loved to praise the beauty of

women of flesh and blood and the alluring intoxication of wine. The reality of their human emotions prevented them from falling into the meaningless verbosity of later ages; and if they lack the deeper meaning of their mystic successors, whose songs begin and end with a symbolic representation of the absolute, their poetry is at least in touch with life. The poet sang of what his audience knew and felt—the clash of arms on the field of strife, the joys of companionship in the warrior's camp, the innumerable emotions of men and women whom an artificial culture had not yet deprived of their native intensity of feelings, and above all the glories and sorrows of their much loved Iran. The thoughts and emotions of the educated men of the day were not the unbecoming theme of the poet's verse. The great period of Persian poetry, that begins with Sadi and ends with Jami, was yet to come. Nevertheless the constructive genius of the poet won victories more solid than warrior's futile campaigns. The empire of Mahmud crumbled to dust nine years after the Sultan's death. The 'Shahnama' lives for ever.

Mahmud's work in India is reserved for a separate discussion but the Sultan was essentially a central Asiatic prince. The historic soil of Ajam was the garden and the grave of the Ghaznavide hopes. The cosmopolitan administration of the Caliphate had been shattered beyond the possibility of reconstruction, and the "new imperialism" with its secular and Persian outlook had been in the air for some generations past. Now 'imperialism' meant two things—first, a conquest of the smaller principalities that would bring all Muslim peoples, who had been infused with the spirit of Persian civilisation within the fold of a single state; and secondly, the erection of a just and beneficent administration that would reconcile every section of the subjects to their common Government by an era of prosperity and peace. Mahmud's performance of the first part of his work is as remarkable as his failure to perform the second. The rise of the Ghaznavide Empire struck contemporaries with wonder; but they were no less surprised with the rapidity of its fall.

A man of refinement and culture with an instinctive admiration for everything beautiful in literature and art, it was in generalship that Mahmud excelled. War was the prevailing madness, but never since the fall of the Sassanid Empire before the armies of the Second Caliph

(38) Some very interesting anecdotes about Alberuni and Bu Ali Sina will be found in the 'Chahar Maqala' of Nizami-ul Aruzi-us Samarqandi (Gibb's Memorial Series). A short biography of Bu Ali Sina is given in the *Habîbus Siyar*.

## LXXIII. MAHĀ-VACCHAGOTTA-SUTTA.

## THE MEED OF SERVICE.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove where the squirrels were fed, the Wanderer Vaccha-gotta came to him and after salutations took his seat to one side, saying :—It is a long time since I have had a talk with the reverend Gotama. I should like him briefly to expound right and wrong to me.

I could expound them either in brief or at large, Vaccha, but will confine myself here to an exposition in brief. Hearken and pay attention, and I will speak. Then to the attentive Wanderer the Lord began :—

Greed is wrong ; freedom from greed is right. Hatred is wrong ; not to hate is right. Delusion is wrong ; to be free from delusion is right.—The one triad is wrong, the other right.

To take life is wrong ; to refrain from taking life is right. Theft is wrong ; to shun theft is right. Indulgence in pleasures of sense is wrong ; to refrain from such indulgence is right. Lying is wrong ; to refrain from lies is right. Slander [490] is wrong ; to refrain from slandering is right. Reviling is wrong ; not to revile is right. Idle chatter is wrong ; to refrain therefrom is right. To covet is wrong ; not to covet is right. To be malevolent is wrong ; not to be malevolent is right. Erroneous views are wrong ; sound views are right.—The one set of ten is right, the other set is wrong.

So soon as Craving is eliminated—grubbed up by the roots, leaving only the bare cleared site where once a palm-tree towered, a thing that once has been and now can be no more—then that Almsman becomes an Arahāt, in whom the Cankers are dead, who has greatly lived, whose task is done, who has shed his burthen, who has won his weal, whose bonds to



had an invader so invincible appeared on Persian soil. The exploits of Alexander in the East were rivalled, and in fact surpassed. The Tartar barbarians of the north were driven pell-mell beyond the Jaxartes. The 'minor dynasties' of Persia were crushed to death. From Isfahan to Bundelkhand and from Samarkand to Gujrat, the Ghaznavide subdued every opponent and struck down every rival. The conquered people were no cowards. They fought bravely and were as willing to die as their Ghaznavide opponents. It was Mahmud's scientific imagination that made the difference. Against the clumsy organisation of the Rajputs and their childish trust in mere numbers he brought into the field an army that had been trained to obey the commands of a single will. The thick-headed Tartars found to their cost that mere courage and a confidence in fate, was no match for the fierce onslaught of disciplined ranks. But strategy rather than tactics was Mahmud's strong point. From his throne at Ghaznin his "eagle-eye" surveyed everything in east and west. He knew where to strike and he always struck hard. The rapidity of his marches surprised and bewildered his opponents. The man who, in the course of a single winter, over-awed the Carmathians of Multan, defeated the Tartars at Balkh and yet found time enough to capture a rebellious governor on the banks of the Jhelum, could not fail to create a havoc among his stout-hearted but slow-moving contemporaries. And yet Mahmud, for all his daring, was the most cautious of men. He never attacked an enemy he was not strong enough to over-power. He never failed in what he undertook because he undertook nothing impossible. The Indian invasions, in which his military genius shows itself at its best, are a marvellous mixture of boldness with caution.

Administrative questions, on the other hand, never interested Mahmud, and while taking up the command of the army in person, he left the prosaic task of carrying on the government to his ministers. His civil officers had the efficiency he required; they were strict and heavy-handed and worked their machinery with the same discipline and order as their military colleagues. But they lacked the breadth of vision which would have enabled them to supplement the conquests of their master by a far-sighted statesmanship and construct a machinery of imperial administration on permanent and durable foundations. His *wazirs* were certainly clever and

thorough in their methods, but like all administrative experts they were devoid of idealism, and an empire without ideals is an edifice on quick-sands. For the first two years of his reign his father's *wazir*, Abul Abbas Fasih Ahmed bin Isfarieni, continued at his post. Abul Abbas was ignorant of Arabic and made Persian the official language—an innovation abolished by his famous successor. But if lacking in education, he had that extensive knowledge of affairs which was to be expected of one who had risen to be the second greatest man in the kingdom from the humble position of a clerk, and 'worked marvels in the administration of the state and the army.' The Sultan, however, quarrelled with him over the possession of a Turkish slave, and the fallen *wazir* was tortured to death by the nobles who wished to deprive him of all his wealth. Abul Abbas' successor, the great Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, left on his contemporaries an impression second only to that of Mahmud. A foster brother and class-mate of the Sultan, Khwaja Ahmad was distinguished throughout his life by an unimpeachable loyalty to the House of Ghaznin, which in no way interfered with the exacting obedience he demanded of his subordinates for himself. His father, Hasan Maimandi, collector of revenue at Bust, was hanged by Subuktigin on a charge of peculation, but the sad event had no effect on the son's career. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Sultan to embark on his conquering career without the organising capacity of his minister to support him. An excellent scholar, an intriguer of the highest order and a stern man of business, Ahmad directed the affairs of the Government for eighteen years with an efficiency none could deny. But a strong *wazir* and a strong Sultan were really incompatible; the Khwaja's soft tongue and effusive loyalty delayed, but could not finally prevent, the inevitable rupture. His extraordinary ascendancy was painful to many, and a strong party, headed by the Sultan's son-in-law, Amir Ali, and the great general, Altuntash, was formed against him. The Sultan made up his mind to prove that the Khwaja was not indispensable and imprisoned him in an Indian fort. As if to show that the office could be abolished, if necessary, Mahmud refrained from appointing a *wazir* for some time. His choice ultimately fell on Ahmad Husain bin Mikal, generally known as Hasnak. The new *wazir*, a close personal friend of the Sultan, was

life are no more, who by utter Knowledge has won Deliverance.

Apart from the reverend Gotama,—is there a single Almsman in his following who has entered on and dwells here and now in that Deliverance of heart and mind which is without Cankers because Cankers are eradicated, a Deliverance which of and by himself he has apprehended and realized?

Not a mere hundred of my followers, not two or three or four or five hundred, but many more than that have achieved this.

Apart from the reverend Gotama and the Almsmen,—is there a single Almswoman in his following who has achieved this?

Not a mere hundred of my women followers, not two or three or four or five hundred of them, but many more than that have achieved this.

Apart from the reverend Gotama and the Almsmen and the Almswomen,—is there a single white-robed layman of his following in the higher life who, by destruction of the Five Fetters that bind people to this world, has been translated to higher realms, never to revert thence to this world?

Not a mere hundred of my laymen, not two or three or four or five hundred of them, but many more than that have [491] achieved this.

Apart from the reverend Gotama and the Almsmen and the Almswomen and the laymen of the higher life,—is there a single layman who, though not denying himself pleasures of sense, conforms and practises what he is taught, without any doubtings or searchings of heart, and in absolute confidence and personal conviction lives by his Master's teaching?

Not a mere hundred such laymen, not two or three or four or five hundred of them, but many more than that have achieved this.

Apart from the reverend Gotama and the Almsmen and the Almswomen and the laymen whether of the higher life or of the world still, can you say as much of lay-women both in the higher life and in the world?



remarkable for his 'conversational powers,' and unfortunately also for 'the impetuosity of his temperament', which impelled him to take the wrong side on the succession question that arose towards the end of Mahmud's reign.

An extensive empire had been established over the ruins of many governments. What for? We are not told that Mahmud's administration was better than what had existed before, while the collection of revenue was certainly more strict. Everybody complained that the Sultan went on conquering without being able to establish peace and order in the conquered lands. The condition of the Punjab was chaotic and other provinces fared no better. Caravan routes were unsafe and the occasional efforts of the Government to provide for the safety of its merchants display its weakness rather than its strength. "He is a stupid fellow", a Muslim mystic is said to have remarked of him, "Unable to administer what he already possesses, he yet goes out to conquer new countries." A strong sense of justice Mahmud certainly had, and many stories and anecdotes are told about him, but he never went beyond deciding with acuteness and wisdom the few cases that came before him. No general effort was made to suppress the robber-chiefs whose castles prevented all inter-communication between the various parts of the empire. No imperial police system was organised to perform the work which smaller princes present on the spot had done before. The armed and organised populations of medieval cities and towns required but little help from the state to stand up against the forces of disorder, but even that little was not forthcoming. We have only to contrast the Ghaznavide Government with the Empires of the Seljuqs and the Sultan—Emperors of Delhi—to see the element Mahmud woefully lacked. No laws, good or bad, stand to his name. No administrative measure of importance emanated from his acute mind, which failed to see anything greater or nobler than an ever-expanding field of military glory. The peoples forcibly brought within the Empire—Indians, Afghans, Turks, Tartars and Persians—were joined together by no bond except their subordination to a common monarch! A wise, firm and beneficent administration would have reconciled them to the loss of their local liberties, but that is just what Mahmud failed to provide. The Sultan and his officers alone were interested in the continuation of the empire; and when nine years after Mahmud's death, the Seljuqs

knocked down the purposeless structure, no one cared to weep over its fate.

These observations will enable us to assign Mahmud his proper place in eastern history. He was essentially the pioneer of the 'new imperialism' brought into vogue by the Persian Renaissance. The era of the 'Universal Muslim Caliphate' had gone, never to return and the Successor of the Prophet was no more the administrative head of the Faithful. The 'minor dynasties' had proved themselves a pest by their unceasing intrigues and purposeless wars. The only possible alternative was a 'secular empire', or '*saltanat*' as Mahmud called it, which would unite the Muslim world together and give it the peace and strength it longed for. Islam had neither contemplated nor sanctioned the moral foundations of the new institution, which drew its inspiration from ancient Persia, and breathed its pagan spirit; and the *shariat*, in spite of its democratic outlook, was gradually twisted to suit the requirements of the time and ended by preaching submission to the monarch, who assumed, under the pretence of being the 'shadow of God' (*Zileullah*), the airs of the 'divine' Sassanian emperors. The result was both good and bad. The democratic feeling, which has persisted in the social life of the Mussalmans in spite of all opposing forces, was eliminated from politics, and political subservience, from being a postulate of necessity and prudence, was elevated to the dignity of a religious duty. "Obedience to Kings," says Abul Fazl, summing up the wisdom and the folly of six hundred years, "is a kind of divine worship." At the same time the monarchical idea and the secularisation of politics led to much that was undoubtedly beneficial. The peoples of Ajam were welded together by their loyalty to a common king in spite of their racial differences and sectarian strifes. Moreover it became possible for Muslims and non-Muslims to live together when religion was considered as a private affair of the king and the sphere of Government was restricted to the secular affairs of the subjects.

To Mahmud of Ghaznin belongs the credit of being the first Muslim Emperor, and to him more than to any one else the rise of 'monarchy' among the Mussalmans is due. It does not detract from his merit that he was followed by statesmen abler than himself and by dynasties more permanent than his own. The Seljuqs of Persia and the Emperor-Sultans of Delhi surpass-

Not a mere hundred lay-women, not two or three or four or five hundred of them, but many more than that have achieved these results.

Had the reverend Gotama alone achieved success in the Doctrine, without the Almsmen, [492] this higher life of his founding would have been incomplete by this constituent. Inasmuch, however, as not only he but the Almsmen too have succeeded, this constituent is not lacking. Had success come only to him and the Almsmen, without the Almswomen, the latter constituent would have been wanting,—as it is not. Had success come only to him and the Almsmen and the Almswomen, without laymen of the higher life—or laymen of the world still—or lay-women of the higher life—or lay-women of the world still—, in each case this higher life of his founding would have been incomplete by that particular constituent. [493] Inasmuch, however, as success has come to each and all of these classes, not a single one of these constituents of completeness is lacking.

Even as the river Ganges streams and flows to the ocean as its bourne and finds repose only in the ocean, so does Gotama's whole congregation, laity as well as Pilgrims, stream and flow to Nirvana as its bourne, finding repose only in Nirvana. Wonderful, Gotama; quite wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again what had been cast down, or reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes to see might see the things about them, even so in many a figure has the reverend Gotama made his Doctrine clear. To the reverend Gotama I come as my refuge, and to his Doctrine, and to his Confraternity. I ask to be admitted as a Pilgrim under him, with confirmation therein.

[494] Vaccha, a former adherent of another sect who desires admission to, and confirmation in, this Doctrine and Rule, has first to reside for four months, at the end of which period discreet Almsmen admit and confirm



ed him as administrators, and Chengiz and Timur in conquering might. A pioneer is bound to have his shortcomings. His Central Asiatic policy was devoid of statesmanship while his work in India was even more deplorable.

Though India took up much of Mahmud's time, she had no place in his dreams. His real aim was the establishment of a Turko-Persian Empire and the Indian expeditions were a means to that end. They gave him the prestige of a Holy Warrior, which was required to raise him head and shoulders above the basket-full of Ajami princes, every one of whom was determined to be great, while the wealth of the temples made the financial position of his kingdom secure and enabled him to organise an army which the minor princes were in no position to resist. Beyond this Mahmud, who knew the limitations of his power, did not try to go. No conquest was intended because no conquest was possible. A Muslim Government over the country was beyond the region of practical politics without a native Muslim population to support it. Mahmud was no missionary; conversion was not his object; and he had too much of good sense to waste away his army in a futile attempt to keep down a hostile population by armed garrisons. He took at a sweep-stake all that centuries of Indian industry had accumulated, and then left the Indians to rebuild, as well as they could, the ruined fortifications of their cities and fallen altars of their gods. He obtained the gold and the prestige he needed and he had aspired for nothing else. Except for a passing mood at Anhilwara he never thought of establishing his power over the country. Annexation was not his object. The addition of the Punjab to his kingdom so late as 1021-22 proves, rather than disproves, his non-territorial ambitions. He had at first expected his alliance with Anandpal to enable him to penetrate to the trans-Gangetic plain. That alliance failed owing to the latter's death and Mahmud felt the necessity of having his footing somewhere in the country. Even then he seems to have looked on Lahore and Multan simply as robbers' perches, from where he could plunge into Hindustan and Gujrat at will. His western campaigns, on the other hand, give evidence of a different policy. They always led to annexations, and very often Mahmud personally supervised the establishment of his Government over the conquered territory.

The Indian campaigns are one of the finest

achievements of military genius. Mahmud was venturing into an unknown country of large rivers, thick forests and a bitterly hostile people of whose language and customs he was ignorant. To another man it would have been a leap in the dark but Mahmud, unwilling to take any risk, proceeded warily, advancing from point to point, with a mixture of boldness and caution which is as admirable as the fearless and dashing courage of his subordinates. A false step would have meant disaster; the loss of a single battle would have left his disorganised forces at the mercy of the population. At first he never ventured more than ten or twelve marches from his base and his acquisition of Bhara enabled him to strike safely at the enemy. But caution brought success, success brought prestige, and Mahmud, finding that his mere name had grown powerful enough to overawe his enemies, plunged thrice into the trans-Gangetic plain and a fourth time into Gujrat. The campaigns look like triumphal marches but were really full of danger. Even an indecisive battle would have revived the spirit of the much harassed Indians and brought unexpected forces into the field. Mahmud trembled when in 1019-20, after an uncontested march of three months from his capital, he at last came across the Rai of Kalinjar, who could show a good fight; yet the flight of the Rai at night shows the terror the Sultan inspired. Still if Mahmud was to possess himself of the treasures of the temple, the risk had to be undertaken; for a piecemeal annexation of the country was beyond his strength. The issue showed that he had not miscalculated any important factor of the situation.

The Sultan's great advantage over his Indian Organised anarchy of opponents was the unitary the Rajputs. organisation of his state. The resources of Ghaznin were at the disposal of a single mind; the strength of Hindustan was divided among a multitude of factious *Rais*, sub-*Rais*, local chiefs and village-headmen, between whom anything like sensible co-operation was impossible. The feudal organisation of the Rajputs, with its divided allegiance, clannish spirit and love of local independence, left them helpless before an enemy to whom feudalism and clannish feeling was alike unknown. The Ghaznavides knew and obeyed their master; the Rajputs had no master to obey. The power of the Rai of Lahore was defied by the *Rais* subordinate to him, who refused to be relegated to the position of mere governors; and

him as a member of the Confraternity. This is the qualification I have recognized.

If this is so, sir, I will reside for the probationary four months accordingly with a view to membership of the Confraternity.

In due course, the Wanderer Vaccha-gotta was admitted and confirmed of the Lord's following.

Soon after his confirmation, indeed within a fortnight's time, the reverend Vaccha-gotta came to the Lord and after salutations took his seat to one side, saying—I have attained all that is to be attained by a non-Arahat's understanding and a non-Arahat's knowledge. I ask the Lord to expound the Doctrine to me further.

Then, Vaccha, develop further two frames of mind, calm and insight, the development of which will help you to fathom various elements of sense-consciousness.

To the full of your desire to have at command the divers types of psychic power—from being one to become manifold, from being manifold to become one, to pass at will through wall or fence or hill as if it were air, to pass in and out of the solid earth as if it were water, to walk on the water's unbroken surface as if it were the solid earth, to glide, as you sit serene, through the air, like a winged bird, to touch and to handle the sun and moon in their power and might, and to extend the sway of your body right up to the heavens of Brahmā—each and all of these manifestations of psychic power shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

To the full of your desire to hear, with the Ear Celestial, [495] which is pure and far surpasses the human ear, twofold sounds—both the celestial and the human; sounds both far and near,—all this shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

To the full of your desire, that your heart should read the hearts of others,—knowing the heart where passion dwells as passionate, and the passionless heart as passionless, the unkind heart as unkind, and the kind heart as kind, the deluded heart as deluded, and



instead of meeting the enemy as the loyal generals of the chief whom his position and pre-eminence alike seemed to mark off for a national hero, they preferred to be defeated by the Ghaznavide one by one. An internal revolution, which would place the defensive power of the country in the hands of a central power, was absolutely necessary if the newly-aisen enemy was to be resisted with success. But the hand of the reformer was numbered by the time-honoured customs of ages; and the tribal feuds of the Rajputs, their complicated system of military tenure and local rights, prevented them from mustering in full force on the field of battle. The result was defeat, disgrace, disaster. Temple after temple was plundered; the centres of Indian civilisation were ruined; and neither the wisdom of the Brahman, nor the heroism of the Rajput, nor the pious adoration of silent millions could prevent their idols of gold and silver from being melted into Ghaznavide coin. The Indians did not lack fighting spirit, and they had a country and a religion fully worthy of their devotion. The carnage round the Somnath temple, the courage with which the garrison of many an unknown fort died to the last man before the unwavering Ghaznavide ranks, showed what better leadership might have achieved,—proved, if proof was needed, that even in the hour of deepest gloom the Indians had not forgotten how to die. But their social and political customs paralysed them; for with us, unfortunately, custom is not an accident but the essence of faith.

The great Sultan did not fail to take advantage of this 'organised anarchy' once he had discovered its real nature. His first steps were tentative, but the spectacle of an army, innumerable as ants and locusts, flying away from Waihind (1008) before even the battle had become warm, convinced him that the Indian confederacy was a soul-less ghost before which he had needlessly trembled. With ceaseless care he and his father had forged a terrible machine which could be now used to good purpose. The Ghaznavide army was composed of heterogenous material, but strict discipline, years of comradeship in arms, the memory of past victories and hope of future spoliation and plunder, had welded Indians, Afghans, Turks and Persians together. Training had created confidence and confidence led to success. Above all the subordination of everything to the penetrative intellect and commanding will of the Sultan gave

it an irresistible momentum against its faction-ridden opponents. Mahmud flashed like a lightning across the path of the bewildered *Rais*, thrust himself between them before they could unite, drove them away from one another and defeated them in detail. There was no resisting his might. '*Vini, vidi, vici.*' A dark fear began to oppress the Indian mind. It was imagined that the Mussalmans would be always victorious, that a new race of Huns would hold the sacred soil of Aryavarta in perpetual terrorism. Nothing could be farther from truth. The Ghaznavide had not come to stay.

The non-religious character of the expeditions will be obvious to the Economic motives of the invasions. critic who has grasped the salient features of the spirit of the age. They were not crusades but secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold. It is impossible to read a religious motive into them. The Ghaznavide army was not a host of holy warriors resolved to live and die for the faith; it was an enlisted and paid army of trained veterans accustomed to fight Hindus and Mussalmans alike. Only in two of the later campaigns were any volunteers present; and insignificant as was their proportion to the regular troops, Mahmud found them unfit for the rapid and disciplined movements he desired. The Sultan was too little of a democratic hero to have marshalled the forces of a triumphant fanaticism and he never essayed the task. (39) The missionary spirit, that might have wept over the fate of so many souls 'lost to paradise' or seen in India a fertile soil for implanting the Prophet's Faith, was denied to him. His object was lower and more realisable. Content to deprive the 'unbelievers' of their worldly goods he never forced them to change their faith and left India the non-Muslim land he found it.

For time out of mind the exports of India had been in excess of her imports and precious metals had been slowly drawn into the country. Mines were also being worked in various provinces. The natural consequence was an ever accumulating mass of gold and silver, which won for India a reputation for fabulous riches, and by the time of Mahmud had become a serious national danger.

(39) It is a significant fact that Mahmud seldom, if ever, shared the hard life of his soldiers. Such a thing would have been below the dignity of the new monarchy.

the undeluded heart as undeluded, the focussed heart as focussed, and the unfocussed heart as unfocussed, the great heart as great, and the little heart as little, the inferior heart as inferior, and the superior heart as superior, the stedfast heart as stedfast, and the unstedfast heart as unstedfast, the heart Delivered as Delivered, and the heart undelivered as undelivered—all this shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

To the full of your desire to recall your divers existences in the past—a single birth, then two . . . right up to your rebirth here,—all this shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

[496] To the full of your desire to see, with the Eye Celestial which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, creatures in act to pass hence, in act to reappear elsewhere, creatures either lowly or debonair . . . in states of bliss and in heaven,—all this shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

To the full of your desire—here and now, and of and by yourself—to know, realize, enter on, and abide in Deliverance of heart and mind which is without Cankers because Cankers have been eradicated,—all this shall be yours to experience as your mind shall dictate.

Thereupon the venerable Vaccha-gotta, glad and grateful to the Lord for his words, arose and with salutations and deep reverence withdrew. Nor was it long before he, dwelling alone and aloof, strenuous, ardent and purged of self, won the prize in quest of which young men go forth from home to homelessness as Pilgrims, that prize of prizes which crowns the highest life;—even this did he think out and realize of and by himself, entering on it and dwelling therein here and now; and to him came the knowledge clear that for him rebirth was no more; that he had lived the highest life; that his task was done; and that now for him there was no more of what he had been. The reverend Vaccha-gotta was numbered among the Arahats.

At that time a large number of Almsmen were on



Add to it, generations of pious Hindus had gradually transferred the wealth of the country to the temples, which, unlike the peasants' purse and the *Rai's* treasury, never lost what they had once gained. It was impossible that the Indian temples, like the Catholic Church in Europe, should not sooner or later tempt some one strong and unscrupulous enough for the impious deed. Nor was it to be expected that a man of Mahmud's character would allow the tolerance Islam inculcates to restrain him from taking possession of the gold, to which his heart turned as a magnet turns towards iron, when the Indians themselves had simplified his work by concentrating the wealth of their country at a few selected places. Plundering an enemy's place of worship was regarded by contemporaries as a legitimate act of war—the unavoidable consequence of a defeat. His Hindu opponents were infuriated, but not surprised, at what he did, they knew his motives were economic, not religious, and provided a sufficient indemnity was offered, he was not unwilling to spare their idols. He took away the gold they would have loved to retain but never compelled them to join a creed in which they did not believe. His Indian soldiers were free to blow their *Sankh* and bow before their idols in Imperial Ghaznin. He accepted the principle of toleration in the restricted form in which his age understood it; and it would be futile to blame him for not rising to the moral height of the generations that followed and the generations that had gone before.

No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience; and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the *Shariat* justified the uncalled for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an *inspiring motive*, could be utilised as an *a posteriori*

*justification* of what had been done. It was not difficult to identify the spoliation of non-Muslim populations as a service to Islam, and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of the Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of the Second Caliph was cast aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons may be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience.

It is a situation to make one pause. With a new faith everything depends on its method of presentation. It will be welcomed if it appears as a message of hope, and hated if it wears the mask of a brutal terrorism. Islam as a world-force is to be judged by the life of the Prophet and the policy of the Second Caliph. Its early successes were really due to its character as a revolutionary force against religions that had lost their hold on the minds of the people and against social and political systems that were grinding down the lower classes. Under such circumstances the victory of Islam was considered by the conquered population as something intrinsically desirable; it ended the regime of an aristocratic priesthood and a decrepit monarchy, while the doctrine of equality, first preached in the eastern world, opened a career to the talent of the depressed masses and resulted in a wholesale conversion of the populations of Arabia, Syria, Persia and Iraq. Now Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike the Zoroastrianism of Persia and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep seated internal disease and, a peculiarity of the national character of the Hindus, 'deeply seated in them and manifest to everybody,' was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs. "They believe", says Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. According to their belief, there is no country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholars in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you both an ignoramus and a liar." People with this insularity of outlook were not likely to lend their ears to a new message. But the policy of

their way to visit the Lord. Seeing them some way off, Vaccha-gotta went up to them, [497] and, on learning their intention to visit the Lord, asked them to bow down at the Lord's feet on his behalf and in his name to say :—The Lord *has been served* ; the Blessed One *has been served*. Accordingly those Almsmen conveyed his message faithfully to the Lord, who remarked that already his own heart had read Vaccha-gotta's heart and that this Almsman had won the threefold lore and had come to great powers and might. Also, deities (he added) had brought him the same tidings.

Thus spoke the Lord. Glad at heart, those Almsmen rejoiced in what the Lord had said.



Mahmud secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing.

A religion is naturally judged by the character of those who believe in it; their faults and their virtues are supposed to be the effect of their creed. It was inevitable that the Hindus should consider Islam a deviation from truth when its followers deviated so deplorably from the path of rectitude and justice. A people is not conciliated by being robbed of all it holds most dear, nor will it love a faith that comes to it in the guise of plundering armies and leaves devastated fields and ruined cities as monuments of its victorious method for reforming the morals of a prosperous but erratic world. "They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured—and went away" was a Persian's description of the Mongol invasion of his country; it would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievement in Hindustan. It was not thus that the Prophet had preached Islam in Arabia; and no one need be surprised that the career of the conquering Ghaznavide created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind and blocked its progress more effectually than armies and forts. "Mahmud," says the observant Alberuni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate hatred of all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receive more and more nourishment both from political and religious and other causes."

"The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often buried with their bones!" Mahmud's work, whatever it might have been, was swept off fifteen years after his death by the Hindu Revival. "Those who had taken up the sword perished by the sword". East of Lahore no trace of the Mussalmans remained; and Mahmud's victories while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith. Two centuries later men, who differed from Mahmud as widely as two human beings can possibly differ, once more brought Islam into the land. But times had

changed. The arrogance of the Mussalmans had disappeared with the conquest of Ajam by the Mongolian hordes. The spirit of the Persian Renaissance had blossomed and died, and the new mysticism, with its cosmopolitan tendencies and with doctrines which did not essentially differ from what the Hindu *rishis* had taught in ancient days, made possible that exchange of ideas between men of the two creeds which Alberuni had longed for in vain. Instead of the veterans who had crossed the frontier in search of their winter spoils there came a host of refugees from the burning villages of Central Asia longing for a spot where they could lay their heads in peace and casting aside all hopes of returning to the land of their birth. The serpent had reappeared but without his poisonous fangs. The intellectual history of medieval India begins with the advent of Shaikh Moinuddin of Ajmere and its political history with the accession of Sultan Alauddin Khilji; the two features which distinguish it from preceding generations are the mystic propaganda started by the Chishti Saint and the administrative and economic measures inaugurated by the revolutionary Emperor. With the proper history of our country Mahmud has nothing to do. But we have inherited from him the most bitter drop in our cup. To later generation Mahmud became the Arch-fanatic he never was; and in that 'incarnation' he is still worshipped by such Indian Mussalmans as have cast off the teaching of Lord Krishna in their devotion to minor gods. Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers.

#### IV: Fall of the Ghaznavide Empire.

Sultan Mahmud's two eldest sons, Masud and Mohammad, were born on

The question of the same day and it was succession.

difficult to decide the question of precedence between them. But Mohammad, a virtuous and educated prince who composed verses in Arabic, had neither the energy nor the strength necessary for wielding a sceptre, and the eyes of all men were naturally turned towards his brother, who had the physique and personality of a Rustum. No one could lift Masud's mace with one hand from the ground and his arrow pierced through a plate of steel. But the Sultan, somewhat envious of the feats totally beyond his own strength, made a will in favour of Mohammad and obtained a *firman* con-

## LXXIV. DĪGHANAKHA-SUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

### CONSISTENCY IN OUTLOOK.

THUS have I heard. Once when the Lord was staying in Boar's Cave on Vulture Peak at Rājagaha, the Wanderer Dīgha-nakha came to him and after salutations took his stand to one side, saying :—All<sup>2</sup> fails to satisfy me ; that is what I say, and that is the view I hold.

When you say, Aggivessana, that all fails to satisfy you, does your own view as just expressed also fail to satisfy you ?

If it did satisfy me, then all else would follow suit.

[498] In one class, there are very many people in the world who, admitting that all else should follow suit, yet refuse to discard their old view while adopting another. In another class, there are very few who, admitting that all else should follow suit, discard their old view and do not tack on another.

There are some recluses and brahmins, Aggivessana, who affirm and hold that all satisfies them, while others take the contrary view, and others again partly take the former and partly the latter view.

Those who are satisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passion, to bondage, to pleasure, to attachments and to all that sustains continuing existence.

Those who are dissatisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passionlessness and freedom, aloof from pleasure and attachments, and with nothing to keep existence continuing.

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<sup>1</sup> This Sutta is referred to as *Vedanā-pariggaha-suttanta* at p. 96 of the first volume of the Commentary on the *Dhammapada* (P. T. S. 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Bu. explains *sabbam* (all, everything) as meaning re-birth and transmigration, in the mouth of Dīghanakha, who, subsequently perceiving that Gotama is using the word in its literal sense, tries to safeguard his original contention.



firming it from the Caliph. The *wazir*, Hasnak, also worked for Mohammad and a brittle alliance of the nobles was formed in his favour. Masud refused to submit. 'The Sword is a truer authority than any writing,' he stoutly declared; and the Sultan, to whom his son's answer was conveyed, felt it to be painfully true.

The conquests in Eastern Persia during the last years of Mahmud's reign had been mostly due to Masud, and when returning from Ray to Balkh in 1029, the Sultan had left him in charge of Khorasan and the newly conquered territories. It was, consequently, easier for Mohammad's supporters to obtain control of the capital on his father's death. They summoned him from Gorkan and placed him on the throne. The new Sultan distributed large sums to make himself popular. His subjects and soldiers thanked him for the kindness but refused to take him seriously. Every one expected Masud would come and overthrow the ricketty Government. Less than two months after his accession the famous Abun Najm Ahmad Ayaz, Ali Dayah and a body of slaves took horses from the royal stables in broad daylight and started for Bust. They were overtaken by Soyand Rai, the commander of the Hindus, and in the battle that followed most of the slaves were slain. But Soyand Rai himself was killed, and Ayaz and Ali Dayah succeeded in reaching Masud's camp at Naishapur.

Masud had offered to remain content with Khorasan and Iraq provided his name was given precedence in the *Khutba*, but on receiving a harsh reply from his brother he decided to march on Ghaznin. Mohammad on his side advanced from the capital to Takinabad, where he passed the month of Ramazan. But his strongest supporters, Yusuf bin Subaktigin, a brother of the late Sultan, Amir Ali Kheshawand and the *Wazir* Hasnak, decided to make a belated attempt to please Masud by a betrayal of their own candidate. Two days after Eid, on the night of October 3, they dragged him out of his tent and sent him to a fort of Kandhar, and advanced to welcome his brother at Herat. Masud, however, refused to overlook the fault of those who had conspired against him for years. Mohammad was blinded by his brother's order. Amir Ali Kheshawand was put to death and Yusuf bin Subuktigin was thrown into prison where he died.

Hasnak was reserved for the disgrace of a public execution at Balkh.

#### Fall of Hasnak.

Masud recalled his father's famous *wazir*, Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, from his Indian prison and entrusted him with the office he had held for eighteen years with such dignity and power. The fate of the fallen *Wazir*, so graphically described by Baihaki, won the sympathy of all hearts. After weeks of hard and degrading imprisonment Hasnak was summoned to the *diwan* where the great Khwaja behaved with extraordinary politeness. He was asked to sign a bond giving up all his property to the Sultan and the two *wazirs* parted with a touching forgiveness and affection. "In the time of Sultan Mahmud," Hasnak apologized, "and by his orders, I ridiculed the Khwaja; it was a fault but I had no help but to obey. The post of *wazir* was given to me, though it was no place for me. Still I formed no design against the Khwaja and I always favoured his people. I am weary of life but some care ought to be taken of my children and my family and the Khwaja must forgive me". He burst into tears and the Khwaja's eyes were filled with tears also. "You are forgiven," he replied, "but you must not be so dejected for happiness is still possible. I have considered and accept it of the Almighty—I will take care of your family if you are doomed". But the Sultan had made up his mind and the intrigues of Ba Sahl Zauzni, the minister of war, left the issue in no doubt. While passing through Syria on his return journey from Mecca during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, Hasnak had received a robe of honour from the anti-Caliph of Egypt, and this had laid him open to the charge of being a Carmathian. The Caliph of Bagdad had protested but Mahmud, who knew Hasnak's rationalistic beliefs, would not allow him to be punished for an imputation so baseless.

"Write to this doting old Caliph", Mahmud had ordered his secretary, "that for the sake of the Abbasides I have meddled with all the world. I am hunting for Carmathians, and whenever one is found who is proved to be so, he is impaled. If it was proved that Hasnak is a Carmathian, the Commander of the Faithful would soon learn what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he stands on an equality with my sons and my brothers. If he is a Carmathian, so am I also." The old charge was now revived. Two men

Here Dīghanakha intervened to say:—The reverend Gotama is complimentary, most complimentary to the view I hold !

Lastly, the Lord went on to say, those who are partly satisfied and partly dissatisfied, hold a view which, so far as it is one of satisfaction, is allied to passion and so forth, while, so far as it is one of dissatisfaction, is allied to passionlessness and so forth.

In these circumstances an intelligent person would say that, if he whole-heartedly stuck to and disseminated the satisfied view as wholly and exclusively true, he would be at issue with both the other camps, which would lead to disputes, and so to vexation and so to trouble. Consequently, he discards this view and takes up with no other. And the same happens to an intelligent person with regard to both the dissatisfied and the partly-satisfied views, so that in all three cases alike there is a discarding and a renouncing of these views by the intelligent.

[500] This body—which has visible shape, which is made up of the four primary elements, starts from parents, is sustained by victuals, is transitory and subject to attrition, abrasion, dissolution and dispersal —, this body is to be regarded as transitory, as ill, as a disease, as a pustulence, as a pang, as anguish, as a malady, as alien, as a flux, as void, as non-self ; and he who so regards the body, loses thereby all liking and affection for a body, all subordination to a body.

There are the following three classes of feelings,—pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral. While a man is experiencing a pleasant feeling, he does not concomitantly experience the unpleasant or the neutral, but the pleasant alone. Similarly, an unpleasant or a neutral feeling is not concomitant with either of the two other classes. All three classes alike have this in common that they are transitory, that they are products and effects, that they are perishable and evanescent, and that they can be purged of passion and stilled. When he sees this clearly, a well-informed disciple of the Noble, grows weary of all feelings—pleasant,

unpleasant and neutral—and, being aweary, purges himself of passion and by passionlessness finds Deliverance, so that, being Delivered, he comes to realize his Deliverance in the conviction that—Rebirth is no more; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now for me there is no more of what I have been. An Almsman whose heart is Delivered thus, neither concurs nor disputes with anyone; he employs the current phraseology of the world without accepting its ideas.

At this point there came to the reverend Sāriputta, who was [501] standing behind the Lord fanning him, the thought:—These then are the several states of consciousness which the Lord has bidden us realize and discard, which the Blessed One has bidden us renounce. And even as Sāriputta so reflected, his heart was Delivered from Cankers by leaving nothing to sustain them in being.

In the Wanderer Dighanakha, on the other hand, there arose the pure and stainless Eye of Truth, whereby he saw that in whatsoever has a beginning, cessation is also inherent. Seeing and grasping the Doctrine, comprehending and fathoming it, Dighanakha—with doubts all gone, freed from all questionings of heart, strong now in confidence, personally and independently assured of the Master's gospel—said to the Lord:—Wonderful, Gotama; quite wonderful! Just as a man might set upright again . . . (etc. as at end of Sutta No. 72) . . . as a disciple from this day forth while life lasts.

## LXXV. MĀGANDIYA-SUTTA.

### OF KEEPING WATCH AND WARD.

THUS have I heard. Once the Lord was staying in the Kuru country—Kammāssadhamma is the name of a township of theirs—in the fire-hut of the brahmin Bhāradvāja-gotta, in which a grass mat was laid. In



were dressed up as messengers from the Caliph demanding Hasnak's death as a Carmathian, and Masud, with pretended reluctance, acceded to the Caliph's demand. But everybody knew the truth. "If Masud mounts the throne, let me be hanged," Hasnak had declared in the days of his arrogant power; and Masud having succeeded, Hasnak had to mount 'the steed he had never ridden before'.

At the foot of the scaffold Hasnak threw off his coat and shirt. 'His body was white as silver and his face like hundreds of thousands of pictures.' All men were crying with grief. He replied neither to the insults of his enemies nor to the questions asked, but his lips were seen moving in some silent prayer. He was made to wear a helmet and vizor lest his head, which was to be sent to the Caliph, should be battered beyond recognition by the stones the public was expected to throw. But the public, barring a few vagabonds hired by the government, threw no stones. A great uproar would have arisen if the royal horsemen had not prevented it. His fellow-citizens, the Naishapurians, wept bitterly when the hangman cast a rope round his neck and suffocated him. For seven years Hasnak hung from the gibbet. His corpse dried up; the bones of his feet dropped off, and 'not a remnant of him was left to be taken down and buried in the usual way—no one knew where his head was or where his body.' A last touch to the tragedy was given by Hasnak's mother who refused to weep as women weep; but a deep cry of anguish burst from her lips when she was told of his death. "What a fortune was my son's!" She exclaimed, "A king like Mahmud gave him this world, and one like Masud the next."

Masud now seemed as secure as his father had ever been. He had a commanding personality and a strong and unbending resolution. He was surrounded by a body of efficient and loyal officers who had served his father for years. He had no rival to fear. The Government appeared strong in the extent of its territory, its armies, its revenue and its mass of hoarded wealth. Nevertheless a careful observer would have found the forces of decay everywhere at work. It was not easy to wield Mahmud's sceptre. Masud was unheeding and self-confidence gave way to a senseless panic in advice of his wisest counsellors. His superb

self-confidence gave way to a senseless panic in the hour of danger and showed him to be totally lacking in that calmness of nerve which comes through the strength of the intellect rather than power of muscle and bone. He struck thoughtlessly and in the wrong quarter with a total incapacity to distinguish the most dangerous of his enemies from the most contemptible of his foes. The firmness with which he wielded his axe and his spear in the field of battle shone in tragic contrast with the folly with which he directed his campaigns and destroyed the morale of his troops before the enemy could fall upon them. Equally lacking in the gifts of a statesman and a general, Masud would have done well to rely on the judgment of a wiser man. Khwaja Hasan Maimandi restored to more than his former glory directed the government with efficiency so far as civil affairs were concerned but the Khwaja never meddled in military matters, and his death in 1030 left Masud free to mismanage things to his heart's content; and within ten years of his father's death he had lost his army and his empire and was flying a helpless fugitive to an inhospitable land.

The two dangers Masud had to fear were the Rais of Hindustan in the east and the Seljuqs in the west. The former, terrorised rather than subdued by Mahmud, were sure to wake up when the invincible conqueror was no more. But they were a lethargic people and would in any case remain on the defensive. Masud's obvious plan should have been to crush the Seljuqs before it was too late and leave the Rais for a more favourable season. But while the Seljuq peril was growing apace, he preferred to divert his strength towards Hindustan in a useless emulation of his father's achievements, who, with a wisdom and a generalship denied to his son, had struck simultaneously in east and west. We will first describe the comparatively prosaic events of the Punjab.

The peculiar position of the Indian province had induced Mahmud to take the extraordinary step of separating its civil and military authorities. All administrative affairs were placed in the hands of Abul Hasan Ali, known as Qazi Shirazi, a man of commonplace capacity whom the Sultan in one of his humours had thought of pitting against the august dignity of the great Khwaja, while Ali Ariyaruk, a Turkish general of remarkable dash

Masud and his difficulties.

Administration of the Punjab.



the morning early, duly robed and bowl in hand, the Lord went into the township for alms and was on his way back after his meal when he came to a wood into which he went to spend the noontide, seating himself under a tree for the heat of the day.

[502] Now the Wanderer Māgandiya, in the course of his roamings and peregrinations afoot, came to this fire-hut and, seeing the grass mat laid, asked the brahmin whom it was for, observing that it suggested the pallet of a recluse.

It has been laid, Māgandiya, for the recluse Gotama, the Sakyan, who has gone forth from a Sakyan home on Pilgrimage. Such is the high repute noised abroad concerning him that he is styled the Lord, Arahāt all-enlightened, walking by knowledge, blessed, understanding all worlds, the matchless tamer of the human heart, teacher of gods and men, the Lord of Enlightenment.

It is an annoyance to set eyes on the pallet of Gotama, that rigid repressionist.<sup>1</sup>

Take care what you say, Māgandiya; take care what you say; for, many are the sages among Nobles, brahmins, householders and recluses who are earnest believers in him and trained in Noble knowledge, in the Doctrine, and in what is right.

If I could see him face to face, I would tell him to his face, Bhāradvāja, that he is a repressionist,—because our Scriptures say so.

If you do not mind my doing so, I will tell this to the recluse Gotama.

Pray do not scruple to tell him what you have been told.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bhūṇa hu* (an archaic word purposely put into the mouth of this paribbājaka, as *huveyya* was put into the mouth of Upaka the ājivaka at I., p. 171, vide supra, p. 121), is here interpreted by Bu. as *hata-vaddhin* and *maṇiyāda-kāraka*, i.e. "repressing growth and regulation-making." He explains that, whereas the Buddha prescribed watch and ward over the senses, this Wanderer believed in giving them full scope, advocating not 'a cloistered virtue' but complete experience ('tout savoir') as a stage to ultimate mastery.

and courage, was appointed Commander-in-chief. The Qazi and the general were independent of each other and in direct subordination to Ghaznin. To keep them both in check Bul Kasim bul Hakam was appointed superintendent of the news-carriers and his duty was to report everything important to Ghaznin. This division of power was intended to keep the province in check by preventing the concentration of authority in a single hand, while by the appointment of a commander, whose sole business was to wage war against the Thakurs (Rais) Mahmud sought to make the plunder of Hindustan a permanent affair. The plan miscarried. Ariyaruk bore down all opposition and made himself supreme; the Qazi in retaliation dressed himself in military clothes but was relegated to a secondary position. The soft words of the Khwaja, however, succeeded in alluring Ariyaruk to Balkh where he was arrested and thrown into prison (March 1031).

The instructions of the Khwaja to the new Ahmad Nialtigin. Commander-in-chief, Ahmad

Nialtigin, could leave him in no doubt that cordial co-operation between him and the Qazi would be looked upon with suspicion at Ghaznin. "This self-sufficient fellow of Shiraz wishes the generals to be under his command. You must not say anything to any person respecting revenue or political matters, but you must perform all the duties of a commander, so that the fellow may not be able to put his hand on your sinews and drag you down." On Nialtigin's arrival at Lahore the strife between the civil and military authorities recommenced. The Qazi complained of the semi-regal state which Nialtigin was keeping up, of his Turkoman slaves and his possible designs. But the Khwaja supported Nialtigin, and the general in high spirits led a campaign into Hindustan. Marching with the

Benares.

rapidity he had learnt from his master, he crossed the Jumna and the Ganges and appeared unexpectedly before Benares. It would have been dangerous to remain long in the city, but he succeeded in holding it from morning to mid-day during which short interval the markets of drapers, jewellers and perfumers were plundered, 'though it was impossible to do more.' The Qazi found his opportunity. He sent confidential reports to Ghaznin of the immense wealth Nialtigin had obtained and withheld from the Sultan. "What his intentions are

nobody knows but he calls himself a son of Mahmud." Fear or ambition actually incited Nialtigin to treason, and on returning to Lahore he besieged the Qazi in the fort of Mandkakar. It was a bid for independence. The Sultan consulted his high officers but none of them was inclined to lead a campaign to India in the heat and the rain (July 1033). "When one runs away from Ahmad Nialtigin there cannot be much honour left," the minister of war remarked, "but the general sent against him will have enough to do for there is a strong force at Lahore." Ashamed of the pusillanimity of his colleagues a Hindu general stepped forward and offered his services. They were gratefully accepted by the Sultan.

The career of Tilak, the Hindu, shows the rapidity with which Hindus and Mussalmans were both forgetting their religious differences in the service of a common king and the superbly oriental feeling of loyalty to the salt. Though the son of a barber, he was of handsome appearance, had studied 'dissimulation, amours and witchcraft' in Kashmir and wrote excellent Hindi and Persian. He had first entered the service of Qazi Shirazi but left it for the better prospects offered by the Khwaja, to whom he acted as a secretary and interpreter and was entrusted with the most delicate affairs. Even the Khwaja's fall did him no harm, for Mahmud wanted clever and energetic young men and Tilak's fortune kept on improving. Soyand Rai, the general of the Indian troops, took the wrong side on the succession question, and when he was slain in the skirmish against Ayaz, Masud appointed Tilak to the vacant post. Thus he obtained the name of a man. "Kettle-drums were beaten in his quarters according to the custom of Hindu chiefs and banners with gilded tops were granted." He had an army under his command, the tent and umbrella of a Ghaznavide general, and sat in the charmed circle of the Sultan's confidential officers. "Wise men do not wonder at such facts," says the reflective Baihaki, "because nobody is born great—men become such." This Tilak had excellent qualities and all the time he lived he sustained no injury on account of being the son of a barber.

Tilak drew up the plan of his campaign, and as soon as it was sanctioned by the Sultan, hastened against the rebel. Nialtigin was unable to hold Lahore and fled towards the



desert and Tilak followed close on his heels with an army consisting mostly of Hindus. He set a price of 500,000 *dirhams* on Nialtigin's head, cut off the right of his Mussalman supporters whenever they fell into his clutches and promised a pardon to all who would desert him. The policy had the result desired. Nialtigin was defeated in battle and his Turkoman soldiers came over to Tilak in a body. 'The span of Ahmad's life was narrowed, his men deserted and at last matters reached so far that the Jats and every kind of infidel joined in the pursuit.' He was ultimately slain by the Jats while attempting to cross the Indus. Masud abolished the plan of two independent jurisdictions in the Punjab and assigned the government to his son, Prince Majdud, with supreme command of civil as well as military affairs. Nevertheless the province remained in a state of turmoil and disorder. Ghaznavide garrisons held the towns: Hinduism and freedom reigned supreme on the country side. Nothing else was possible when the government was so incompatible with the spirit of the people.

In the winter of 1037 Masud decided on an expedition against Hansi. The Hansi Expedition, 1037.

The condition of the Punjab was no doubt unsatisfactory but the capture of another Hindu fort could not make the government stable. The Seljuqs were becoming more powerful every day and the Khwaja advised him to postpone the Indian venture till he had subdued his western enemies. "If my lord should not go to Khorasan, if the Turkomans should conquer a province, or if they should conquer even a village, and do that which they are accustomed to do, namely, mutilate, slaughter and burn, ten 'holy wars' at Hansi would not compensate." But Masud was deaf to all advice. He said he had made a vow and must fulfil it. He marched by way of Kabul to the bank of the Jhelum where an illness, owing to which he gave up drinking for a time, prevented him from moving further for a fortnight. Another march of three weeks brought him to the virgin fort of Hansi. The garrison made a desperate defence and relaxed no effort, but the fort was stormed after a siege of ten days and its treasure divided among the army. Masud next marched against Sonpat, but its Rai, Dipal Hari, fled away and his city was annexed to the Punjab. Another chief, named Ram, sent treasures to the invader but apologised that he

could not come in person owing to old age and weakness.

On returning to Ghaznin the Sultan discovered that during his absence the Seljuqs had plundered Taligan and Fariyab and were besieging Ray. He felt ashamed of his Indian expedition and promised to advance against them in the coming summer. The Ghaznin-Seljuq contest was rapidly drawing to a head.

"The rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkomans," says Gibbon, "continued to

rise of the Seljuqs. dwell in the tents of their ancestors, while the Turks of the court and the city were refined by business and softened by pleasure." No love existed between the two sections of the race. The civilised Turkish population of the great cities of Turkestan and the Turkish peasants, who had learnt the value of agriculture, found the ways of their untamed brethren intolerable. For two centuries the chiefs of Mawaraun Nahr had acted as the frontier outposts against the barbaric Tartars. But the rise of the Ghaznavide empire had greatly weakened their strength and it was impossible for them to discharge their former function with efficiency. The remnant of the Seljuq tribes left in Mawaraun Nahr was intensely hated by the neighbouring chiefs, whose territories they constantly raided. The sons of Ali Tigin, who had re-established the power of their family over Samarkand and Bokhara, refused to tolerate them, and the ruler of Jund, named Shah, for whom they had an innate enmity, made a sudden raid on their wandering camp, and with a double portion of their vindictive animosity slew eight thousand of their males at a single stroke while seven hundred men, who escaped his wrath, fled to other side of the Oxus. But in 1031 Yusuf Qadr Khan of Kashghar died and in the following year Altuntash, the Ghaznavide general whom Mahmud had appointed governor of Khwarazm, was ordered by Masud to advance against Ali Tigin's sons and in a fierce battle, which cost him his life, he crushed their army and deprived them of Bokhara. Altuntash's son, Harun, whom Masud appointed to his father's post repaid the kindness by treason and soon met his punishment. The result of these events was to remove every power that might have prevented the march of Tartar tribes from eastern Turkestan across Mawaraun Nahr to the tempting fields of Persia. The officers of the empire proved totally incapable of either

With the Ear Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human ear, the Lord heard the conversation between these two.

Rising up towards evening from his meditations, the Lord betook him to the brahmin's fire-hut and sat down on the grass mat laid out for him. To him came the brahmin, who, after salutations, took his seat to one side and was thus by the Lord addressed :—There was some talk, Bhāradvāja, between you and the Wanderer Māgandiya [508] as touching this same mat.

Greatly surprised and startled, the brahmin said :—Why that is precisely what I was about to tell you, sir, when you anticipated me!

Their talk was interrupted by the return of the Wanderer to the hut, who, after salutations, sat down to one side, to be thus addressed by the Lord :—The eye, Māgandiya—of which visible shapes are the domain and the delight and the satisfaction—has been subjugated, shielded, safe-guarded and kept under watch and ward by the Truth-finder, who preaches the Doctrine of its watch and ward. Was it with reference to the eye that you said the recluse Gotama is a rigid repressionist?

Yes, it was ;—because our Scriptures say so.

Was your remark made with reference to the ear—which has sounds for its domain—, to smell—which has odours for its domain—, to the tongue—which has tastes for its domain—, to the body—which has touch for its domain—, to consciousness—which has states of mind for its domain? Was it with reference to these—all of which have been subjugated by the Truth-finder, who preaches the Doctrine for their watch and ward—that you said the recluse Gotama is a rigid repressionist?

Yes, it was ;—because it is on these lines that you criticize our tenets.

What do you think of this, Māgandiya?—Take a man who [504] aforetime revelled in the visible shapes of which the eye takes cognizance,—shapes which are desirable, agreeable, pleasant and attractive, bound up



exterminating or subduing the migratory hordes that had crossed the Oxus. They had no settled habitation and it was impossible to crush them in a battle. They dispersed and reunited with remarkable ease. And yet it is easy to imagine what the unexpected raid of the Tartar shepherds, who came burning and plundering, meant to a population accustomed to law and order.

The leadership of the immigrants naturally fell to the Seljuqs, and in 1036 three chiefs of the tribe, tired of a continuous conflict and hard-pressed for land, sent a petition to the Sultan asking for the districts of Nisa and Farawah, the land between the mountains on the north-west of Khorasan, the Oxus and the desert of Kara-Kum, to be granted to them as pasture. The humble petition signed by Beghu, brother of Israil bin Seljuq, and Beghu's two nephews, Tughril and Daud, concluded with a desperate threat, 'because they had no place on earth and none remained to them.' Masud bitterly complained of his father's bringing the camel-drivers into the empire, and while beguiling the Seljuqs with soft words sent a force of 15000 against them. Bagtaghdi, the Ghaznavide general, defeated the Seljuqs after a stubborn battle, but when his men had dispersed in search of plunder, they returned from the mountain defiles and practically annihilated his army. There was no alternative but to concede the Seljuq demands; but their ambitions expanded with their success, and they began to aspire for the cities of Merv and Sarakhs situated on the frontier of their territory and even for the whole of Khorasan. But Masud, when he should have concentrated his forces on the southern side of the Khorasan hills, preferred the Pyrrhic victories over the Hindus of Hansi; and during his absence in 1036-37 the plunder of Taliqan and Fariyab enabled the Seljuqs to organise their strength, and placed them in a position to challenge Masud's power in northern Persia.

In the spring of 1037 Subashi, governor of Khorasan, was ordered by Mahmud to proceed against the Seljuqs. He protested that he was too weak, but the Sultan insisted on his order being obeyed, and the reluctant governor led his troops to the expected defeat. At one blow Sarakhs, Merv and the whole of Persia came into the hands of the Seljuqs. Tughril was crowned king at Naishapur. A permanent peace between Masud and the Seljuqs was now impossible and a victory gained by Masud at

Sarakhs in the following year only delayed the last stage of the contest.

In the summer of 1040 the Seljuqs collected around Sarakhs, and the campaign of Masud, though he had made no preparations, resolved to march against them. A terrible famine was raging and his advisers requested him to postpone the campaign. Masud refused to listen. The Seljuqs retreated as he advanced and concentrated their forces at Merv. But Masud's army became more disorganised at every stage. Grain had to be brought from distant places; the heat was unbearable; the enemy had filled up the wells and harrassed the Ghaznavides on every side. Most of the men were unhorsed; no discipline or order remained; and finally at Daudaniquan, near Merv, Masud was surrounded by the Seljuqs and had to offer battle. His generals disgraced themselves by treason and flight and the men followed the example of their officers. "The Turkish troops went one way, and the Indians another, and neither Arabs nor Kurds could be distinguished." Only the royal body-guard remained round the Sultan who surprised friend and foe by his valour and strength, and spear in hand struck down all who came within the reach of his arms. But the field was irretrievably lost. "I saw Prince Maudud son of the Sultan" says the historian, "galloping here and there, and endeavouring to rally his men, but no one gave ear to him for every one was for himself." The Sultan managed to extricate himself and reached his capital fearfully shaken and terrorised. The Empire of Ghaznin was no more.

The officers who had deserted the Sultan on the battlefield were imprisoned. Prince Maudud was despatched

with an army to Balkh but Masud himself was so afraid of the Seljuqs that he dared not remain at Ghaznin. He sent Majdud to Multan and ordered Prince Izad-yar to hold the Afghans in check, and then with the royal *harem* and the choicest treasures of Sultan Mahmud loaded on three hundred camels, he started for Lahore. Every one advised the Sultan against the step. His desertion of the capital would throw every thing into anarchy and disorder. The journey itself was full of danger. "I have no very high opinion of the fidelity of the Hindus," the *Wazir* Khwaja Mohammad bin Abdus Samad

with pleasures of sense, and exciting. Suppose that later on, through coming to know them for what they really are—through coming to know their origin and cessation, the satisfaction and the troubles they entail, and their final outcome—, he discards all craving for them, dispels the fever they bring, loses all appetite for them, so that he dwells with his heart at peace within him. What have you to lay to his charge?

Nothing, Gotama.

Or take the case of a man who similarly discards sounds, odours, tastes, or touch. What have you to lay to his charge?

Nothing.

Now, I myself, Māgandiya, in those days when I had a home, was lapped in the pleasures of the five senses and revelled in sights, sounds, odours, tastes and touch,—which are desirable, agreeable, pleasant and attractive, bound up with pleasures of sense, and exciting. Three palaces were mine, one for the rainy season, another for the winter, and another for the summer. In the palace for the rainy season I lived during the four months of the rains, ministered to by bands of women musicians, never coming down to the lower floors. Later on, through coming to know these pleasures for what they really are—through coming to know their origin and cessation, the satisfaction and the troubles they entail, and their final outcome—, I discarded all craving for them, dispelled the fever they bring, lost all appetite for them, so that I dwelt with my heart at peace within me. I observed others still held by pleasure in passion's meshes, still the prey of pleasure, still afire with the fever of pleasure, still the votaries of pleasure; I envied them not nor took delight in such things. And why?—Because there is a delight which is aloof from pleasures of sense and from things which are wrong and is based on the attainment of bliss Celestial; [505] and it was in the enjoyment of this delight that I neither envied the lower nor took delight therein.

It is like a wealthy householder or his son, of great



has my lord in his other servants, that he should show his treasures to them in the desert?" But misfortune had only increased Masud's obstinacy, and he caustically accused his officers of treason. At the pass of Marigalah the *Wazir's* ominous words were fulfilled. A number of Turkish and Hindu slaves plundered a part of the royal treasure; and seeing that their crime would not be pardoned by Masud, they besieged him in the inn where he was staying and placed his brother, the blind Mohammad, on the throne. Masud was captured and sent to the fort of Giri where he was soon after put to death.

Placed on the throne after nine years of imprisonment, the blind Maudud. Mohammad contented

himself with dry bread while the affairs were directed by his son, Ahmad, who was reputed to be mad. But Maudud gave short shrift to his father's murderers. He hurried from Balkh to Ghaznin and thence marched towards the Indus. Mohammad's army, which had marched to meet him, was defeated at Nagrahar, and Mohammad and his sons were captured and slain on the spot (1041). Maudud built an inn and a village on the site of his victory, which he named Fathabad, and returned to Ghaznin with his father's coffin. But the battle of Nagrahar had not placed the Punjab in his hands. His brother, Majdud, whom the late Sultan had appointed governor of Multan, lost no time in consolidating his power; and with the help of the famous Ayaz, he captured Lahore and established his government from the Indus to Hansi and Thanesewar. Maudud marched on Lahore in 1042 but Majdud arrived just in time to save it. A critical battle was imminent and Maudud's *amirs* began to waver. But on the morning of the Eid of Sacrifice Majdud was found dead in his tent; a few days later Ayaz also died: and the Punjab passed into Maudud's hands without a battle. But further troubles were yet in store.

It was not to be expected that the Hindu *Rais* would fail to take

The Hindu Revival:  
Hansi, Thanesewar,  
Nagarkot & Lahore. advantage of the troubles of their enemy, now that the Seljuqs had made

their task so easy. The Empire of Ghaznin, shrunk to the dimensions of a little kingdom, was torn by civil dissensions and in a perpetual danger of being swallowed up by its western

neighbours. Maudud was in no condition to defend his Indian possessions; and the *Rais* of the Punjab and other lands, 'whom fear of the Mussalmans had driven like foxes to the forest, again raised their heads with confident courage.' The tide turned rapidly. A Hindu confederacy headed by the *Rai* of Delhi captured Hansi and Thanesewar; Ghaznavide officers were driven off from town and country; the oppressive despondency that had taken possession of the Hindu mind disappeared; and the *Rais* determined to crush the prestige of the invader by a victory that would bring joy to every village of Hindustan. Of the sacred places of Hinduism which Sultan Mahmud had conquered, Nagarkot was the only one he had kept in hand. To the average Hindu mind the Muslim possession of Nagarkot symbolised the conquest of religion by brute force, and it was the first duty of the confederates to put an end to this standing insult to their creed. The army of triumphant Hinduism marched to the foot of the fort and laid siege to it with all the sincerity of faith. The Muslim garrison prepared for resistance, but its appeals for help to the *Amirs* of Lahore went unheeded and it had no alternative but to capitulate on terms that saved its life and honour. The temple was rebuilt. A new idol was placed on the throne. The news spread through all Hindustan. Hindu pilgrims were jubilant and once more came to visit it in crowds. The market of idolatry was busier than ever. Islam had become a losing cause and it seemed as if another decisive blow would drive it off from the land. The Ghaznavide *amirs* of Lahore, busy in fighting each other, had forgotten their allegiance to Maudud and turned a deaf ear to the prayers of the garrison of Nagarkot. But when they heard that ten thousand Hindu cavalry supported by a large infantry was marching against them, they at last awoke to the insecurity of their position, and taking an oath of loyalty to Maudud, collected their forces with a determination to defend their city to the last. The Hindu army retired without pressing the siege. Thus Lahore and the large towns west of the Ravi were saved. Over the rest of the country Hinduism soon forgot the Mussalmans. Such traces of Islam as Mahmud may have left in India were simply swept off. On the other hand, the Hindus learnt no lessons from their adversity. No national government arose to end the civil wars of *Aryavarta* and

treasures and substance, who, while living a life lapped in these divers pleasures of the five senses that are so desirable, agreeable, . . . and exciting, lives aright in deed, word and thought so that at his body's dissolution after death he passes to bliss celestial to consort with the Thirty-three gods, and there, surrounded by a throng of nymphs in the Grove of Gladness, is lapped in every celestial pleasure of the five senses. Supposing now that he sees a householder or his son on earth lapped in divers pleasures of sense. What do you think, Māgandiya? Would that new deity, who lives surrounded by a throng of nymphs in the Grove of Gladness, lapped in every celestial pleasure of the five senses,—would he envy that earthly householder or his son or their earthly pleasures? Would he turn again to earthly pleasure?

No, Gotama; he would not;—because celestial pleasures are choicer and more excellent than human pleasures.

It was just the same with me who in bygone days, Māgandiya, when I had a home, was lapped in the pleasures of the five senses but later on, through coming to know. . . . [506] I neither envied the lower nor took delight therein.

It is like a leper who, with his limbs all sores and rottenness, is being eaten alive by worms and tears his open wounds with his nails and scorches his frame over a pit of hot embers. Suppose now his friends and kinsfolk bring him a leech who makes him up a medicine whereby he is cured of his leprosy and is hale and well, able to get about and go where he will. If now he sees another leper in the selfsame plight,—do you think he would envy that leper either his pit of embers or his course of medicine?

No,—because medicines are wanted not in health but in illness.

It was just the same with me, Māgandiya, who, in those days when I had a home, was lapped in all pleasures of the five senses and revelled in desirable and agreeable sights, but later on, through coming to



after a century and a half Shahabuddin Ghorî found the Hindu *Rais* as disunited as ever.

The later history of the kingdom of Ghaznî need not detain us for long. Its petty princes were content to eke out a humble existence under the Shadow of the Seljuq Empire; its unending palace intrigues were a source of derision to its enemies and of despair to its friends. Sultan Maudud died in December 1049 and his son, Masud II, a child of four years, was overthrown by Maudud's brother, Abul Hasan Ali, who in his turn was defeated by Abdur Rashid, a son of Sultan Mahmud, in 1051. In 1054 Abdur Rashid was put to death by his general Tughril, the traitor, but the usurper was slain before he had occupied the throne for forty days. Next Farrukhzad, son of Masud, was brought out of prison and reigned for seven years (1052-1059), while his brother and successor Sultan Raziuddin Ibrahim, a pious king, was blessed with a long reign of over forty years which came to an end in 1099. He was blessed also with thirty six sons and forty daughters, and the latter for want of suitable princes, were married to Saiyids and pious scholars. Sultan Ibrahim is credited with two Indian expeditions of which he led the second in person (1079-1080). Ajodhan, the present Patan of Shaikh Farid of Shakarganj, was reached and marching thence the Sultan captured the fort of Rupa, situated on a hill with a river on one side and a thorny forest full of snakes on the other. Still more poetic was the conquest of Darah, a town of Khorasan colonists, exiled from Persia to India by the Afrasiyab of *Shahnamah*. "They worshipped idols and passed their lives in sin," but their city was considered impregnable and consequently the *Rais* of India never succeeded in plundering the foreigners in their midst. But Ibrahim cut his way through the thick forest that surrounded Darah and reduced it by force. Apart from this somewhat mythic exploit, Sultan Ibrahim was a sane and sensible man, who never forgot the serious limitations of his power and secured for his subjects a long period of uninterrupted peace.

Ibrahim's son, Alauddin Masud, married a sister of the Seljuq Emperor, Sultan Sanjar, and died after a peaceful reign of sixteen years in 1115. His son, Arsalan Shah, signalled his accession by putting his brothers to death. Only one of them, Bahram Shah, succeeded in

escaping to his uncle Sanjar, who drove out Arsalan and placed Bahram on the throne. But Arsalan returned and besieged Bahram and Sanjar once more marched to Ghaznî (1117). Arsalan was captured and a year later put to death. Muizzuddin Bahram Shah was a magnificent king. He twice defeated the governor of the Punjab, Mohammad Bahalim. Shaikh Nizami dedicated the '*Makhzanul Asrar*' to him and the '*Kalila and Dimna*' was translated from Arabic into Persian during his reign. But a quarrel with the chiefs of Ghor led to the sack of Ghaznî and Sultan Bahram's reign of forty one years ended in disgrace and ruin (1152).

Meanwhile like all things mortal the Empire of the Seljuqs had been progressing through its career of expansion, consolidation and decay. The battle of Dandaniqan had placed the Persian provinces of the Ghaznavide Empire in their hands. Sultan Tughril (1039-1063), the first Emperor of the dynasty, fixed his capital at Ray and assigned Khurasan to his brother Daud Jafar (Chaghri) Beg. The ease with which the conquered people reconciled themselves to the new dynasty is a credit at once to the moral character of the House of Seljuq and the captivating power of civilization. The new rulers threw off their barbaric ways and conformed to time-honoured traditions of the Persian monarchy; the military vigour of the Turk combined with the administrative genius of the Persian to establish an empire that came into contact and conflict with the anti-Caliphs of Egypt and the Byzantine Empire in the west and the infidels of Cathay in the east; and in the century of peace that followed no one regretted the fall of the Ghaznavide administration. "It would be superfluous" says Gibbon, "to praise the valour of a Turk, and the ambition of Tughril was equal to his valour. In his own dominions Tughril was the father of his soldiers and people; by a firm and equal administration Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been embued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace." The kings of Ghaznî were allowed to eke out their years of inglorious existence but the Mussalmans and Christians of Iraq and Asia Minor felt the hand of 'the Conquering Turk.' Azarbaijan was annexed to the Empire; the power of the Buwaihids,

The Seljuq Empire,  
Sultan Tughril.

know those pleasures for what they really are . . . I neither envied the lower nor took delight therein.

[507] It is like a leper who, with his limbs all sores . . . able to get about and go where he will. Suppose now two strong men dragged him along by the arms towards a pit of embers,—do you suppose he would struggle and resist?

Yes, Gotama ;—because the fire and contact with it would greatly torture and scorch him.

Is this something new, or was it all there before?

The fire and the contact and the scorching are no different now to what they were. The difference is that, in the former instance the leper,—when his limbs were all sores and rottenness, and when he was being eaten alive by worms and was tearing his open wounds with his nails and was beside himself—actually found in the pain of contact with the fire a change of sensation to what seemed bliss.

Precisely in the same way, Māgandiya, pleasures of sense always have been, always will be, and always are painful in contact, always torturing and scorching. And those who are held by pleasure in passion's meshes, who are still the prey of pleasure, still afire with the fever of pleasure, still the votaries of pleasure and beside themselves,—all these actually find in the pain of contact with pleasures of sense a change of sensation to what to them seems bliss.

It is like a leper who, with his limbs all sores and rottenness, while he is being eaten alive by worms, and while he tears his open wounds with his nails, scorches his frame over a pit of embers. The more that leper does so, the more do his open sores [508] stink with the noisome stench of putrefaction, and he finds but sorry relief and satisfaction from scratching their itching surface. It is just the same with those who, being held by pleasure in passion's meshes, who, being still the prey of pleasure, still afire with the fever of pleasure, and still the votaries of pleasure, continue on with pleasures of sense ;—the longer they go on, the stronger grows their craving for passion, and the hotter

rages the fever of passion within them, and they find but sorry relief and satisfaction from their indulgences.

Have you either seen or heard of a prince or great lord who, being lapped in pleasure, has ever lived—or is now living—or indeed will ever live—with his heart at peace within him, unless he has first discarded all craving for sensuous pleasures, has dispelled the fever they bring, and has lost all appetite for them?

No, Gotama.

Quite right, Māgandiya;—nor have I. But all recluses and brahmins who have been—or now are—or hereafter will be—triumphant over pleasures of sense, with their hearts at peace within them,—all, all, achieve their triumph through realizing how pleasure originates and how it ends, and what are its satisfactions, perils and vanity.

This was the occasion of the Lord's solemn utterance :—

*Chief boon is Health ; Nirvana's bliss stands first ;  
Of Deathless Paths the Eightfold leads to Peace.*

Hereupon, Māgandiya said to the Lord :—It is wonderful, Gotama, it is marvellous how truly you say that—

[509] *Chief boon is Health ; Nirvana's bliss comes first.*

I myself have also heard it said by the Wanderers of old, teachers themselves and the teachers of teachers, that—

*Chief boon is Health ; Nirvana's bliss stands first.*

There is complete accord here, Gotama.

An this line which you have heard from the Wanderers of old, Māgandiya, what is Health? and what is Nirvana?

Here the Wanderer stroked his own limbs and said :—This is Health, Gotama; this is Nirvana. For, at the present time I am in health and well-being, without any ailments at all.

It is just like a man blind from birth, Māgandiya, who



which Mahmud had crushed in Isfahan and Ray, was finally annihilated in Baghdad and the Commander of the Faithful, relieved from the vexations to which he had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty, bestowed on Tughril the titles of 'Sultanud Doulah' and 'Yamini Amirul Mominin.' A Seljuq general, I-tsiz, over-ran Syria and even reached the Nile, while the Byzantine Empire felt the vigour of the Turkish troops across a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauras to Erzurum. The contest was, however, undecided when Tughril died at the age of seventy-two.

Alp Arsalan (1063-1072), son of Daud, who succeeded to the empire of his uncle after a brief period of civil wars, continued the eastern conquests of Tughril. Armenia and Georgia were annexed and three years (1068-1071) of war decided the fate of the Asiatic possessions of Constantinople. The initiative was taken by the Emperor, Romanus Diogenese, who advanced with a hundred thousand soldiers and an auxiliary force of disorderly allies. After three well fought campaigns the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates and when the Sultan advanced against him with forty thousand men, the Emperor contemptuously ordered the barbarian to cede the palace and city of Ray as the condition of peace. But the Sultan's "rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks," and at the battle of Mulazgird (Madikerb) the Turkish veterans crushed the power of their vain and disorganised opponents beyond the possibility of redemption. Romanus Diogenese brought a captive to the court, was treated with that superb generosity which Alp Arsalan showed his fallen enemies. Having accomplished his western mission, the Sultan marched eastward for the conquest of Mawarun Nahr. But an assassin's dagger cut short the Sultan's life after he had crossed the Oxus and brought his conquering career to an untimely end after a reign of nine years and a half.

The reign of Alp Arsalan's son, Malik Shah, (1072-1092) was a period of prosperity and peace, and shows the Seljuq Empire at its best. The unrealised scheme of his father was accomplished by the conquest of Mawarun Nahr and Malik Shah's *Khutba* was read beyond the Jaxartes at Kashghar. But during the rest of his reign the

Sultan kept perambulating his extensive empire and supervising its civil administration so that "few departed from his *diwan* without reward and none without justice." The calendar which had fallen into disorder was reformed by a committee of mathematicians (including the astronomer-poet, Omar Khayyam), who inaugurated the Jalali era of Malik Shah, 'a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.' With the name of Alp-Arsalan and Malik Shah is intimately associated the name of their great minister, Nizamul Mulk, author of the '*Siyasal Namah*,<sup>(40)</sup> and one of the most famous *wazirs* of the East. Deeply learned in all the political wisdom of the day, a patron of literature and art to whom the 'Nizamiah' University of Bagdad owed its establishment, Nizamul Mulk served the Seljuq dynasty with zeal and devotion for thirty years and won for it the loyalty of its subjects and the grateful remembrance of posterity. But the influence of the queen, Turkan Khatun, who wished to secure the succession of her son, Mahmud, alienated the Sultan's mind from him, and at the age of ninety three years the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic. Malik Shah himself died in the following month.

Malik Shah's two sons, Barkiyaruk (1092-1104) and Mohammad (1104-1117), were succeeded by their brother, Sanjar (1117-1157), 'a great, dignified and mighty monarch,' under whom affairs again came back to 'the highway of legality and the beaten track of equity and justice,' from which they had been unhappily deflected during the reigns of his predecessors. Irak, Khurasan and Mawarun Nahr increased in population and prosperity; the empire was more extensive than it had been ever before. Nevertheless Sanjar's long reign was a period of disintegration and decay. Provincial governors (*atabaks*) began to aspire for independence; a new race of Turkomans poured across the Jaxartes; and by slow degrees the foundations of the Empire were sapped. Sanjar struggled valiantly against the rising deluge and won seventeen out of the nineteen great battles he is said to have fought. But he did not know how to take advantage of his successes, and his

(40) The *Siyasal Namah* is sometimes supposed to be a treatise on political science, but it is really a book on political trickery and a violent pamphlet against the 'heretics.' Its historical value is very great.



cannot see dark and light things, or blue or yellow or red or pink things; who cannot see level or rough ground, the stars, or the sun and moon. Suppose, on hearing a man with sight say that a goodly white robe without blemish was a fine thing to possess, this blind man were to sally forth to get one for himself, only to be fobbed off with greasy, grimy, trashy stuff which was vouched for as all right. Suppose now he took it, put it on, and expressed his delight by saying that a goodly white robe without blemish was a fine thing to possess. Do you suppose that, if the man blind from birth had had knowledge and vision, he would have taken that greasy, grimy, trashy stuff and have been so pleased with it? Or did he take it on trust from the man who could see?

Only from lack of knowledge and vision, and out of trust in him who could see, would the blind man have been deluded like that.

[510] Just in the same way non-conformist Wanderers, being blind and without eyes, lacking knowledge of Health and Vision of Nirvana, yet utter the verse—

*Chief boon is Health; Nirvana's bliss stands first.*

It was the Arahats all-enlightened of old who uttered the verses—

*Chief boon is Health; Nirvana's bliss stands first;  
Of Deathless Paths the Eightfold leads to Peace.*

By degrees it has now filtered down to the everyday man. Though this body, Māgandiya, is a disease, a pustulence, a pang, an anguish, an ailment, you say that here is Health and Nirvana. For, you have not that Noble Eye wherewith to know Health and to have vision of Nirvana.

I believe the reverend Gotama can teach me how to know Health and have vision of Nirvana.

It is just like a man blind from birth, Māgandiya, unable to see dark and light things . . . or the sun and moon, to whom his friends and kinsfolk bring a

defeats were, consequently, more important than his victories. In 1141 a member of Kara-Khata-i tribes, who had migrated into Mawaraun Nahr, rebelled against the Empire. Sanjar was defeated near Samarkand and the whole of Mawaraun Nahr passed into infidel hands. Another body of emigrants, the Ghazz Turks, defeated and captured the Sultan in 1153 and carried him about as a captive in their camp for three years. When the Sultan at last escaped to his capital, the empire had ceased to exist. Khorasan had been devastated by the Ghazz; the *atabaks* had thrown off their allegiance to the central power; and the last of

the "Great Seljuqs" closed his eyes after a strenuous life of seventy two years spent in an unsuccessful defence of the work of his ancestors and the civilisation they had inherited.

Under the protection of the Seljuq Dynasty Persian civilisation reached a height which it has never since attained. The middle of the twelfth century witnessed the final extinction of the kingdom of Ghaznin and the collapse of the Seljuqian empire. The kingdoms of Khwarzm and Ghor rose on the ground thus left vacant, but neither had grown to its full stature when the Muslim world was over-whelmed by the Mongol barbarians.

## GANDHI CAP: A STUDY.

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

"The gentle man in Khaddar,  
Happy and care-free,  
With nothing heavy on his head,  
Except a Gandhi Cap."

When long ago Kipling spoke of—"East is East and West is West," and of the twain never meeting he was saying a truism that is seldom true. For, from the dim past of civilisation the East and the West have ever met and, with the increasing means of communication and easier exchange of ideas, shall continue to meet increasingly on the lower rungs of material wants and desires as on the higher planes of spiritual hope and moral idealism. Roads and railways, beggars and daggers are much the same go East, go West. And in their elemental loves and hates as in their highest art and philosophy, there is no real cleavage between the two, even though clever writers may set about creating one.

But there is one matter in which the East is East and the West is West. There is one point on which the pair have for all time agreed to disagree. And it is in respect of the covering for the head. In the West the headgear is only an item of a man's attire, in the East it is its crest and crown. "The changeless East" has

changed in many aspects, even in the matter of its dress, but it has not changed in the matter of its head-dress. A Raja or a Maharaja may cast off his jewelled court-dress to don the simple khaki tunic of a British General, but he would never cast off his turban to wear the forage-cap or the regulation helmet. An Indian political gentleman may appear in the Council-Chamber decked out in frock-coat and striped trousers, but his head will with rare exception be crowned by his own national headgear.

This contrast between the East and the West is never more sharply brought out than in the way the headgear is treated at ceremonial functions. On such occasions the Westerner reverently takes off his hat, while the Eastern religiously keeps it on. This is because with the Eastern the headgear is a living thing—almost a part of him. To treat it slightly would be tantamount to treating its owner slightly. One may, so to say, knock sparks off a typical Oriental without much fear of rousing his temper or ruffling his placidity. But let his headgear be jestingly knocked off or even accidentally displaced and on the instant the long slumbering embers of his wrath would flare up and one should count oneself distinctly lucky, if one emerged from the *contretemps* safely without

leech who makes him up a medicine whereby he fails to give him eyes or to clarify them. Do you not suppose the leech will have taken a lot of toil and trouble over it ?

Yes, Gotama.

Just in the same way, Māgandīya, I might teach you what Health and Nirvana are, but you would not either know Health or have vision of Nirvana ;—but I should have trouble and travail.

[511] I believe the reverend Gotama can teach me how to know Health and have vision of Nirvana.

It is just like a man blind from birth, Māgandīya, unable to see anything, who hears a man with sight say that a goodly white robe without blemish . . . vouched for as all right. Suppose now that he takes it and puts it on ; and suppose further that his friends and kinsfolk bring him a leech, who makes him up a medicament for application above and beneath, and solvents, and cooling ointments, and nasal injections, so that he gives the blind man his eyes and clarifies them,—with the consequence that he quite loses his passion for that grimy, greasy, trash and regards the fellow who sold it him as no friend but as an enemy who ought to be put to death for having cheated, tricked and deluded him by saying that greasy, grimy trash was a goodly white robe without blemish.

Just in the same way, Māgandīya, if I were to teach you what Health is and what Nirvana is, and if you came to knowledge and vision of them, then, so soon as you got eyes to see with, you would quite discard your passion for what breeds the five-fold maintenance of existence, and your thought would then be :—Long have I been cheated, tricked and deluded by this heart of mine ; for, I was for ever engaged in encouraging things material, feelings, perceptions, plastic forces, and consciousness, so that this encouragement led to existence, which led to birth, which led to decay and death with sorrow and lamentation, Ill and tribulation. —[512] Thus originates all that makes up the sum of Ill.



attracting a large crowd or being run in for "assault and battery."

This strange reverence for his headgear and the extraordinary caution the Oriental displays for its safety find a queer echo in India in the invocation the mendicants send up in the streets,—an invocation which provides that work-free class with a never-failing *mantram* of at once tickling the ingrained vanity of the passer-by and of preying upon his superstitious fears. To the beggar who first originated the phrase—*gaddi-topi-salamat*,\*—the mendicant brotherhood of Western India owe a statue of gold because of this magic phrase of his invention, thousands of his confrères all over the Presidency owe their bread and—their wealth.

It is not so much for the honorific use that it is put to as for its representative character that the headgear of an Eastern is remarkable. Each particular headgear represents some particular caste, class or creed—or more truly its division and sub-division. But there is one exception to this fixed rule. This exception represents neither caste, nor class, nor creed, but stands, on the contrary, for the sinking of all caste prejudices, class divisions, and credal differences into the great melting-pot of Indian unity and International solidarity. And that exception is the Gandhi Cap. In this commendable effort to do away with all manner of differences and divisions among a great mass of humanity, it is immensely and immediately helped by the fact that it is made of a material that is at once plain and appealing and capable of being produced anywhere and of being worn by anyone and is designed after a headgear that is pre-eminently chaste in form and unquestionably the most ancient in existence. In perhaps the oldest rock-sculpture of the world, namely the Persian bas-reliefs of Behistan, the cap which the winged figure above that of Darius wears is the original inspirer and unconscious designer of the Gandhi Cap. Thus taking after the most ancient covering for the head known to men, its shape and form have of long sunk deep in the heart of humanity and, in the case of India, promise to outlive those of the oldest headgear at present in existence there. Add to these basic advantages of age and design, the simplicity and inexpensiveness of the material of which it is made, and it would not be difficult to account for its wide

popularity among the great surging masses and numerous cultured classes of modern India. But amid all its many advantages and present popularity there is one drawback, and it is a serious drawback, in as much as it touches a vital point in human psychology.

Of all the gifts of God to man, there is none so worthy of his wonder and gratitude as the gift of colour. Imagine what the world and our own existence would be if the element of colour were wiped out of them! If, for instance, the blue were taken from the sky and the gold from the sunshine, the green from the leaves and the crimson from the blood! How cold and ghastly would the world and we look in such a horrible contingency? If we could but envisage for an instant leprous white creatures living in a chalky white world under a snow white sky flooded with an incandescent white sunshine, we would soon realise what we owe to this greatest of God's gifts to the sight of man. And yet the Gandhi Cap deliberately turns its back on it and stands in fact in open opposition,—challenging, as it were, its utility and its necessity. But for a design or a project, formed in the brain of man, to challenge the utility or question the necessity of another planned in the laboratory of nature, is to sow the seed of its own undoing and hasten the day of its own extinction. That is the great danger ahead of the Gandhi Cap.

In its perfervid passion for simplicity and chasteness, it thwarts one of the elemental cravings of human nature and drives those fine virtues themselves to the borderline of affectation and insipidity. Let, therefore, a few streaks of colour be added to the Cap to liven up its otherwise dead white dulness and satisfy the irrepressible thirst of human kind for colour.

And what streaks of colour could set it off so well as red and blue arranged after a certain well-known design and blended appropriately with a cross of its own pure white. These colours of St. George and St. Andrew with the white cross of St. Patrick have on the whole served the native land of Gandhi Cap and its people well and faithfully for well-nigh two centuries and might justly be expected to serve them equally well and faithfully for a long time to come. A small diamond-shaped badge of those colours sewn on one side of the Cap won't affect its inherent integrity nor mar its evident simplicity, but help, on the contrary, to set off

\*May your throne (the source of your power) and your cap (the insignia of your honour) be kept safe for you.

I believe the reverend Gotama can teach me how I shall be blind no more when I rise from this seat.

Then, Māgandiya, consort with the good. Consorting with the good, you will hear sound doctrine, and so will walk in accordance with the Doctrine, and thereby will come—of and by yourself—to know and to see that these things are diseases, pustulences and pangs ; that here they are stilled for ever ; that to still the stuff that makes them leads on for you to the stilling of continued existence, which in turn leads on to the stilling of birth and so of decay with sorrow and lamentation, Ill and tribulation.—Thus ends all that makes up the sum of Ill.

Hereupon, the Wanderer Māgandiya said to the Lord :—Marvellous, Gotama ; quite marvellous. Just as a man might set upright again . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 73) . . . [518] was admitted and confirmed of the Lord's following. Nor was it long before the reverend Māgandiya, dwelling alone and aloof, . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 73) . . . was numbered among the Arahats.

## LXXVI. SANDAKA-SUTTA.

### OF FALSE GUIDES.

THUS have I heard. Once while the Lord was staying at Kosambī in the Ghosita pleasaunce, the Wanderer Sandaka was living at Pilakkha-guhā with a great company of Wanderers, some five hundred in number. Rising from his meditations towards evening, the reverend Ānanda proposed to the Almsmen to go to Deva-Kaṭa Pool to visit the cavern. They agreeing, Ānanda took a number of them there with him. At the time, Sandaka was sitting with his great company of Wanderers, who were making a great noise with their voices raised and loud in all manner of low and beastly talk,—about princes, bandits, great lords' armies, terrors, battles, meats and drinks, clothes, beds, garlands, perfumes, relations, villages,



those virtues and make the Cap acceptable to millions more who find it impossible to take to it in its present dull dead plainness. That little coloured diamond will besides save Gandhi Cap from degenerating, as it is fast doing, into a purely sectional rag and convert it into a truly

national emblem which will for once mark the falsehood of Kipling's short-sighted saying and prove for ever the truth of Tennyson's larger-visioned hope that "East and West, like life and death, can mix their dim lights to broaden into boundless day."

## AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS :

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.\*

### The British Premier.

Looking back over my reading since last Spring, I find first a book published early in the year—*The Man of To-morrow* by "Iconoclast" (Parsons 8/6). As "*The Man of Tomorrow*" is James Ramsay Macdonald, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, it is worthy of attention from intelligent readers. Mr. Macdonald's romantic career reminded me of a book which my mother presented to me on my twelfth birthday, a fat green volume entitled: "*The Story of Self-Made Men; or, Industry, Perseverance, Application and Enterprise Exemplified in Real Life*". The author, R. G. Hedderwick, M.A., explained in a preface that his examples had been selected in order "that the volume may be purely and entirely devoted to instance of continued hard work".

I am afraid the last clause would have damned Mr. W. H. Davies, our deservedly famous living poet, who was by turns, shop boy, farm labourer, tramp, super-tramp, and first-rate poet; but the man we are considering as author as well as Prime Minister would certainly have been taken to the capacious bosom of Mr. Hedderwick.

"*The Story of Self-Made Men*", rather battered, full of idle pencil sketches of my boy friends, lies now beside my typewriter. The frontispiece shows Bernard Palissy, "Glass Painter, Salt Surveyor, and Enamel Discoverer" sitting "in contemplation", an attitude which he seems rarely to have found time for. There is

a picture of Robert Bloomfield, "Farm Boy, Shoemaker, Seal Office Official, Harp Maker, and Poet" at work in the shoemaker's shop. Other texts for the lesson of "Industry, Perseverance and Enterprise" are William Hutton, "Weaver Bookbinder, Bookseller, Paper Merchant, and Author"; William Cobbett, "Farm Boy, Gardener, Clerk, Soldier, Teacher, Newspaper Proprietor, M. P. and Reformer"; William Gifford, "Sailor, Shoemaker, Tutor, Translator, and Editor"; Christopher Columbus; Robert Burns; John Dollands, Sir Richard Arkwright; and Daniel Defoe, "Butcher's son, Soldier, Stocking Dealer, Merchant, Tilemaker, Reformer, and Author". One of the pictures I have always remembered shows James Ferguson, "Farm Boy, Miller's Apprentice, Mechanist, Miniature Painter, and Astronomer", engaged in his "First Studies in Astronomy." Ferguson was born in 1710, a few miles from Keith, a village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland. While still a farm-boy he began to study the midnight heavens. The picture shows him lying on his back in a field, holding at arm's length a stretched thread with beads on it, and measuring the starry angles.

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James Ramsay Macdonald, Blacksmith's Son, Farm Boy, Pupil Teacher, Science Student, Political Agent, Invoice Clerk, Private Secretary, Reformer, Journalist, Author, M. P., and now Prime Minister, was born in Morayshire, close to the Grampians, at the little fishing village of Lossiemouth. But he was born there in 1866, rather too late for inclusion in the worthy Mr. Hedderwick's book.

\*Author of "*Personal poems*"; "*Walter de La Mare, a Biographical and Critical Study*"; "*Poetry and the Sexual Impulse*", etc.



townships, cities, countries, women, warriors, roads, wells, kinsfolk departed, and all the rest of it, with chatter about world and ocean, and [514] about being and not-being.

When from some way off Sandaka saw Ānanda coming, he hushed his company by saying:—Be quiet, sirs; do not make a noise; here comes the recluse Ānanda, the disciple of the recluse Gotama. All the time disciples of Gotama have been staying at the Kosambī, Ānanda has been one of them. These recluses are lovers of quiet, are trained to quiet, and commend the quiet; if he observes quiet reigning in this gathering, he may decide to approach. So they became quiet, and Ānanda came up. Said Sandaka:—I beg the reverend Ānanda to join us; he is truly welcome; it is a long time since last he managed to get here. Pray be seated; here is a seat for your reverence.

Ānanda sat down accordingly, asking Sandaka, who took a low seat to one side, what had been their theme and what was the discussion which had been interrupted. Let that pass for the moment, answered Sandaka; you can easily gather that later on. What I should like, would be if you would think of some discourse on your own teacher's tenets.

Well then, Sandaka, listen and pay attention, and I will speak. Certainly, answered Sandaka; and Ānanda began:—

The Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened, has specified four antitheses to the higher life, and four comfortless vocations, wherein a man of intelligence will assuredly not follow the higher life, or, if he does follow it there, will not advance to knowledge, the Doctrine, and what is right.

What are the four antitheses, Ānanda?

[515] First,<sup>1</sup> there is the teacher who affirms and holds that there is no such thing as alms, or sacrifice, or oblations; no such things as the fruit and harvest of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sāleyyaka-sutta (No. 4) for these heresies.

Many, but not nearly enough, of the inspiring details of Macdonald's upward struggle are told in this interesting book, *The Man of To-morrow*. Several generations of his family had been blacksmiths at Lossiemouth. He attended the village school, and attracted the attention of his master, the "dominie", at whose invitation he put in an hour's extra work under him every morning before the arrival of the other pupils. He was still a boy when he left school, and was about to become a fisherman from sheer necessity, when his old dominie interfered and secured him as a pupil teacher. Besides reading all the books in Lossiemouth, he developed a passion for science, and, says, "Iconoclast", (the author of *The Man of To-morrow*), "through the numbers of Cassell's 'Popular Educator' and 'Science for All'—which he was afterwards to describe as his university—he came into touch with the revolutionary discoveries which gave to the second half of the 19th century its determining character, and to his mind its scientific bent."

Apropos of his old dominie, Mr. Macdonald has written: "The simple kindness of the teacher is perhaps the most precious gift he can give his scholars." And "one of the dominie's generalisations was: 'You must master; that is education; when you have mastered one thing you are well on the way to master all things.'"

At this time Hugh Miller's "Schools and School-masters" was among the first books that Macdonald bought with his limited pocket money, and a Lossiemouth watchmaker lent him Scott, Dickens, and Samuel Smiles' "Life of a Scottish Naturalist". Arduous years were to pass before he could buy books with any freedom. He came to London like a new Dick Whittington, and after weeks of unemployment, found some work addressing envelopes. Then he became an invoice clerk at 12/6 a week; but the Guildhall Library was near by for reading during lunch hour. Evening classes in the London Council schools were attended and correspondence lessons were taken, and, having passed his science examinations at South Kensington, he was about to sit for a scholarship when his overstrained strength gave way. This was why, instead of becoming a scientist, he became in 1888 Private Secretary to Mr. Thomas Lough, a Gladstonian candidate and subsequently member of Parliament. Thus Mr. Macdonald set out definitely upon the path of a political and journalistic career. But he found a rich consolation for one

frustrated ambition, for he married Margaret Ethel Gladstone, a daughter of Dr. Gladstone, (distinguished chemist) and niece of Lord Kelvin. That was in 1896.

He worked for several famous newspapers, and contributed to the "National Dictionary of Biography" about this time. His first book, "What I Saw in South Africa", was published in 1902 as the result of a personal visit to that country. Needless to say, it caused an uproar in political circles. Mr. Macdonald has indeed travelled much, and I expect there is no need to remind readers that few British politicians know so much as he about Indian problems. In his writings he has constantly shown the instinct of the born word-smith, and most of his experiences have become material for his quickly moving pen. He cannot write a book on Socialism without touching beauty and raising issues much deeper than party politics, for he has an imagination, this fine and typical Scot. If he visits Palestine and writes a tract on the problem of Zionism for the Labour Publishing Company, he cannot help letting his words glow in describing the exotic beauties of sea and land. He may go to Constantinople to study a political situation, but beauty arrests him. He will stop suddenly opposite St. Sofia, for instance:—

"When you venture to look at its wonders of marble, precious stones and colour, you see, like a hovering shadow through the wash and the inscriptions put on by hands doing homage to Allah and Mohammed, the benignant face and symbols of Christ put there first of all by hands doing homage to God and His son. This is indeed St. Sofia. It is a temple of the universal worship, neither church nor mosque, but something embracing both, and more spiritual than both. In Palestine, one has to escape from church and shrine and get out upon the hills of Judea, the road to Jericho, the waysides of Samaria, to feel the presence. It dwells in St. Sofia."

It is not generally known that in past years Mr. Macdonald's pen has strayed from economics and political history into fiction, and many of his short stories have appeared, signed "James Ramsay". But perhaps his finest piece of literary work—one of the best examples of biography in English—is "Margaret Ethel Macdonald", a book that might be described as the fruit of love and sorrow, for it is his monument to the wife who was everything to him, and who died in 1911 and left him with five children and

deeds good or bad ; no such thing as this world or the next ; no such thing as parents, or beings translated to another sphere ; no such thing in this world as a recluse or brahmin who has triumphantly walked aright, so that, of and by himself, he has comprehended this world and the next and makes them known to others. A man—he avers—is composed of the four Elements. At his death the earth resumes and absorbs his earthy elements, water his watery elements, fire his fiery elements, and space his faculties. A bier and four bearers go off with the dead man, whose remains are visible as far as the charnel-ground where his bones whiten and bleach. Oblations are words and nothing more ; alms-giving is nonsense ;—it is a sham and a lie and idle chatter to assert the contrary. At the body's dissolution sages and fools alike are cut off and perish, without any future after death.

In a hearer of intelligence, this pronouncement awakens the following reflections :—If all this teacher says is true, then, without my doing a stroke, my task is done, and I have lived the higher life without essaying it at all. The pair of us are on precisely the same level of recluse-ship,—though for my part I do not aver that at the body's dissolution we shall both be cut off and perish, with no future after death. It is all supererogation for this reverend teacher to go naked, to shave his head, to hop about a-squat, and to pluck out his hair and beard by the roots ; while I,—living with a host of sons around me, revelling in sandal from Kāsi, decked out with garlands and scents and perfumes, not refusing gold and silver—shall yet fare hereafter no whit worse than he. What do I see or know in this teacher that I should follow the higher life under him ?—And, when it is recognized that this is an antithesis to the higher life, off goes the man in disgust.

Such is the first antithesis to the higher life, as specified by the Lord.

[516] Secondly, there is the teacher who affirms and holds that no evil is done by him who either acts himself or causes another to act, who mutilates or causes



harder political efforts in front of him than even his past could boast. In "Margaret Ethel Macdonald" the author's severely scientific mind is unusually moved by emotion, and if his natural reticence and impersonality is scarcely weakened, even here, the imaginative fervour breaks out in eloquent recollections of past schemes. The countrysides of England and Scotland share his grateful memories with the noble woman who knew and loved them.

Yes, Mr. Macdonald counts as a prose writer; he will inevitably find his way into any comprehensive history of English prose in the future. His style is always simple and well charged with matter; concise but clear; forceful but never ornate. His compeers, or let us say his close relatives, in style are Defoe, Addison and Cobbett.

"Iconoclast", the author of this first book on Mr. Macdonald (if a French pamphlet written before the war be excepted) is Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton, the well-known novelist and historian, who stood unsuccessfully at the last general election in England as Labour candidate for Chatham. I think a fair comment on Mr. Macdonald's strenuous career is afforded by Goethe's remark:

"He who does nothing for others does nothing for himself."

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### Is Science Divine or Diabolical?

This question occurs to me by reason of the appearance of several interesting books. To begin with there is the translation of reflections on religion by Sadhu Sundar Singh, published under the title *Reality and Religion: Meditations on God, Man, and Nature* (Macmillan 2/6) to which Canon Streeter writes an informative introduction about this attractive religious teacher. The Sadhu, as might be expected, approaches the central problems of existence by a direct route which very largely ignores the activities of science, upon which the West has set so much store since the Middle Ages. His golden keys are Faith and Intuition, terms capable of varying interpretation and not necessarily excluding the spade-work of science. Sundar Singh himself is by no means disposed to ignore the usefulness of an efficient mind, though his road towards it may be more difficult for some people than it is for the spiritual teacher.

"The brain", he says, "is a very subtle and sensitive instrument furnished with many fine

senses which, in meditation, receive messages from the unseen world and stimulate ideas far above normal human thought. The brain does not produce these ideas, but receives them from the spiritual, invisible world above and interprets them in terms of the conditions and circumstances familiar to men."

He goes on to trace these messages in the work of poets and painters; which reminds me powerfully of a series of lectures delivered at the London Queen's Hall during June by that stalwart light-bringer, Annie Besant. Her theme was "Civilisation's Deadlocks and the Keys". The lectures were I believe ignored by the press with the notable exception of that courageous little weekly paper *The Clarion*, which is still edited by the veteran socialist Robert Blatchford. *The Clarion* published the five lectures in full, and from those reports I gather that Mrs. Besant's "Keys" to the deadlocks of civilisation are Religion, Education, Science and Art. As usual in her public speeches she pleaded for Indian development on an extended basis of self-government while admitting that Great Britain remained in many respects the chief hope of the salvation of world civilisation. But the reason for my reference to her lectures is that she was very severe with the science which continually produces more deadly means of destruction and so arms more efficiently the powers of evil in the world. It is of course a most troublesome problem.

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Science is the outcome of human curiosity just as poetry is the outcome of wonder, and religion of aspiration. Nothing could be more natural to man than scientific thought—it is the putting of two and two together. By a universal process, science has been separated from other mental activities during the many centuries of its development and specialisation. No educated person today would confuse it with religion, art, or philosophy. So clearly is the autonomous character of science now realised that it is becoming quite difficult for bellicose enthusiasts in one department to work up an antagonism such as existed in Victorian England between science and religion. The scientist, not less than the ecclesiastics and the philosophers and the artists, have passed through periods of overweening self-conceit, during which they believed that their own message held all that was good and true and reliable. But when we brush aside these disputes and secondary purposes which

another to mutilate, who punishes or causes another to punish, who is the author of grief or torment or terror, or causes another to terrify, who takes life, steals, is a burglar, robber, house-breaker, footpad, adulterer or liar. If with a cleaver as sharp as a razor he were to slay earth's living creatures and pile up their corpses in a single heap and mound of flesh, no guilt proceeds and no result of guilt ensues. If he were to make his way up to the southern bank of the Ganges killing and wounding, maiming and causing to be maimed, punishing and causing to be punished,—no guilt proceeds nor any result of guilt ensue. If he were to make his way up to the northern bank of the Ganges distributing alms and causing alms to be distributed, offering sacrifices and causing sacrifices to be offered,—no virtue proceeds and no result of virtue ensues. No merit proceeds nor does any result of virtue ensue from alms-giving or temperance or self-control or truthfulness.

In a hearer of intelligence, this pronouncement awakens the following reflections :—If all this teacher says is true, then, without my doing a stroke, my task is done, and I have lived the higher life without essaying it at all. The pair of us are on precisely the same level of recluse-ship,—though for my part I do not aver that the actions of the two of us work no evil. It is all supererogation . . . off goes the man in disgust.

Such is the second antithesis to the higher life, as specified by the Lord.

Thirdly, there is the teacher who affirms and holds that there is no cause or reason for either depravity or purity ;—it is without either cause or reason that some are depraved and some pure. There is no such thing as intrinsic strength or energy or human [517] might or human endeavour. All creatures, all living things, all beings, all that has life,—all are devoid of power, strength and energy ; all are under the compulsion of the individual nature to which they are linked by destiny ; and it is solely by virtue of what they are born as in the six environments that they experience their pleasure or pain.



litter the roads of human progress, we discover at least one unique and uncontrovertible characteristic of science. It gives to man power over material; it subdues natural forces to human intelligence. In doing so it transforms the face of society. Science is responsible for nearly all the social changes in Europe since the Middle-Ages, beginning with the substitution of gun-powder for knightly armour and ending with the introduction of machinery.

It is true that the most obvious changes wrought in the Western world by science during the Christian era have been purely physical, and it is an important fact that the unifying effect on society of a European religion was necessary to that development. Scientists often speak as if civilisation had only one parent; but if science is the father of civilisation, religion is the mother without which the fructifying germs of knowledge could never have found the shelter of a stable society in which to develop.

Now the Sir William Dunn Reader in Bio-Chemistry at Cambridge, Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, is a brilliant young scientist with the gift of inspiring vision which is the fruit of a wide education and a fine imagination. And yet he too is so excited by the progress of science that he clean forgets the predestinate mate without whom its virility can lead to no permanent creation. He read an inspiring paper to the Cambridge "Heretics" which is now revised and printed under the title *Daedalus, or Science and the Future* (Kegan Paul, 2/6).

Mr. Haldane sets out to anticipate the conquests of science during this century. Among the imminent gifts of science, he says, are unlimited electric power and chemically produced foodstuffs that "will substitute the flower-garden and the factory for the dunghill and the slaughter-house and make the city at last self-sufficient," besides increasing our energy and efficiency.

Biological invention which "tends to begin as a perversion and end as a ritual supported by unquestioned beliefs and prejudices" (in other words, to be preserved by religion when it is proved beneficial) will give us shock after shock of the kind that Darwin gave to Victorian society. Quoting from a mythical essay "on the influence of Biology on History, during the 20th century, which will (it is hoped) be read by a rather stupid undergraduate member of this university to his supervisor during his first term 150 years hence". Mr. Haldane tells us that the eugenic movement will have failed, both by its own limitations and

the violence of the opposition to human stud-farming. But following up Morgan's location of Mendelian factors in the nucleus of *Drosophila* in 1912, by which he modified its sex-ratio and Brachhet's experiment of 1913, by which he grew rabbit embryos in serum, biology progressed until in 1951: "Dupont and Schwartz produced the first ectogenetic child. As early as 1901 he transferred embryo rabbits from one female to another; in 1925 Haldane had grown embryonic rats in serum for ten days, but had failed to carry the process to its conclusion, and it was not till 1940 that Clark succeeded with the pig."

When the news of the first incubated child was published, it caused, says Mr. Haldane's mythical student (and we may well believe it) an "unprecedented sensation", for the birth-rate was in most civilised countries less than the death-rate. "France was the first country to adopt ectogenesis officially, and by 1968 was producing 60,000 children annually by this method."

"In most countries", Mr. Haldane continues with a touch of characteristic humour, "the opposition was far stronger, and was intensified by the Papal bull 'nunquam prius audito' and the similar fetwa of the Khalif, both of which appeared in 1960."

It appears that 150 years hence ectogenesis will be universal. Mr. Haldane has, however, grave doubts as to the balance of benefit resulting from the separation of sexual love and reproduction, but the "effects of selection will prove a great compensation in eradicating disease and degeneracy."

All his startling forecasts, Mr. Haldane declares, are no less moderate than Mr. H. G. Wells's prophecies in "Anticipations", and these have of course been proved by less than a quarter of a century's progress to be well within the bounds of truth.

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Mr. Haldane seems to have little fear that science can be other than a mighty benefactor to mankind. And yet in conclusion he admits that the use we shall make of scientific conquests "is essentially a question for religion and aesthetic." This is the only reference he makes to religion that is not contemptuous or inimical. But what a tremendous admission! A less optimistic outlook might well discover grave dangers in the advance of science. Science itself is existing and flourishing on the moral capital of mankind and that does not seem to increase in proportion



In a hearer of intelligence, this pronouncement awakens the following reflections :—If all this teacher says is true, then, without my doing a stroke, my task is done, and I have lived the higher life without essaying it at all. The pair of us are on precisely the same level of recluse-ship,—though for my part I do not aver that both of us will become pure without cause or reason. It is all supererogation . . . off goes the man in disgust.

Such is the third antithesis to the higher life, as specified by the Lord.

Lastly, there is the teacher who affirms and holds that,—There are seven substances which are neither made nor commanded to be made, neither created nor commanded to be created, engendering nothing, immovable as mountain-peaks or massive columns ; they neither budge nor change ; they neither molest one another nor can they impart to one another either pleasure or pain or both. These seven substances are earth, water, fire, air, pleasure, pain, and life. With them there is neither killer nor slayer, neither teller nor told, neither teacher nor taught. No one<sup>1</sup> who with a keen blade chops a head in twain, thereby robs anyone of life ; all that happens is that in its descent the blade has opened up a passage between just these seven substances. Of principal forms of life there are fourteen hundred thousand, with another three score hundreds, and a further six hundred to boot ; actions (*kammuno*) are five hundred in number ; there are five acts and another three acts ; and there are activities and half activities ;<sup>2</sup> there are three score and two paths to tread ; three score and two æons of time ; six environments ;<sup>3</sup> eight Ages of Man ;<sup>4</sup> nine and forty

<sup>1</sup> There are traces of archaic dialect throughout this contemptuous synopsis, with its sneer at *kamma* (in three declensions, tentatively indicated by actions, acts, and activities).

<sup>2</sup> Some (says Bu.) assigned one *kamma* to each of the five senses. He indicates that the three acts represent the triad of deed, word, and thought, though some ranked thought as only half a *Kamma*.

<sup>3</sup> See hereon note at p. 293 supra.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2 at *Dial.* I, 72.

to man's growing control over natural forces. So we have in reply to "Daedalus" another little book, *Icarus, or the Future of Science* by that fine thinker Mr. Bertrand Russell (Kegan Paul 2/6). Mr. Russell's book is much more startling than Mr. Haldane's. Not less a scientist and a severer logician, Mr. Russell set out the elements of the case for the destruction and salvation of society in the near future. His ultimate conclusion is that world domination by one power can alone save civilisation. Mr. Russell's case is that while science has increased man's control over nature, men are "bundles of passions and instincts", and:

"an animal species in a stable environment if it does not die out acquires an equilibrium between its passions and the conditions of its life. If the conditions are suddenly altered the equilibrium is upset. Wolves in a state of nature have difficulty in getting food and therefore need the stimulus of a very insistent hunger. The result is that their descendants, domestic dogs overeat if they are allowed to do so...The human instincts of power and rivalry, like the dog's wolfish appetite, will need to be artificially curbed if industrialism is to succeed."

This is coming down to tintacks. Free food and ectogenesis seem slightly irrelevant unless we can prevent civilisation committing suicide. Mr. Russell is deeply impressed by the power of organisation over the individual in politics, education, daily work and even in private morality. This organisation gains a dangerous power when instead of party politics or trading combinations and rivalries it extends to national rivalries so that the instincts of loyalty to the group can be exploited in murderous wars. "The harm that is being done by science and industrialism," he says, "is almost wholly due to the fact that while they have proved strong enough to produce a national organisation of economic forces they have not proved strong enough to produce an international organisation." He sees organisation developed in the future with the aid of science to an extent almost inconceivable now. Governments will become more powerful and after several world upheavals power will be centralised in one group of economic and political interests. He is very doubtful of the advantage of governments obtaining, as they will, the power to sterilise those not considered fit for parents. "Probably in time opposition to the Government will be taken to prove imbecility." He thinks the average intelligence may in the long run be

increased, but he reminds us that scientific possibilities may be controlled by people who have only average intelligence and ethical standards, and if Bishops and Prime Ministers were considered models for the next generation the ultimate effects of an idealistic movement like that of eugenics might be rather depressing. His most startling anticipation however is the scientific possibility of controlling emotional life through the secretions of ductless glands. "It will be possible to make people choleric, or timid, strongly or weakly sexed, and so on, as may be desired." When physiology has found out how to control emotion, a power of human regeneration or degeneration will be in the hands of science surpassing all the dreams of all the Popes and all the Emperors!

But the prospect is no less alarming than it is inspiring. "Science is no substitute for virtue", as Mr. Russell warns us. Only kindness of heart can save humanity from destruction by the scientific Frankenstein it has made. "The heart is as necessary to a good life as the head."

The answer to our question is therefore that science is just as divine and just as diabolical as human nature. I think we may retain our faith in the divinity when the analogical progress of religion from beastliness and cruelty is considered. Mr. H. G. Wells better than any other contemporary has pictured the alternatives of the future in "The Time Machine" (pessimistic) and "Men Like Gods" (optimistic).

#### Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Shaw

Speaking of Mr. H. G. Wells reminds me that in the period under review we have had from him a successor to "Men Like Gods" in *The Dream* (Jonathan Cape 7/6), a book characteristic of his two literary egos, the social prophet and the almost Dickensian lover of human beings. Mr. Wells remains very popular. He is now a friendly and familiar portion of our twentieth century. In the days of "The Time Machine" and "Anticipations" he appeared to be a romantic scientist. "Kipps" and "Tono-Bungay" showed him in the warm human light that has never since left him, not even in "God the Invisible King", that amazing sequel to "Mr. Britling Sees it Through" and anticipation of "The Undying Fire." Sometimes, as in "The Secret Places of the Heart", Mr. Wells's profuse strains of egotism were rather too human. But with "Men Like Gods" he made a magnificent gesture,

hundreds of livelihoods (*ājīva*), and as many classes of Wanderers (*paribbāja*) [518] and of abodes of *Nāgas*; a score of hundreds of faculties (*indriya*), 'thrutty' hundreds of purgatories; six and thirty homes of filth; seven types of a conscious foetus,<sup>1</sup> seven of an unconscious foetus,<sup>2</sup> and seven propagations by striking slips;<sup>3</sup> seven kinds of gods, of men, and of goblins; seven Great Lakes; seven Sages;<sup>4</sup> seven major Precipices, and seven hundred other Precipices; seven major dreams and seven hundred other dreams; eighty-four hundreds of thousands of æons through which, birth by birth, wise and simple alike must pass in transmigration before they make an end of Ill. Herein, there is no chance, whether by virtue or observances or austerities or the higher life, of ripening unripe karma or of getting rid of ripened karma by continually interfering with it. Pleasure and pain are meted out in full measure; there is nothing over, no more or less, when transmigration ends. Just as a ball of twine, when hurled from you, continues on its course as long as there is string to unwind, even so will wise and simple make an end of Ill only when they have dreed their weird of transmigrations.

In a hearer of intelligence, this pronouncement awakens the following reflections:—If all this teacher says is true, then, without my doing a stroke, my task is done and I have lived the higher life without essaying it at all. The pair of us are on precisely the same level of recluse-ship,—though for my part I do not aver that the pair of us have only to transmigrate in order to end Ill. It is all supererogation . . . off goes the man in disgust.

Such is the fourth antithesis to the higher life, as specified by the Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. cattle (Bu.).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. cereals (Bu.).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. canes (Bu.).

<sup>4</sup> On *pavuta* Dhammārāma's Colombo edition of the Commentary adds the note:—*Pamutā ti pāliyam pabutā ti paṇḍitā* B. *Pavutā ti nigaṇṭhi kā* A1. M.3.



waving off his nigh 60 years, and striding back to scientific imagination of his youthful days, but carrying with him the mellow humanity of Mr. Britling. His latest book, *The Dream* shows that the warm humanity of this mucky, stupid world will persist in entering Mr. Wells's clean and spacious future, for *The Dream* is a story of human lives of today dreamed by Sarnac, a Utopian, 2,000 years hence. The first chapter immerses the reader in that splendid world where men answer to Mr. Wells's conception of gods. The last chapter is an illuminating and Wellsian "epilogue", in which the Utopians discuss the dream that Sarnac has told them of his previous life.

"It was a life", Sarnac said, "and it was a dream, a dream within this life; and this life, too, is a dream. Dreams within dreams, dreams containing dreams, until we come at last, may be, to the Dreamer of all dreams, the Being who is all beings. Nothing is too wonderful for life, and nothing is too beautiful."

If this is not a case of West meeting East, then I have never come across one.

I hope Mr. Wells will tell us more stories of the marvellous world of the future which has become a constant and inspiring vision to him. I have no hesitation in hoping for more books from him, although the list of his works given on a fly leaf of *The Dream* credits him with 18 novels, 13 fantastic and imaginative romances, four volumes of short stories, 12 books on social, religious and political questions, and two books about children's games. And following the enumeration of titles:—

"All these are in print and on sale, whatever a lazy bookseller may say to the contrary."

Truly an astonishing record. Mr. Wells's life indeed has been as romantic as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's. His father, Joseph Wells, was a tradesman in the Kentish town of Bromley and had been a professional cricketer who was a member of the first British cricket team to go to Australia. That was in 1861. Joseph Wells had, I believe, already retired from professional cricket when Herbert George made his momentous appearance in 1866. It is well-known now that much of his early struggle is reflected in "Kipps", but I have discovered an excellent testimony to the autobiographical truth of that book in an introduction which Mr. Wells wrote in 1912 to "Shop Slavery and Emancipation", a political pamphlet by William Paine.

"When I was 15 I ran away one Sunday morning to my mother, and told her I would rather die than go on being a draper" he wrote.

Referring to the author's descriptions of actual conditions, Mr. Wells declares that he "paints the dismal miseries of the living-in shop assistant none too dismally; to that I can bear witness. For a wretched couple of years in my boyhood I slept in one of the abominable dormitories he describes, ate the insufficient food supplied, and drudged in the shop."

He had to tramp 17 miles to his mother, and "felt then most desperately wicked, and now I know that it was the best thing I ever did in my life. All the brotherhood of man fled with me that morning out of the house of mean bondage to life and opportunity. But such a lot of us before it is too late will not 'rather die', and there you have the secret of all the tale of pitiful degradation that Mr. Paine recounts so bitterly..."

The film version of "Kipps" is, I hope, familiar to many of my reader, for Mr. Wells himself supervised the making of it. Not the least attractive feature of the non-Utopian story in *The Dream* is the truthful fun and the keen satire directed against social evils of today. Mr. Wells makes them look the stupid things they are by placing them in the narration of the strong, healthy, free Utopian.

There is a good story, by the way, that after Mr. Wells had become famous he was met one day on the steps of his club by an "ex-comrade of the ribbons and lace department."

"They tell me you've got on fine, Mr. Wells, since you left us" remarked the friend of his shop days.

"Thank you, I'm not doing so badly" was the modest reply.

"Yes", said the former fellow apprentice, "they tell me you're at Harrod's (a big department store in London) now!"

The story is in Mr. Reginald Auberon's "The Nineteen Hundreds."

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It is very interesting to compare Mr. Wells's vision of Utopia, especially in "Men Like Gods", not only with the scientific Mr. Haldane's prophecies already referred to, but also with the anticipations of Mr. Bernard Shaw in "Back to Methusaleh." Mr. Wells is less mystical, more human, and his manlike gods offer a strange contrast to Mr. Shaw's children born out of eggs in adolescence and developing rapidly into love-

less sages wrapped in ecstatic contemplation (another rapprochement, surely, with the East). But of course Mr. Shaw was looking forward 30,000 years!

Had there not been so many things to use up my space this time, I ought certainly to have had more to say about Mr. Bernard Shaw and his brilliant new play, "St. Joan", but this is a thing that will not be out of date in a few months later.

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In another field, Mr. T. Earle Welby's excellent little book *A Popular History of English Poetry* (A. M. Philpot 5/-) gave me much pleasure. Mr. Welby defies our more supercilious critics in producing not only the first one-volume history of English poetry, but the first that does not bewilder a general reader. You can never understand English literature without some knowledge of the wonderful career of English poetry. All critics (being but human, surprising as this may seem) have a bee of some sort in their bonnet, and I would not say that I always agreed with Mr. Welby's generalisations. But certainly the bees in his bonnet buzz much less bewilderingly than those busy insects which rush round the capacious bonnet of even a great critic like Mr. George Saintsbury. Mr. Saintsbury's history of English prosody is a thing to marvel at, to rejoice for, and to lose oneself in—completely to lose oneself in!

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It is only a step from this survey of English poetry to the useful annual collection entitled "The Best Poems", compiled by Mr. Thomas Moulton, the critic, and author of two charming and very promising novels, "Snow Over Elden" and "The Comely Lass" (both from Heinemann). In *The Best Poems of 1923* (Cape 6/-) Mr. Moulton presents a selection of verse from the United States as well as England, and a very interesting collection of contemporary work results. Not the least of my reasons for welcoming this experiment (if not the title) is my feeling that the anthologist has at least backed his own honest opinions, and has not been servile to any literary coterie. There is less of the eccentric, less of the merely pretty, and less of the merely pretentious in this collection than there would certainly have been had any but a few of our younger critics compiled the book.

The subject of poetry brings me to a valuable little book, *Milton Agonistes: A Metaphysical Criticism* by E. H. Viziak (Philpot 3/6). Until

I read Mr. Viziak's study I did not suspect that hatred of Milton was a prevalent disease of modern mentality. I had feared something far worse, a prevalent indifference, and therefore I was accordingly cheered to read:

"The Milton-haters of today consist of two classes; one of which may be styled *neo-Catholics* and (although Milton was not a Puritan in the sterile sense) *anti-Puritans*. The more militant and literary members of this class are under the spell of the Middle Ages, which they conceive, or rather misconceive, in a glamour. The other class (which merit respectful sympathy) comprise that remnant of Jacobites who continue to cherish the memory of their 'martyred' Charles, whose statue at the last anniversary of his execution was wreathed with flowers. It is no wonder the author of the *Eikonoklastes* is obnoxious to them, so that, in an angry mood, they might have applauded Judge Jefferies' question at Chalfont St. Giles—'Do you not consider the loss of your sight a judgment from heaven for your treatment of the King?'—but scarcely Milton's rejoinder: 'Is not the loss of his head a still greater judgment on the King?'"

The way Mr. Viziak analyses the operation of Milton's genius as "inverted power" in the "Paradise Lost" is most suggestive, though it is a pity that he uses terms like "supraconscious" and "subconscious" without a little more regard for the reader who may not have read W. H. Myers' great work on "Human Personality and its Survival After Bodily Death". His assurance is also timely that "Paradise Lost" was originally intended to take the shape of an Athenian tragedy. But above all I am grateful to the author of *Milton Agonistes* for his exposition of Milton's sublimity, and his martyrdom of spirit and unbending intolerance of the religious and patriotic shams of contemporary society. Sir Thomas Browne gave voice to the more ordinary temperament that "would not perish upon a ceremony, politik points, or indifferency". But the gallic spirit of Anatole France has gone far beyond this. Sir Thomas Browne could praise Socrates "that suffered on a fundamental point of religion", but the author of "Notes on Life and Letters" can praise Rabelais on grounds that might have surprised even Rabelais, because he "maintained his opinions, but not up to the burning point, reckoning in advance of and with Montaigne, that to die for an idea is to put a very high value on one's opinions.....Martyrs are lacking in irony..."



[519] Wonderful, Ānanda, marvellous, how the Lord has specified these four antitheses. What now are those four comfortless vocations he speaks of?

Take the case of a teacher who is 'all-knowing and all-seeing, with nothing outside his ken and vision, who claims that, whether he is walking or standing still, whether he is asleep or awake, his ken and vision stand ready, aye ready.' This teacher goes to a house which is empty and gets no alms given him; is bitten by a dog; encounters a violent elephant or horse or bullock; asks a man or woman their name and clan; or needs to ask the name of, or the way to, a village or township. When asked how he explains this, he answers that he had to do each of these things and was constrained to do as he did.

In a hearer of intelligence, this pronouncement awakens the following reflections:—All-knowing and all-seeing though he is, this reverend teacher yet does all these things and must! So, observing this to be a comfortless form of the higher life, off he goes in disgust.

Such, Sandaka, is the first comfortless vocation which the Lord who knows and sees, Arahāt all-enlightened, has indicated as one [520] wherein a man of intelligence will not follow the higher life, or, if he does follow it, will not advance to knowledge, the doctrine, and what is right.

Then, there is the teacher who derives from tradition and holds by traditional truth, preaching a doctrine which is traditional, which has been handed down the line, and is scriptural. Now traditional orthodoxy is partly sound and partly unsound, right here and wrong there.

In a hearer of intelligence, this awakens the reflections that it is all hearsay, and a comfortless vocation; and off he goes in disgust.

Such is the second comfortless vocation indicated by the Lord.

Next there is the teacher who is a rationalist of pure reason and criticism, preaching a doctrine of his own



devising evolved for him by his own reasoning. Now your rationalist teacher reasons sometimes well and sometimes badly, being right here and wrong there.

In a hearer of intelligence, this awakens the reflection that it is individual speculation, partly right and partly wrong, and a comfortless vocation ; and off he goes in disgust.

Such is the third comfortless vocation indicated by the Lord.

Lastly, there is the teacher who is stupid and deficient, so that he [521] meets this or that question by equivocation and tortuosity,—saying : I do not affirm this, I do not affirm that, I do not affirm otherwise, I do not affirm the negative, nor do I deny the negative.

In a hearer of intelligence, this awakens the reflections that the teacher is stupid and deficient, that he is sitting on the fence, that this is a comfortless vocation ; and so off he goes in disgust.

Such is the fourth of the comfortless vocations indicated by the Lord who knows and sees, the Arahāt all-enlightened, as those wherein a man of intelligence will assuredly not follow the higher life, or, if he does follow it there, will not advance to knowledge, the Doctrine, and what is right.

It is wonderful and marvellous, Ānanda, how the Lord has exposed the futility of these four comfortless vocations. Tell me now his own gospel of the higher life and of the advance to knowledge, the Doctrine, and what is right.

There appears in the world here, Sandakā, a Truthfinder, Arahāt all-enlightened—and so forth as in the Kandaraka Sutta (No. 51)—dwells in the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Under whatever teacher a disciple attains to this degree of excellence, [522] there indeed will a man of intelligence follow the higher life, and, if he does, there will he advance to knowledge, to the Doctrine and what is right.

Irony in this sense, "which refuses to receive anything seriously and laughs away sublime verities, is an intellectual martyrdom," says Mr. Viziak, "a voluntary confinement in a mock monastery... 'Charity' was Milton's corrective, as 'Wisdom' was that of Sir Thomas Browne... religion was no Puritannical system of inhibitions to Milton any more than it was to Sir Thomas Browne, who was constitutionally a Catholic."

It is a valuable privilege to be able to go back to a fresh study of a great genius like Milton, and to do so for pleasure instead of as a task will increase our discoveries. College students are especially apt to get together a few hasty impressions of these master-minds of literature in order to meet the requirements of an examination. The "pass" being secured, there's an end on't as far as most of them are concerned; which is a pity, for it means that education has closed, instead of flinging wide open, the gates of literature. There are excuses for the busy students who have time only to skirmish hastily through some easily-read book about the author they ought to read; but there is little good to be said for the universal system which replaces genuine culture with smartness in the examination-room. The problem of competitive education is, of course, a very troublesome one (there seems to be a glut of troublesome problems in my first *Causerie* for the *Hindustan Review*!) but until it is solved in favour of study for pleasure, we who have left college days behind may always, if we will, return to the treasures that we once passed so lightly on one side.

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#### Mr. Arnold Bennett.

About the time this appears in print a new novel from Mr. Arnold Bennett will be published. This is to be a continuation of his last one, "Riceyman Steps", a study of a miser and his household living in the slum area of Clerkenwell in North London. "Riceyman Steps" was one of the big literary events of last autumn and caused no little astonishment once more at this author's versatility.

Enoch Arnold Bennett was born 56 years ago, and lived his early youth in the potteries region of Staffordshire, "the Black Country" as it is appropriately called on account of its endlessly smoking furnaces. Mr. Bennett is a complex personality. His temperament as well as his work have inspired the most divergent opinions. I confess that I believed him to be a somewhat

cynical and hard man until, for the first time, I saw him in the flesh. The occasion was a West-End theatre "first-night." He sat in the stalls immediately in front of me. He was waving gently an unlit cigar to the tune of the music played in the entr'acte. He turned to a friend beside him and began speaking, and I heard a soft, shy voice. The air of sharp concentration which is a characteristic of his features had given way to a smiling amusement, smoothing his brow, and making humorous little creases about his eyes and mouth. I happened to be acting as a deputy that night to a dramatic critic. Mr. Bennett himself at the outset of his career attended "first nights" as a dramatic critic for about five years. He has described (in "The Truth About an Author") his feeling of isolation sitting among the stalls in a dress-suit which looked too obviously cheap for his comfort of mind. But that was before the war, and we are a little less ceremonious now.

This little aside, however, helps to explain the assumed self-confidence—justified by events—which has marked Mr. Bennett's career. He has never made any bones about the importance to his own happiness of money. Money, he has explained, means culture as well as pleasure; we may not agree, but the candour was impressive.

In his teens he fancied himself (like Mr. G. K. Chesterton) as an artist, and wasted a lot of good paint imitating Turner's skies. Sketching with a brush is still his hobby when yachting, a recreation in which he delights. He has quite an enviable skill as a yachtsman, and his brush has pleasantly illustrated an account of a cruise in Holland. You never know where, and in what guise Mr. Bennett is going to appear next before the public. "Riceyman Steps" was by no means the first big surprise he has sprung upon his very mixed public. His career has been astonishing to everybody except, perhaps, himself. Novelist, playwright, pocket-philosopher, journalist, and essayist, he is; but these terms do not exhaust his infinite variety because the novels, plays and miscellaneous writings range over nearly the whole gamut of literary tones. He steps from the cheapest sensationalism to art of enduring excellence with the superb insouciance of a faultless prestidigitateur.

The man who could write a successful shocker like "The Grand Babylon Hotel" in 1902, turns out "Riceyman Steps", which puts him in the

And so too in succession with the Second, Third and Fourth Ecstasies.

With heart thus stedfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, stedfast and immutable,—it is thus that he now applies his heart to the knowledge of recalling his former existences; he calls to mind his divers existences in the past . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . in all their details and features. Under whatever teacher . . . and what is right.

That same stedfast heart he now applies to the knowledge of the passing hence, and the reappearance elsewhere, of other creatures. With the Eye Celestial . . . (etc., as in Sutta No. 4) . . . states of happiness in heaven. Under whatever teacher . . . and what is right.

That same stedfast heart he next applies to the knowledge of the eradication of Cankers. He comes to know as what they really are—Ill, the origin of Ill, the cessation of Ill, and the path which leads to the cessation of Ill; he comes to know for what they really are—Cankers, the origin of Cankers, the cessation of Cankers, and the path which leads to the cessation of Cankers. When he knows and sees this, his heart is delivered from the Canker of lusts, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance; and to him thus Delivered comes the knowledge of his Deliverance in the conviction that—Rebirth is no more; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now for me there is no more of what I have been! At the feet of whatever teacher a disciple attains to this degree of excellence, there indeed will a man of intelligence follow the higher life, and, if he does, there will he advance to knowledge, the Doctrine, and what is right.

Would the Almsman, Ānanda, who is an Arahāt—in whom Cankers are dead, who has greatly lived, whose task is done, who has cast off his burthen, who has won his weal, whose bonds are no more, and who by utter knowledge has been entirely Delivered—, would he [528] indulge in pleasures of sense?



literary company of the Balzac of "Pere Goriot" and "Eugenie Grandet". The fact is he has always been a good craftsman, even at his inexcusable levels. That Beau Brummel of criticism, Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, in "Thus to Revisit" speaks of his technique with the utmost respect, even when the theme is Mr. Bennett's "commercial employment of his pen". Mr. Hueffer has no doubt that Mr. Bennett "very obviously acquired an immense knowledge of 'technique' during years spent in Paris." But there is no necessary connection between Paris and the craftsmanship of a writer who has practised assiduously for over 30 years. Yet it is true that Mr. Bennett has admired and studied the French so-called "realists" of the late nineteenth century.

He began as a writer when that first fever of painting had subsided, supplying a local paper with paragraphs. This phase came to an end and he left the Black Country to become a solicitor's clerk in London. On Sundays he would go in for prize-story competitions—and win. Of course he would win. He had reached the comparative opulence of £200 a year as clerk when once more he burnt his boats after careful deliberation, and accepted £150 a year as a sub-editor of a woman's paper. Besides social gossip and captions for illustrations, he contributed a weekly column of literary criticism, signed "Barbara". This caught the approving eye of a lady who was then

president of the Society of Women Journalists. She wrote to him a letter saying: "Here *at last* is a woman who does not write like other women."

Mr. Bennett's fiction, like Balzac's is generally and crudely classified as "photographic", but this is partly his own fault. He once declared that fiction should be photographic or nothing. He has spared no pains to get a photographic accuracy in his descriptions, whether of the Five Towns, or of highways and byeways, shops and business offices in metropolitan London. His last novel was not only a sensitive and subtle study of Earlford, the second-hand bookseller and rich miser who starved his wife and himself to death. It is also a wonderful picture of the locality of "the gentle, broad acclivity of Riceyman Steps, which lead from King's Cross Road up to Riceyman Square, in the great metropolitan industrial district of Clerkenwell." This conscientious attention to appearances and facts is doubtless due to Mr. Bennett's almost lifelong practice of jotting down in notebooks every night the things seen and heard which have struck his mind during the day. But his best work cannot be explained by note-taking alone. It is imbued with a personal vision; it has that quality of mind called genius, which transforms a piece of craftsmanship into the living organism that is a work of art.

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## THE PAST AND THE PRESENT. A PLEA FOR A RATIONAL SOCIAL THEORY.

By MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, M.A., OXON.

Ideas like currency have a habit of becoming inflated. The national feeling which is prolonged backwards in attempting to see in the past a golden age is such an inflation of the ideal of nationalism. We attribute to the past an increased meaning in relation to the present and put a value on it which is fiduciary and fictitious and passes current only by what the students of primitive culture characterise as *Representation Collectif*. The confessional ideas of to-day are

traced back to the past. For our weaknesses of the present we satisfy ourselves that the past was a glorious one. The attempt to trace back into Indian history the existence of a well developed system of representative institutions is an instance in point. There is no doubt that representative institutions of a type did exist in ancient India but they were crude, primitive and tribal. Their existence two thousands years ago has no more than a historical value to us. Still

the false sense of exaggerated nationalism which tickles our pride to see the germs of everything imbedded in our past makes us seriously claim it as a source of present day political inspiration.

The fact is that this dependence on the past is a sign of our decay. For a living nation the present is more important than the past. The past has no value to them except in so far as the present is its result. It is when rejuvenation has come to a deadstop that nations cast their eyes backwards. Nations like organisms live only in growth and this implies that a slow process of change operates on the collective mind of the group which while leaving the relation of the past with the present indisputable, gives it new ideas, a new shape and a new outlook. This constant rejuvenation is of the very essence of national life. It is the greatest indictment against the British rule that for India as a whole this movement has at least for the time stopped completely, as a result of forces generated by the inevitable evils of a foreign Government.

It cannot be denied that pre-British period in India when states and dynasties were fighting for ascendancy was not so 'civilised' a place as the India of to-day. But during the whole period of history when Islam came to be the ruling power in Hindustan Indian national life continued to live and grow. The great religious awakening of the Hindus from Ramanuja to Guru Govind which embraces the whole Bhakti movement, the rise of Sikhism and the elaboration of Vaishnava Philosophy—the development of the great systems of Hindu law, the growth of a distinctive school in painting, architecture and music and what is more the recurring manifestations of national spirit in all parts of India clearly showed that the Hindus far from being an inert mass were during all the six centuries of Muslim contact very much alive socially and politically. There was strictly speaking no Muslim conquest of India and no Muslim period of Indian history. Except the Punjab, the Ganges Valley, Gujerat and Bengal no portion of India acknowledged for any length of time the supremacy of the Mussalmans. Rajputana even in the days of the Moghuls had to be left unconquered. Muslim rule never effectively extended to Bundelkand and Central India; and in the south the great empire of Vijayanagar was broken up only in 1565, a hundred and twenty years before the Coronation of Sivaji as the Chattrapati of the Maharattas. The Bahmini states had been completely Hinduised. The

Mahommedan conquest was never really effective except in the Punjab, in the domains immediately surrounding Delhi and Agra and in Sindh. The local dynasties of Bengal and Gujerat had become national. One has only to glance at the architecture of Ahemadabad to know how in Gujerat the Muslim kings had contributed to the growth of a new spirit of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The traditional methods of oriental governments which left local institutions undisturbed, the central authority being a mere super-imposed structure, was the greatest factor which helped to keep alive the national spirit. The actual administration fell a great deal on the local Zamindars and chiefs who so long as they paid their quota to the Imperial treasury were left unmolested. That is why Muslim rule even in areas where it became more or less a permanent factor never became a foreign rule. Except during the comparatively short time when the Grand Moghuls held sway, there was no attempt of any kind to rule through a bureaucracy, through Imperial Officers who considered it their business to interfere in everything. The result was that though the rulers of the major portion of India were foreign by birth, the current of national life flowed in a placid stream without any attempt at being dammed or being irrigated. Both Hindus and Mussalmans lived their lives without the State trying to influence their thoughts or trying to spiritually mould them.

The continual rejuvenation of life from inside went on. Worn out ideas were rejected, new impulses and new doctrines took their place with vast groups. The rise of the Sikhs and the impulse behind the Maharatta power are examples of this. There was no fear then of rejecting old ideas merely because they were old. The Brahmo-Samaj was the last light of that period of mental growth. But with the establishment of a modern bureaucratic state which considers itself morally bound to interfere in every aspect of our national life this growth has virtually come to a stop. The development of a system of exotic education cuts us off from our moral inheritance. We began to accept ideas to which we could lay no intellectual claim. The result was a moral bankruptcy which did not show sufficient courage to reject what honestly we have come to think to be the dead weight of past tradition. We cling to worn out ideas and to institutions from which life has flown many centuries ago. We live in the past, without



There are five things, Sandaka, which the Arahāt of entire Deliverance is incapable of having truck with;—he is incapable of taking life wittingly, of stealing, of fornication, of deliberate lying, or of revelling in pleasures of sense as in the days when he still had a home.

In the Almsman of Entire Deliverance—whether he is walking or standing still, asleep or awake—is his ken and vision ready, aye ready, to assure him that his Cankers are extirpated?

I will give you an illustration,—which often helps a man of intelligence to comprehend. It is just like a man whose hands and feet have been cut off; whether walking or standing still, whether asleep or awake, his hands and feet remain always off,—as observation assures him. It is just the same with that Arahāt of Entire Deliverance; whether walking or standing still, whether asleep or awake, his Cankers remain always extirpated,—as observation assures him.

How many such shining lights are there in this Doctrine and Rule, Ānanda?

Not a mere hundred; not two, three, four or five hundreds; we have many more of them than that.

Wonderful and marvellous, Ānanda! And therewithal no extolling of fellow-believers, no disparaging of non-believers! Let the scope of the teaching but be example enough, [524] and there will appear many a shining light! As for these Mendicants, they are children of a childless mother; they extol themselves and disparage others, yet have only produced three shining lights, to wit Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca, and Makkhali Gosāla. Addressing then his own following, Sandaka said:—Come, sirs; our higher life is with the recluse Gotama, though it is no light matter for us to abandon presents, repute and fame. With these words the Wanderer Sandaka counselled his followers to lead the higher life with the Lord.



courage to reject it and renew our life by the acceptance of new ideas. The real reason for this deplorable state is that we have not sufficient faith in the new ideas by which we want to replace the old. They did not come to us as truth. They were taught us by our foreign masters. Hence when the renewal of life impetus has stopped we have begun to look backwards to see in the past all that English education claims to teach us. But this is dangerous process; for the worn out ideas of one age as Dr. Schweitzer says often become like rejected products of metabolism and act as poisons. This is the poison that has enervated us. It is this that interferes with the free circulation of our blood. We have been afraid to question; we have been afraid to reject. Instead of purposive activity and genuine social thought a kind of dynamic orthodoxy took up cudgels in favour of everything that existed. The painted past in which we live has almost suffocated us. We have resisted the acceptance of new ideas from an entirely false sense of national prestige arising out of the inflation of the doctrine of nationalism.

What India requires now is a principle of rejuvenation. The non-co-operation movement tried something of the kind but it was too limited in its social activities. What we have to do is to attempt an extensive cleaning up of the whole range of national life, accepting nothing whose utility or compelling basis is not proved to us. Such a philosophical examination of the basis of our national life—for that is what is required—will throw much that we now unreasonably hold sacred into the dust heap. The only attempt that was made in this direction was by Raja Rammohan Roy. He wanted to remodel society; he wanted a complete purging of worn out ideas but the time unfortunately was not ripe. Orthodoxy had armed itself and a movement which had in it the germs of a great national regeneration sank into the creed of an enlightened sect. It is one of the greatest tragedies of modern India, for Rammohan Roy's ideas were genuinely revolutionary in social matters and if accepted would have given an impetus to national rejuvenation. He began by questioning the very philosophy behind our social system. His object was nothing less than the breakdown of caste and the *Sanghatan* of the whole Hindu Community. He attacked the basis of the Hindu joint family system with its early marriage and group life. He began the reclamation of the submerged classes. He undermined and set to work to blow

up the Varnashrama Dharma. He introduced new ideas. But alas, moral bankruptcy had already overtaken the Hindus and his effort magnificent as it was succeeded only very partially. We have to take up where he left and continue the attack the plan of which he drew up if Indian society is to be united into a purposive organism for human good.

The first essential requisite for this is a new social philosophy. Indian life is being choked in the *mortmain* of the Varnashrama Dharma philosophy. It must be replaced by a social theory which is rational, synthetic and non-theological. Society, after all, is the collective organisation of individuals in a geographical unit for the purposes of common life, through which alone man attains his highest stature. A systematisation of various activities into ashramas and Varnas may be alright for theoretical purposes but it has never approximated in the least to facts. The Brahmins were never a wholly priestly class and the Khshatrias were not all given to the profession of arms. Varnashrama Dharma is a purely imaginary division without even the merit of providing a tolerable explanation for existing facts. It is a social theory which is neither in accordance with actualities, nor inspiring as an ideal. Its replacement by a philosophy which will provide a compelling ethical basis for the majority of our people is the first essential for the renovation of Indian life.

Is it not because of the lack of this elementary but guiding factor that we cannot satisfactorily solve the problem of the untouchables? The Hindu efforts at the reclamation of the submerged classes have not so far been successful because there was no consistent theory behind them. The Panchamas simply don't fit into the four corners of the Varnashrama Dharma theory and we have not so far accepted any other principle for our social organisation. So to my mind both these questions are intertwined. The elevation of the depressed classes and their assimilation into the general body of Hindu society is certainly the largest problem in India. A question which affects the human rights and development of 60 million souls is certainly a matter of the widest import to the world in general. Its magnitude is bewildering but without its solution the Indian can claim no justice anywhere, and its solution cannot be successfully undertaken except on the basis of a universally accepted and morally compelling social theory.

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Another matter in which Indian life would have to renovate the basis and change the direction of development is the joint family system. There is no doubt that our present system is bad for the race and worse for the society. It may be an easy solution of housing and poor law difficulties but the method of bringing up children in herds cannot react satisfactorily on the health of the nation. From the point of view of the community, the creation of a new loyalty between the individual and the wider society of which he is a member can only result in disorganisation. That is in fact what we see in India. There is no doubt that if progress on a wide scale is to be achieved then the whole family system must be reconstructed. Here also the Brahmo Samaj tried to introduce the individualistic basis.

The time has come when we must set our hearts to the disagreeable but not the less necessary operation of removing the decayed ideas from our body politic. No society was reformed and no community saved by merely continuing in the old grooves of settled tradition. What is required for it primarily is a clear understanding of the relation between the past and the present. The true perspective in which any living nation will look upon its past is merely as being continuous and alive through its results, in the present day. The past is not to be worshipped because it is past, and is not to be accepted without question of its utility and justice for the mere reason that it once was. In India at the present time for this reasonable and normal relationship

between the present and the past we have enthroned the idea of the greatness of an imaginary golden age. Our histories are written with that view. Our common modes of thought take it for granted. This unreal and fallacious doctrine must be replaced by a belief in the possibilities of shaping the present and of directing the future if India is to attain greatness. There is no use in legitimising our claims to greatness as a nation by appealing to a past which exists only in our imagination. If we are to be accepted as a community which contributes its quota to the well being of humanity and is thus entitled to respect then we must depend upon our present, on our ideals and achievements of to-day. That is possible only when we have dropped the beautified mask of the past which we have put on to hide our ugliness. An ugly man alive if he is animated by noble ideals and is devoted to service is of greater value to humanity than the most beautiful man who is dead. The question must be frankly and squarely faced. It would indeed have been an easy matter if the cause of truth and reason won merely on its inherent strength. But the walls of Jericho do not fall by themselves and truth and justice triumph only when the hand and mind of man actively work for it. That is what is required in India now. The false gods of a dead social theory must be dethroned, and in their place we must plant the banner of a rational social theory which while taking its inspiration from the past looks to the present and the future and is not content to worship the Golden calf of a bygone age.

### THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—III.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

#### Elucidation of the Curse of Adam.

The Curse of Adam stands recorded in the Book of Genesis thus :—"Thou Shalt Eat bread in the sweat of thy face". The curse does not mean that the process of eating or consuming bread is accompanied by sweating. On the other hand, as experience shows, the process of eating is a pleasant fact; and is more calculated to dry

up drops of sweat if they are already in the face. Eating implies producing. "The curse implies that to eat bread a man must produce it, that is, he that eats bread produces it, or conversely, that he that produces bread eats it; he is at least entitled to eat it. Negatively, no man should eat bread without producing it. Here lies the foundation of socialism.





The next point is, did God intend the curse to be hereditary? It is generally understood and believed that He did so intend. The law of heredity shows that the offspring inherits the evil as well as the good in the nature of the progenitor. Biological Science has confirmed this primitive interpretation and belief.

In the third place, the curse implies that there is a constant ratio between the quantity of bread eaten and the quantity of sweat shed through the pores of the skin and as eating is identified with producing, the curse implies the law of constant ratio between the value of the commodity produced and the cost of producing it. The curse of Cain made the curse of Adam more severe by ordaining that this ratio between production and its cost was variable and that if the unit of labour produces the unit of commodity two units of labour will not produce two units of commodity but less—This is the law of 'diminishing return.'

The curses did not indicate what quantity of bread each man should eat, and whether to obtain relief from excessive perspiration a man might reduce his consumption of bread without detriment to his health. It has been believed for long ages, and it is still believed by most people that the more bread a man eats the better he is, that though perspiring is painful, eating is comparatively more pleasant, and it is better to perspire more in order to eat more than to perspire less with the prospect of eating less.

Misapplication of the law of conservation of mechanical energy has for long supported the idea that the more a man eats the stronger he grows. But food is not by itself energy. It is not the quantity of comestibles eaten, not even the quantity digested, but the quantity assimilated that constitutes physiological energy. The relation between nervous energy and muscular energy is still obscure, and it will be a long time yet before science can determine the nature and quantity of food a particular man should consume for the purpose of obtaining and retaining the maximum energy. The general idea on the subject so far has been that every man has a fixed power of assimilation and that it is better for him to make available to that power more substance than it can assimilate than to present less to it, it being understood that the rejected substance would pass out of the system without leaving any harmful trace behind. But this idea is gradually

changing, and it is now being increasingly held that a comparatively small quantity of food consumed is better than a comparatively large quantity, the standard being the unknown quantity which taxes the power of assimilation to the best advantage. Fasting is better than surfeit. Deficit is better than excess; moderation is better than intemperance and gluttony. The problem however is in the experimental stage.

The ratio between the quantity of bread consumed and the quantity of sweat exuded being fixed, the pain of sweating might be partially evaded by reducing the pleasure of eating. But man, as a rule, is so ardent in his desire for this pleasure that he is prepared to submit to the pain of sweating for the purpose of enjoying it. This desire was created while man was yet in paradise where food was like manna. Among the robust Western people, the most civilized of modern times, the best thing in life is a good dinner. The "good things of life" are laid on the table every evening. Johnson said not very long ago that "a man may travel all over the world without finding any thing better than dinners."

The western people are to be congratulated even for being able to imagine that any thing better than dinner can be found in this world. But so far their nomadism on land and water has been almost invariably inspired by the prospect of good dinner and its continuance through life. They work hard in fields and factories for dinner. They wage war against neighbours for dinner. They depopulate countries and continents for dinner. They enslave people wholesale for dinner. They send their children to school that they may have dinner when they grow old. Education for the sake of knowledge is now sincerely repudiated as camouflage. When it is said that man does not live by bread alone, no spiritual idea is necessarily intended to be conveyed; for a man can live by cake also, if he is shrewd enough. When the King of France said, "if they have no bread why don't they eat cake?" he probably had this idea of the life-supporting value of cake in his mind.

Another implication of the curse of Adam is that the perspiration caused by the exertion to produce food should be still present when it is eaten, that is to say, that man shall consume immediately what he produces, which has for its corollary that he shall save nothing. The habit

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of saving and of creating capital, it will appear, has been the most potent factor, first, in disturbing the ratio between the bread consumed and the sweat exuded, and then in completely divorcing the pleasure of consumption from the pain of production, and lastly in creating a hereditary class of parasites.

Lastly, it may be mentioned here as a relevant fact that the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," standing in the face of the curse of Adam, by persons who have accumulated enough wealth for themselves and their progeny sounds like a piece of unredeemed irreverence. This prayer was probably intended for the time, subsequent to the establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth. But that kingdom was not established by Christ in his first advent, and the second advent is still waited for. The prayer virtually asks God to withdraw the Curse of Adam, and cleverly reminds Him that it has failed and is therefore unworthy of being retained in the Bible. But probably Christ meant the prayer not for the rich, but for the poor, who sweated for finding food for others while they themselves starved. Uttered by them the prayer contains a request for retributive justice without any vindictive implications. The labourers of the present day however do not appeal to God for help, but assert themselves in strikes and in other ways, and compel their parasitic oppressors to part with a fraction of their profits to be converted into wages. The iron law of wages has made the law of profits soft and plastic by its heated blows. But after all the conflict between capital and labour is a conflict for dinner, and has no high spiritual inspiration behind it.

#### **Evasion of the Curse of Adam.**

A very important implication of the curse of Adam is that it has no application to the pre-cultural stages of life; for bread is made of wheat, and wheat is produced by agriculture. An astute rich man living in the West in modern times might perhaps, lawyer-like cleverly argue that he is not, except in a small measure, subject to the curse, because though society has advanced to the industrial, often having successfully passed through the agricultural, stage of human life, bread forms only an insignificant part of his food, most of which belongs to the pastoral and hunting stages of progress.

The change from the pastoral to the agricultural mode of life is accompanied by a

corresponding change in the character of food; surely our ancestors did not sweat in the fields for mere aesthetic gratification. It is not known that in any civilization in the past the food of pastoral life has been entirely supplanted by that of agricultural life, but the tendency has always been towards that consummation. Instead of eating the flesh of the cow man has resorted to milk and its products, possibly out of growing reverence for life. But with the progress of western civilization animal food is growingly reasserting itself, and the consumption of wheat in all its variety of forms is gradually dwindling among the richer, that is to say, among the more advanced sections of society. Wheat forms a mere supplement in the good things of life with which the rich man's table is loaded. Poor people sweat in the field and live mainly on bread. They do not draw for their food upon the slaughter houses of Chicago; and as to Smithfield, it is all but inaccessible to them. In India the consumption of animal food is nominal. It is almost absent among the higher castes of Hindus; and the Mussalmans, in spite of the reported cases of fighting with the Hindus on festival occasions, do not consume much cow's flesh. Cow slaughter in India is chiefly intended for the Christian ruling classes, who keep the memory of their home traditions green. Irreverence for life is characteristic of western civilization with all its implications of lack of genuine sympathy and compunction, and the historian has no difficulty in perceiving that this irreverence is the prime factor in the progress of that civilisation. It has rendered exploitation easy, and has kept the ape and tiger quality in man in sound and efficient condition. It has enabled him to evade the Curse of Adam more effectively than the highest achievements of science.

Evasion of the curse is possible in two ways, namely, (1) by the power of science designed to enable man to produce much with little labour, and (2) by the power of systematically consuming what others produce. The first power is intellectual and the second moral. The two powers are mutually helpful in western civilization. They are so blended in actual operation that they look like a single undivided and indivisible faculty. There is a third method of evading the curse, which proved partially successful in India in the past, but which under the pressure of foreign culture is being increasingly abandoned. To avoid the pain of

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sweating Indian sages suggested, from a high spiritual point of view, abstention from the pleasure of eating bread. Of course no man can live without eating food for any length of time. At the same time excessive eating, which implies excessive sweating is now scientifically regarded as injurious to life. The minimum quantity of food required for maintaining health, if it could be found, would be the most important discovery in hygiene and most beneficial to mankind. But it will be a long time before that discovery can be made. Besides a general formula will perhaps be futile. And so long as that discovery is not made the struggle between work and wages will go on and every man will try to work less and to consume more.

The history of the evasion of the Curse of Adam is virtually the history of exploitation. Exploitation is of two kinds, viz., Exploitation of Nature and Exploitation of Neighbour. The Exploitation of Nature is primarily intellectual in character and seems to be morally colourless. In truth, however, this exploitation is open to criticism from two points of view. In the first place exploitation of Nature on a large scale is impossible without exploitation of Neighbours of the present generation. In the second place it cannot be carried on indefinitely without injuring future generations, who will find the earth either completely exhausted or so drained that the proportion of wage to work will perceptibly decrease. After the great war the miners complained that the ores were too deep to permit the old unit of labour to bring to the surface the old unit of raw material. The exploitable volume of the earth's crust is limited. Its depth cannot exceed five miles, and probably it does not exceed one mile. The deeper the exploiter goes the more difficult he finds his work, and the sweating is out of proportion to the bread obtained. However this kind of exploitation, though morally objectionable is by no means very reprehensible, for it may be argued that science will possibly open ways of utilizing natural resources without much additional cost in labour. But the burden of proving that science admits of indefinite progress lies on the exploiters of the present generation, and so long as they depend upon mere chance or possibility they cannot claim the right of indefinite exploitation, against the interests of persons yet unborn and therefore unable to assert themselves openly. It is generally affirmed that western civilization is accumulating

wealth, instead of spending it lavishly, because of its solicitude for the interests of future generations. There can be no doubt that it is accumulating wealth, which may be available to future generations, but it can not be asserted that the interests of the future generations openly or directly enter into the consciousness of the final cause of the accumulation. Professor Keynes seems to regard the accumulative instinct as the result of a deep-seated superstition or illusion. He says:—

"The capitalist classes were allowed to call the best part of the cake (accumulated wealth) theirs and were theoretically forced to consume it, on the tacit underlying condition that they consumed very little of it in practice. The duty of saving became nine-tenths of virtue and the growth of the cake the object of true religion. There grew round the non-consumption of the cake all those instincts of puritanism which in other ages has withdrawn itself from the world and has neglected the arts of production as well as those of enjoyment. And so the cake increased; but to what end was not clearly contemplated. Individuals would be exhorted not so much to abstain as to defer, and to cultivate the pleasures of security and anticipation."

Thus it will appear that excessive exploitation of nature is not morally defensible, though its reprehensibility is not easily detected and constitutes a delicate problem in casuistry. It is remarkable that the principle of optimism being the cult of western civilization any thing calculated to give rise to pessimistic prognostication should be avoided. Pessimists of a cultured type are, however, already springing up by hundreds. Should the spirit of unbelief in the principle of optimism, to say nothing of the spirit of pessimism, come to dominate the heart of the majority of the cultured people, the bottom of western civilization will be knocked out of it like the spangled head of the snake, which in the mind of the uncultivated Hindu supports the earth in the void of infinite space. The principle of optimism is that though men do come and men do go society lives for ever, and progressively. Its ideal, as a cult, is that society is approaching to a state of perfection when wage will bear no proportion to work, and all men will eat bread and also cake without sweating; when the law of conservation of energy will be completely relaxed in favour of man. Excessive exploitation of nature on the other hand will make that law run in the

opposite direction and make man's life extremely miserable. It invites, in short, the destruction of western civilization, and is therefore open to moral animadversion. The history of this type of exploitation is quite modern and does not extend beyond one hundred and fifty years. But within this short period it has performed stupendous *Harikari* in the bowels of the earth, and has rendered the comforts and conveniences of life more costly than before. No doubt the great war is largely responsible for this, but great wars are inseparable accidents of western civilization, and can no more be eliminated from it than hydrogen can be eliminated from water.

As to exploitation of neighbour the theory is quite sound while men believe in its necessity and righteousness. It becomes shaky and unstable when the belief begins to oscillate. The fight between cosmic necessity and sentimental morality obstructs human progress, upward as well as downward, by its indecisive results. The history of western civilization exhibits periods of decisive victories gained by cosmic necessity, and it is by the results of these victories that western civilization stands erect, though the victories themselves are condemned by historians as inhuman. It is like denouncing robbery which fattens on stolen property, that is, property stolen by ancestors, near or remote, better if remote.

Midway between the two kinds of exploitation mentioned above lies the exploitation of animal energy. God gave man "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth". This dominion did not explicitly extend to the privilege of eating the flesh of the animals. Herbs and fruits were his meat in paradise, and when expelled from it man at once took to the habit of eating mutton, beef and bread. We afterwards learnt to use cattle as carriers and drawers. He was privileged to so use them. The cattle drew his plough and carried his crops home and to the market, and when wheels were discovered the exploitation of cattle as drawers was much enlarged. Cruelty to animals was largely practised. But the term had a limited signification. Merely making the animals work against their will was not cruelty, for this was covered by the term 'dominion'. Cruelty meant only such torture as was practised for its own sake, and not for the purpose of exploitation.

Slaughter of cattle is not an offence, but the causing of unnecessary pain in the process is sinful. The exploitation of cattle, except for purposes of eating their flesh, is being substituted by the exploitation of inanimate nature and ploughs and vehicles are now drawn by steam and electricity. This substitution is not the result of kindness and compunction, but is due to the fact that the exploitation of animal energy is less efficient and more costly. There is likeness between this substitution and that of free labour for slave labour. The abolition of slavery has no moral significance. All its value lies in the sphere of economics. The credit for the abolition belongs not to the advancing morality of man, but to his intellectuality. The partial abolition of the exploitation of animal energy does not proclaim the triumph of Christian morality, but of the science of civilization.

The slaughter of cattle goes on increasing with the progress of western civilization. Ten thousand heads are killed every day at Chicago, and the flesh distributed over the world in tin cans and Chicago is one of many slaughtering places. In India there was a king who killed 250 heads daily for the use of his guests. But Chicago caters for the entire world, for countless paying guests.

A refined form of exploitation is practised in the shape of milching. The milk is transformed in numerous ways for final consumption. Curd, butter, cheese, ghee, chhana, ghol, etc. are some of the names of the forms in which milk is consumed. The calf is given enough to live upon. It is sometimes killed to supply meat, while the milking is carried on by painful processes.

Towns which consume most milk and meat keep an organization for the prevention of cruelty to animals; and much cruelty is practised in the name of prevention of cruelty. Mysterious are the ways of civilization. Nothing is done in a straight-forward way. Complicity and camouflage add relish to civilization.

The curse, as it stands recorded in the Book of Genesis, and as interpreted above, condemns all men and women and their children and children's children to sweating toil on penalty of death to the end of time. This curse stands as a divinely ordained law, or as a law of Nature, as we now designate such ordinances in science. The laws of Nature are ordinarily supposed to be perpetual and inexorable. But scientific men who are also philosophers do not consider it



impossible that they are subject to modification or termination, though practically and for all human purposes they are immutable. It cannot be said that the curse, once passed, limited the power of God to change it or to put an end to its further operation. God afterwards promised that he would send his son to put an end to it after man had been disciplined enough to receive the boon. God also in his infinite wisdom endowed man with freedom of choice subject of course to limitations specifically imposed by Him. It was open to man to try to eat bread without sweat in his face, and his success depended on the condition that he would respect the commandments, and one of these commandments was that every man should love his neighbour as himself. Any act or behaviour showing that he loved himself more than his neighbour would eventually defeat his endeavour, whatever success he might attain temporarily. The evasion of the curse during the last five thousand years has been effected by a more or less violent disobedience of the above commandment. This disobedience has been most pronounced and emphatic during the last four hundred years, that is to say, since the inauguration of what is known as—western civilization, and among people who rhetorically call themselves Christians, or devoted followers of the son of God to make the disobedience shine more brightly in the blazing success of their evasive operations. But their success has lasted for some generations, and most of them believe that it will not only last for ever, but will show increasing brightness. There are perceptible, however, quickly growing signs that the success will terminate in disastrous failure.

A small difference of brain and brawn gave one brother an advantage over another which he utilized for the purpose of evading the Curse of Adam. The second sweated for the first. As this spread over a large area, public opinion became reconciled to it, and what was an infringement of the moral order came to be regarded as an instance of the natural order. Small natural differences were exaggerated and perpetuated by art. Natural superiority was reinforced by conventional superiority, and the divergence between the superior and the inferior grew in mass and strength till the superior became slaves. Slowly the very psychology of the society changed so as to turn mere acquiescence into acceptance, and acceptance into conviction. The difference was perpetuated

by the conventional law of inheritance and succession confused with the natural law of heredity. The conventional difference was at first proportionately larger than the natural difference, and in course of time intensified the latter. Natural difference was either accidental and ephemeral or fixed for life. It might be caused by fortuitous incident or by remediable disease. To take advantage of such difference was not only cruel but cowardly. The machine of convention grinded slowly and surely, and once declared inferior, a man had very great difficulty in washing out the stigma. In some societies it became indelible.

Fortuitous, temporary differences between race and race, between nation and nation often lead to marvellous results. Victory in war is a matter of luck; but a decisive victory once gained makes one nation slave for another for a long time, if not for ever. In a moment of weakness in the Indian nation the British found an advantage which has given them an Empire,—an illimitable field for exploitation and administration,—which has been utilized to widen the divergence so as to make the weak still weaker, and the strong still stronger. Compare the position of England under James I. and of India under Jehangir, and compare the position of the two countries in the present year of grace 1924, and the power of accidents on national condition will be at once obvious. India now sweats and starves, while she produces bread and cake,—bread buttered on both sides and cake filled with apples—for the enjoyment of Englishmen. She has been given a corresponding psychology to keep her contented, peacefully and complacently living on crumbs thrown from the exploiters' table.

Germany is now slaving to pay reparations to England and France, though she was admittedly considered superior for half a century. Empires have risen and fallen; Nations have eaten bread in the sweat of other nations' faces, and the history of the evasion of the Curse of Adam constitutes the most interesting branch in the history of mankind. At present the majority of mankind eat bread in the sweat of their faces, and only a small minority eat it unsoaked in salt water. Every nation suffers sweating, and national progress bears an inverse ratio to the quantity of sweat exuded from the bodies of men. The object of civilization seems to be to defeat the curse or law of God. But the success of civilization so far has not been considerable.

The revolt of the minority of mankind against the curse of Adam would have been futile but for the curse of Eve, which in the first place made woman a dependant of man, and in the second, filled the world with more men than there was bread. The curse of Cain helped the minority by making the majority mere vagabonds and fugitives on earth. They were like the Jews of the middle ages who, scattered over Europe, accumulated wealth for the benefit of the rich among the settled population. The several curses united to produce the same result. God's curse is another name for the Devil's blessing. The supreme being has two sides. The Devil represents the dark side, and what is ordinarily known as God is the bright side of that Being. The anthropomorphic God can never be identified with the absolute. Mankind became divided into exploiters and exploited. The exploited bore the curses, and the exploiters remained as near to paradise as Adam and Eve before the fall, with the important difference that they have the tree of knowledge in their possession, and can eat its fruits without further molestation. Indeed they have been eating it for a long time in the past, and are expecting to eat it for a long time in the future, though Bolshevism is threatening them.

The history of pre-social life is not accurately known to man. He has discovered no reliable record of any kind, in stone or bone, to enlighten him on the subject under discussion. Shortly after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise the entire population, albeit infinitesimal in number was reduced to hard labour. We know Cain became a cultivator, while Abel lived a pastoral life. Spencer thinks they were chiefs of agricultural and pastoral communities respectively. Abel was not cursed like Cain. He lived in the favour of God, and as he did not eat bread, he had no sweat dripping from his face. But how long his offsprings continued to live the pastoral life is not known. His family have either disappeared or changed their mode of living.

At the present moment out of seventeen hundred million people about sixteen hundred million toil and moil for their daily bread under precarious conditions which compel them, according to Christian doctrines, daily to look for the mercy of God, and to appeal to Him every morning with the object of inducing Him not to withhold from them the daily ration soaked in salt water. For this alone can be the meaning

of the daily prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The other hundred million souls having secured enough bread coated with butter, with cake added unto it, have gradually ceased to say their morning prayer as an unprofitable waste of time and thought.

During the last hundred and fifty years the total population of the world inspite of wars, and massacres, famines and pestilences, cyclones and earthquakes, cannibalism and infanticide, to say nothing of less impressive forms of death, has increased five fold, i.e. from about three hundred million to seventeen hundred million. This increase is enormous, having regard to the fact that what man had failed to accomplish in a hundred thousand years he has accomplished in one hundred and fifty. This is the period covered by the mechanical and industrial revolution. The supply of subsistence also has no doubt increased. But it is inconceivable that it has increased in the same ratio as the population, for though much virgin soil has been brought under cultivation, at the same time that the methods of cultivation have improved, yet it is hard to believe that the total quantity of food crops has kept pace with the geometrically increasing population, specially in those parts of the world where the population has been dense for many hundred years. The most advanced countries in the old world now live upon food largely imported from the new world. England is unable to produce more than a fourth part of the food grains consumed by her people. If the above rate of progress of population be maintained during the next hundred and fifty years the total population of the world will be more than a billion by the end of the twenty second century. Further progress will make the world over crowded in the sense that the average individual will not have more than twelve square feet of ground, the area required for his burial. The density of population threatens in the near future to exceed the final limit fixed by the laws of economics and of hygiene. We are thus passing through an interesting period in human history to its final crisis. This crisis is not likely to be put off by schemes of disarmament and compulsory cessation of war. Some scheme of world-wide importance must be found to arrest the surging tide of growing population, or Nature will be constrained to exercise unutterably monstrous cruelties to prevent the world from bursting, or running into utter Chaos,—cruelties compared with which Japanese earthquakes,



Bengal cyclones, Madras famines or Chinese floods will look like child's play. Man expected some final solution of the crucial problem from the great world war. That war seems to have been designed by providence to serve the same purpose as the advent of John the Baptist was designed in connection with the redemptive scheme designated as Christianity. That war has terminated for the time being but the heat generated has not been dissipated into infinite space, but has sunk beneath the surface in the heart of man transfigured from the kinetic to the potential form of energy. Either man must reduce population, or Nature will reduce it for him. Man may do the work silently, but Nature will do it tumultuously and spectacularly. The dismal devil finds more pleasure in torture than in slaughter.

The problem of population has become insistent for a definite solution. The glare of the dismal devil has developed an unprecedented degree of ferocity and terrific monstrosity by his catastrophic fascination, producing phenomenal stupefaction in the most advanced races of mankind. These races, under the generic name of the 'white man' have suddenly developed a tremendous reproductive energy aided by a stupendous productive ingenuity, nourished as much by the exploitation of nature as by that of neighbour. The whiteman is now ubiquitous. He is found in the tropics and the poles, and has permanently occupied nearly the whole of the temperate zone on both sides of the equator. He circumnavigates the world with a thermometer in his hand, and wherever he finds the thermal readings favourable he squats and settles, be it in the heights of the Himalayas or in the depths of Columbian forests. Elsewhere he does not settle, but visits and exploits from an outpost, which he uses as a base of operation. The Himalayas form the outpost for the exploitation of India.

As to the problem of population among the black, brown and yellow races he follows a double policy. In the temperate halts where he settles he exterminates the original population, after calling them the aboriginal people. In the hotter regions he encourages the aborigines to multiply themselves—where he exterminates he fills the land with a rapidly growing white population. Thus the total population of the world grows with tremendous rapidity. The double policy is designed to facilitate exploitation of the natural resources of the world.

Its effect is to exhaust these resources more quickly than nature intended, and to bring on the end with catastrophic quickness. That end will come much earlier than the complete exhaustion of the resources. It will certainly not wait for the cooling of the sun. The dismal devil is preparing the world for a spectacular destructive demonstration transcending the power of the most comprehensive imagination to anticipate and compass. The devil has his own ways of dealing with population. The Malthusian law does not imply that the ratio between population and subsistence is constant. Sometimes a large population is maintained on small rations, it may be on reduced health. But the problem is obscured by the subjective element in the quantity of food required for healthy life. At all events the balance between food supply and population may remain disturbed for a long time, after which a sudden disaster comes unawares and causes havoc on a shocking scale.

For the purpose of effectively evading the curse of Adam man has divided himself into three primary selves, *viz.*, the personal self, the group self and the human self. The first self takes care of his personal interests, the second those of the group to which he belongs or attaches himself by choice, and the third takes care of the interests of humanity as a whole. The three selves have three different standards of Ethics or Moral life, and they assert themselves sometimes severally and sometimes jointly and confusedly. Occasionally one of the selves, either by the power of impulse or by the strong urge of reason, triumphs over the other two and controls the activities of the personal organism. As a rule in the routine course of life the personal self stands supreme, and the interests of the other two selves are taken into account only so far as they are conducive to the interests of the personal self. On rare occasions the group self dictates to the other two selves, and calls on them to make sacrifices great or small. This is specially observed in time of war, when men rush to the front regardless of discomforts and risks. The third self is the weakest in the organism of selves, so far as the past history of man discloses their relative strength. Idealists hope that in the remote future this self will reign supreme in peace and perpetuity, the other two selves surrendering themselves to its dictates. But if the past is the prophet of the future in any sense the optimism of Idealism

seems to be unsubstantial. The different races are knowing one another more intimately than before, but instead of loving, the more they know the more they hate. One race hugs another with the love of *Dhrilarastra* who reduced Bhima's iron image to mere pulp.

The group self is subdivided chiefly into the family self, the class or communal self, the national self and the racial self. These are other forms of group self already in existence and more may be invented hereafter for the purpose of evading god's curse respecting the relation between cost and compensation in self and race conservation.

Every man is consciously or subconsciously trying to impose upon others his share of the sweat that the curse of Adam demands. Every group of men is trying to impose upon other groups the sweat required of it. Among the groups the nation is the most powerful and widespread. Every nation tries to exploit other nations, directly by force, or diplomatically by fraud. Exploitation means that the exploited nation should place its services at the disposal of the exploiting nation without demanding adequate remuneration. Force and fraud are both at the back of exploitation. Sometimes force and sometimes fraud plays the supreme part, but as a rule they play together. After all force and fraud are not such monstrosities as we suppose them to be. They have made the world what it is. They have civilized it. It is inconsistent to denounce them and at the same time to praise civilization, particularly the Western variety of it. Some people think they can retain civilization as an accomplished fact, and send the means by which it has been attained to the gallows, as if they were like a ladder which might be kicked down when the roof had been reached.

A group of men instead of making the interest of humanity the guiding principle of conduct follow the shorter and smoother line suggested by the interest of the group to which they belong ; and it is to be noted that the group interest is wider and nobler than the interest of the individual ; and that one group succeeds in exploiting another in proportion as its members subordinate the personal self to the group self. This subordination sometimes extends to conscious annihilation, as an extremely probable fact, of the personal self. The reward of the hero lies in posthumous applause. Whether imperative impulse or calculating reason forms

the real urge of the suicidal jump, the hero is esteemed all over the world for the bare fact that the group self has subordinated his personal self. Sometimes it is even suspected that the human self of the hero has for the moment triumphed over his personal self, and when this genuinely occurs the hero really deserves the highest praise. In him for the time being the lower selves have sacrificed themselves at the altar of the highest ; true love has displaced hatred of neighbour ; the love of God has displaced the love of life ; reality has annihilated illusion.

Some people think the group self is higher than the personal self and that to reach the human self the personal self must part through it. The human self is perhaps not an aggregation of personal selves or of group selves and neither philanthropy nor federalism can truly make man human.

Exploitation has made such a big jump during the last century and a half that we are apt to suppose that it is an invention of Modern times, and especially of Western civilization. The truth is that exploitation had its origin in the desire to eat bread without sweat in the face, in the desire to evade the curse of Adam. It has received statutory sanction from the original compact by which society was formed, and it has ever since been developing with a growing rate of progress until now its intensiveness as well as its extensiveness has nearly reached the climax. This double progress is due not merely to the growing debauchment of the moral sentiment, but to a greater extent to the development of the inventive genius of man. The glamour of intellectuality obscures the black spots of restless morality quivering behind it. The power of applied science backed by the subtleties of a meandering morality, which challenges criticism by its dimensionless massiveness, while its perfection of continuity has raised Western civilization to the top of the world, which is ceaselessly scheming to evade God's curse, *i.e.*, to defeat his law.

In the midst of conflict of opinion as to the circumstances in which society was formed, and as to the exact nature of the object aimed at, *viz.*, as to whether it was mere preservation or amelioration of human condition, one fact stands out conspicuously, *viz.*, that some individuals obtained the privilege of commanding while the duty of the rest was to obey them unquestioningly, subject to certain undefined limits.



Power was organized and concentrated in a definite group while the duty of submission was paid by or exacted from scattered masses severally, i.e., from each individual separately. Tax was gathered from every man and put into a common purse, commanded by one man or a small group of men. There was thus established the Empire of the minority over the majority, which was gradually transformed into a parasitic oligarchy. The new arrangement did not excite revolt so long as it did not violently interfere with the common liberties of every day life, and proved successful wherever the rulers were moderate in their demands on the patience and tolerance of the people. In course of time the psychology of submission, started by acquiescence, was consolidated and stabilized into custom. Custom again was slowly changed until the moral sentiment of the people was sufficiently transformed to convert the consciousness of wrong from a sense of toleration to that of open approbation. Free criticism of the ruling class was condemned by public opinion, and combination for any disloyal purpose was prevented by law, which received the sanctity of divine commandment from State propaganda. Thus the difference between the ruler and ruled, the powerful and the weak, the superior and the inferior, grew in width and depth increasingly facilitating exploitation, which was ramified in diverse directions. Free barter of service or commodity made room for contract executed on the part of the weak with the sword of hunger hanging over them, and the result was that pinched by the necessity of immediate relief they feared to press for terms without which their future would become worse, and their faces suffused with a thicker layer of perspiration, while sitting with their wives and children down to dinner. The weak became weaker, and the strong grew stronger until the relationship of Master and Slave was established between them. This was the lowest depth to which exploitation could morally descend. Exploitation next took a backward turn because there was no lower depth to descend to; and after a thousand years it was also discovered that slavery did not symbolise an economically profitable form of exploitation. The natural result was that slavery was raised to serfdom, and in course of time serfdom was transformed into villenage. A further advance found the villiens turned into

yeomen, and yeomen became middle class gentlemen, leaving a large residue of landless labourers to carry on the menial part of the productive work for the upkeep of society. The descendants of these landless labourers form the proletariat of the present day, simultaneously impoverished and vitalized by the mechanical revolution of the last years of the Eighteenth Century. They were huddled up in factories and tenements, where physical conglomeration slowly led to political combination, against which the statutory privileges of parasites and capitalists proved unavailing after a prolonged struggle which lasted for nearly a century.

The backbone of parasitism has been broken by the power of political combination, whose utility was suggested by the power of economic combination invented by the capitalists for their own benefits, illustrating the conflict between immediate and remote good as the guide of activity. Irrigation which brings prosperity is ultimately followed by Malaria which causes depopulation. Imperialism is followed by re-barbarisation. Ascent and descent follow the course of the trajectory. Life is a Sisyphean struggle. Trade-unionism, the symbol of combination, has been instrumental in teaching the proletariat the value of temporary sacrifice reaped in permanent benefit, which the Christian priesthood had failed to impress upon mankind by their teachings extending over two thousand years. The benefit has now been dazzlingly visualized by the fact that in half of Europe the representatives of the proletariat hold the reins of government in their hands, while in the other half they have a distinctly audible voice in the framing of the ideals of governance, and in formulating the methods for their attainment.

The creation of a third class between the commanding and the obeying sections has given a character of complexity to the process of exploitation. This third class combined the traits of the exploiting and the exploited classes. It is a hermaphrodite class that largely blurred the conceptual distinction between the two main groups of society, while it has made the condition of the lowest class worse by the multiplication of new modes of exploitation, and making the evasion of the old modes difficult. Sambo and Quimbo, two famous personalities in H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, belong to this third class, which has now ramified into diverse sub-classes, as service-holders, professionals and

vocationals. They are mulattoes by descent and character. They are like bats, birds or beasts at convenience. They are liberals in possession of the borderland between labour and conservatives. They sometimes keep the balance between the two parties, but generally obstruct

the progress of society towards equality, liberty and fraternity. In England at the present moment, as a political class, they are in a sad plight.

*(to be continued).*

## IS INDIA LIGHTLY TAXED?

By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

"India is lightly taxed" is a facile remark oft-repeated and oft-quoted, rapidly gaining currency among people, who without caring to examine all about it, not only satisfy themselves but also sedulously propagandise and win neophytes whose zeal becomes proverbial. As is often the case, such statements, whose truth it is often difficult to probe, are readily believed in and acted upon so much so, that after a time, truth finds itself overgrown with a thick layer of shrubs and thorns that the search after it, however assiduous, becomes a lost endeavour. Leaving aside the globe-trotter who airs forth his views on the Indian political situation and India's economic condition, statesmen whose knowledge of Indian affairs, if well used, is sure to bring credit, going home, lose that imaginative sympathy, quite essential for the proper understanding of the needs and conditions of an alien country. Strachey need not be classed among these statesmen but certainly his remarks "There is certainly no country in the world possessing a civilized government in which the public burdens are so light," cannot withstand close scrutiny while the further remark "In England taxation supplies 5/6 and in India not much more than 1/4 of the public income," must be more fully gone into.

The Indian government derives its revenue from three different sources such as (1) Property, (2) Commercial undertakings, (3) Contributions from the people. The first category includes the income from lands, forests, railways leased out to and managed by companies, while state-managed railways, posts, telegraphs, canals, monopolies of sale, etc., constitute the com-

mercial undertakings of the State. Lastly the contributions from the people embrace direct and indirect taxes, the first comprising land tax Income-tax, the second comprising customs, excise, stamp and registration duties. The railways, a decided liability for 50 years at the rate of a crore of rupees per year, have become since 1904 a valuable asset and just at this time the separation of railway from general finance has been sanctioned. They come under two categories, as they are managed by the company or by the state itself, all of them being owned by the state. The railways under company management give a share of their profits. People obsessed with a desire for logical division and exactitude, are tempted to adopt the principle of division by dichotomy in classifying revenue into tax revenue (revenue from taxes) and non-tax revenue. Non-tax revenue comprises revenue from forests, opium sales, railways, irrigation works, post office and telegraph and other minor items as departmental receipts and fees for services rendered to the public. Opium revenue once considerable, is now declining owing to the agreement with China and may dwindle into a vanishing quantity. The steady increase in the income from forests depends upon the utilization of forest products for industrial purposes. The management of public utilities like posts and telegraphs by the state has proved immensely useful to the people. The place of the English income-tax as a single tax making a large contribution to the revenues of the country, is in India occupied by the Land Revenue and the difference is, while the English Income-tax is capable of adjustment year after



year by being raised in times of stress and lowered in times of prosperity, the land revenue is subject to a periodical assessment of 30 years in areas other than permanently settled. In this latter respect, namely, annual adjustment, that which marks an approach to the English Income-tax is the Indian Salt Tax, which by reason of its reaching down even the small incomes, easy collection with little change in machinery, offers an irresistible temptation to a financier confronted with deficits. One may wonder what is the place of the income-tax in the scheme of Indian taxation at present. At present its yield is not promising and a fear is even entertained in some quarters, that by reason of India being a country where agricultural economics still holds the field, and by reason of the comparative slowness of development of credit and exchange transactions, the levy of income-tax may act as a handicap on India's industrialisation. Whatever it may be, Indians may be fed on the assurance that the taxes of the future are customs, excise and income-tax, while land tax may fast be taken back to the ante-chamber.

So much in general about Indian taxation. We shall now consider what after all is the substratum of truth in the remark that India is lightly taxed. Putting it aside as an entirely insupportable proposition is the better part of gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation. The remark, as I consider it, is based on the assumption that land revenue is a rent. Here we need not enter into that unedifying and unprofitable controversy whether the land revenue is a tax or not. For our purposes it may be taken as a tax since it is a portion of wealth taken by the government in spite of its utter disregard of the principles of progression or equality or equity of incidence and since it is primarily a tax on agricultural incomes or wages earned by agricultural labourers (as often the cultivators are) though properly speaking they should be exempted from taxes, just as the artisans, shop-keepers and petty merchants are. Well, it is this assumption of land revenue being a rent that occasioned the remark of the lightness of taxes. Another thing too might have provoked the remark. We need only run our eyes through the Indian and English income-tax figures to detect the disparity in the rates. The income-tax in industrial countries, is an important tax capable of indefinite expansion and limitation and is a reserve of financial power in the hands of

financiers and eyes accustomed to revel in high income-tax figures, find it difficult to accommodate their vision to Indian figures. We all know why the comparison falters. Again the remark may be explained away, if not justified. "The land tax may be included and yet the taxation is lighter than in England," is the objection raised by some. The succeeding part of this article attempts an answer. At the same time one important point must be noticed and assessed at its true value. England is a country where industrial economy reigns supreme and India is still a country where agricultural economy has not ceased to hold her sway, and need we add, any comparison between the two is out of court! When India becomes industrialised the taxes full of promise are customs, income-tax and inheritance duties, while land revenue which is *facile princeps* now, may go down.

Apart from the unsuitability of the comparison, from the economic point of view, as indicated, we still proceed on the assumption—the temptation being so irresistible—that such a comparison may, somehow, be instituted. Here we encounter difficulties. There are certain postulates of Indian taxation. India's poverty is one of them. Even eminent statesmen and financiers subscribe to this proposition. The following figures given by Sir Viswesvaraya in his address in the economic conference, are eloquent by reason of their silence:—

	Average wealth or property per head.	Annual per capita income	Trade per head.	Death rate per 1,000	Average expectation of life in years.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
United Kingdom	6,000	720	640	Below 14	45
Canada	4,400	550	510	" 14	
India	180	53	23	Over 30	24

These figures while speaking for themselves reveal in lurid colours some millions starving for want of a meal a day while others have only one, the low average wealth and income (2½ annas a day!) the poorest trade, the lowest expectation of life and the highest rate of mortality. No wonder that in the face of these figures, the standard of living is low, the efficiency of Indian labour is poor and the death rate appalling.

The second postulate is that the administration is costly. No less an authority than Mr. Fisher recognises in his book on "STUDIES

Now for purposes of comparison with England the following figures for 1917 are furnished :—

	UNITED KINGDOM.	INDIAN.
Population	45 Millions	250 Millions
Earnings	£2,250 Millions	£900 Millions
Taxes	£170 Millions	£45 Millions

In these calculations, non-tax revenue has been excluded, while land revenue has been included and local rates for England and India have been omitted. If they are added, the rates are enhanced by an equal percentage. Without them the percentage of taxation on income (*i.e.* the relation between per capita income and taxation) is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  both for England and India and what is the inference we have to draw? No doubt the per head taxation is smaller in India, but certainly not lighter. When we speak of light or heavy taxes we have always in our minds the capacity of the people to bear the burden. Let us only turn once more to the figures furnished by Sir Visweswaraya and we find therein that from every point of view, average income or wealth or trade, not to speak of

other things, India takes an unenviable place as compared with the United Kingdom and Canada. One principle we have to remember is that the smaller the income, the greater the sacrifice and the heavier the burden. The sacrifice of Rs. 6-8-0 for a man who has an income of Rs. 53/- is certainly greater than that of Rs. 88/- for a person having an income of Rs. 720/-. Another equally important principle that must never be lost sight of is that the smaller the wealth, the heavier the burden, even though the taxation figures are lower. The average wealth of an Indian is Rs. 180/- and that is nothing beside a sum of Rs. 6,000/-. A comparison between the two is not even approached by the disparity in size between a giant and a pigmy!

To conclude, the remark that India is lightly taxed is not warranted by the facts behind the figures, even supposing that a comparison between Industrial England and agricultural India can be instituted. In theory and practice, that proposition is untenable and from the point of view of economics, the remark is as perverted as it is uncalled for from the political point of view.

## THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF INDIA.

### WHERE DOES IT LEAD US?

By DR. BHUPENDRANATH DUTT, M.A., Ph.D.

The radically minded leaders of India being dissatisfied with the "Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms" inaugurated the non-co-operation movement to bring down the Government to its knees compelling it to grant "*Swaraj*." It has been said that *Swaraj* is their desideratum or the ultimate end, they have been fighting for. But the meaning of the term *Swaraj* has been left undefined, or an ambiguous meaning has been put upon it. The people are being asked to sacrifice themselves to a vague indefinite ideal. Therefore it is just pertinent to ask the question, "what do they want?"

The country is divided in its opinion regarding the ideal. Those who have accepted the reforms believe in "Home rule" for India at some future date, while the radicals demand it immediately, but failing to get it (though promised by the Government during the war), they have inaugurated the non-co-operation movement with "*Swaraj*" as its end and have invited the co-operation of all classes of society for its realisation. As a subsidiary help, the agitation against the dismemberment of Turkey, otherwise known as the "*Caliphate*" movement, has also been made an adjunct to the non-co-operation



movement. Religious enthusiasm and national feelings have persistently been sought to be aroused, the emotion of the masses have been lashed up in various ways for the same end, and as a result heroic sacrifices have been made by the people. But these efforts however heroic have been checkmated by the Government by stern repressive measures. This is the gist of the situation in India.

Present-day India is in the midst of cross currents of different political ideas. Different social classes and parties are pulling the strings from behind and trying to influence public opinion in their own favour, and fish, out of the troubled waters, their individual interests. But if an analysis be made of this medley of class—and party—interests we may find the following salient facts: The failure of the first war of independence, miscalled the Sepoy mutiny of 1857-59, sealed the fate of the Indian feudal aristocracy. The power of the feudal princes who had so long been the ruling section of the Indian Society got a death blow after the discomfiture of 1857. Then began a new chapter in the History of India—the rise of democracy. A new social class has come to power in India, namely, the Bourgeoisie. The Indian liberal Bourgeoisie born of modern education is to-day the dominant class in India. It is equal in power and intelligence to even the British Bourgeoisie, which is now ruling the British Empire. It is also the rival of the British ruling class in India and is challenging the British supremacy in the land. But not being able to cope alone with it, the radical section of the Indian Liberal Bourgeoisie is asking the co-operation of the masses which is the third and the most important factor in Indian politics. The masses so long dumb and traditionally oppressed by the upper social classes are raising their heads. They are becoming articulate and demanding their rights and recognition of their claims. As a result, a big mass movement is in the process of formation, which is expected to play a most important and determinate part in future. And upon these masses the vague ideal of a *Swaraj* has been thrust. But what is *Swaraj*? It is generally said that by *Swaraj* we are to mean national freedom which will place the destiny of India in our hands. But that does not enlighten us about the true nature of *Swaraj*; moreover, in the present-day-world-politics the word "national" itself is becoming ambiguous and the oppressed and exploited classes in the

world are challenging the validity of that expression.

Hence a negative hatred of industrialism and of everything foreign, together with a vague idea of *Swaraj* cannot be the goal of the Indian masses. A "national freedom" does not really emancipate the masses. The ultimate salvation of the Indian masses can but lie in the social and economic freedom. It is a fact that India's misery is not due to foreign domination alone, but also to a corrupt and effete social-polity under which it has been labouring for centuries. Therefore, what we want should be clearly defined.

Young India speaks in terms of "nation" and dreams of national freedom or independence. It tries to make a solid front composed of different social classes against the common enemy. So in this matter, Young India is still under the influence of the political philosophy of the 18th century which ended with Joseph Mazzini. In our youthful days Joseph Mazzini was our prophet and his autobiography, our Bible. We spoke of ourselves as a "nation" and we dreamt of national liberation from foreign yoke. We shut our eyes to the discrepancies that existed in Indian Society. We disregarded or tried to deny the cleavages that existed in the Indian body-politics in the shape of castes, creeds, languages, sects, provincial differences, etc. We laid all the faults that existed growing like cancers on the body of the Indian social-polity at the door of the foreigners, and thought only of shipping off the foreigners that we might be able to rejuvenate our society. With this ideal in view we tried to enlist the sympathies of all the social classes. It is true that here and there we got the sympathy from a few of the upper "fourhundred", but we failed to lodge our ideal amongst the masses. And until the non-co-operation movement was inaugurated the masses had never been won over to the popular cause. This was the reason why so long the cause of freedom never found a universal response. In our days what we few spoke in whispers, is to-day spoken by the masses in public. To-day the masses are aroused and it is they who are the mainstay of the non-co-operation movement, which is committed to the policy of non-violence, non-resistance and other passive means.

It is said that this policy is the only one that is left for the Indians to resort to and India being a country which has peculiarity in every thing

IN HISTORY AND POLITICS" that "The British administration in India is the costliest in the World and a not unnatural mark for Indian critics who complain of the heavy financial drain which it involves and in particular of the large sums devoted to the payment of pensions." We can try and make a case for enhanced salaries for people leaving their homes and serving in other lands; but at the same time even the worst enemy of Indian aspirations will have to admit that the Indian Civil Service is the costliest service. The Prime Minister in England—though as such he is entitled to no salary, as the office is unknown to the constitution—gets only £5,000/- only per annum. He is the highest officer and gets the salary of a High Court Judge in our country. The Provincial Governor is paid twice as much, while the Governor-General's salary is fourfold. Correspondingly the officers in the Indian Civil Service, not to speak of other Imperial Services, Forests, Education, Police, Engineering, Finance, and Medicine, etc., are paid, and their prospects are likely to be made more princely as a result of the Lee Commission labours. The third postulate relates to the voice of the people in the affairs of the country. Without hesitation it must be admitted that a measure of responsible government had been granted and that India stands to profit by it. Unfortunately however the system of Government, *viz.*, dyarchy, has has been found wanting and even responsible statesmen have pronounced an unfavourable verdict. It is perhaps rather hard to speculate—happily it is not our province—what the course the events would have taken if there had been no Reforms Act. What we notice now is that responsible public opinion has declared dyarchy to be a failure and is almost unanimously insistent on making it go. Expenditure and taxation are not subject to effective popular control, and no scrutiny of the existing scale of expenditure so as to bring about economy is possible.

With these postulates we shall proceed further. Behind the low Indian rates some thing is lurking. Truth is there, *i.e.*, the right way of testing the burden of taxation; for the figures may be high and the burden may not be heavy while the burden may still be heavy in spite of the low taxation figures, as will be seen presently. The right principle in arriving at the incidence of taxation, is to discover the relation between per capita income and per capita

taxation. The figure for earnings divided by the population yields the per capita taxation. As regards the revenue opinions are divided with regard to the items that must go in. English critics harping on the lightness of taxation proceed on the assumption that the land revenue is rent. Some Indian economists of repute are for deducting the non-tax revenue while they treat the land revenue as a tax. Again there are others who while including the commercial undertakings, delete opium and forests. Opium is fast diminishing by reason of agreement with China and it is difficult to find what portion of the opium revenue is taxation, seeing that in the absence of government monopoly the profits of cultivators and merchants are yet to be calculated on a sound basis. The forest receipts must also be excluded as they are uncertain and as they depend for their increase on the utilisation of the products for industrial purposes. To that extent we will be erring on the safe side. Similarly interest, receipts by civil department, military receipt miscellaneous, other public works must also be excluded. They all form fees or receipts on account of services rendered directly. The question whether a particular charge is heavy or light is beside the point. When the above are omitted, the items that enter into our basis of calculation are land revenue, salt, stamp, excise, provincial rates, customs, income-tax, registration, railways, post and telegraph, mint and irrigation. The total figures are given below for the following years—

1911	...	...	£50,321,000
1913	...	...	£55,410,000
1920	...	...	£86,832,600

These figures divided by the population give the per capita tax in the respective years as shown in this table which speaks for itself.

#### Incidence of taxation in British India.

Year	Taxation per head.			Average annual income per capita	Percentage of Taxation on average income
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	
1871	...	1	13	20	5
1881	...	2	2	27	8
1891	...	2	3	...	...
1901	...	2	10	30	8.8
1911	...	2	13	50	5.7
1913	...	3	1	...	...
1920	...	5	0	...	...
1922	...	6	7	53	8.2



would evolve a new method of acquiring freedom, possibly some form of bloodless revolution. All these are plausible enough. But before we strive and sacrifice ourselves to an ideal we must first clearly understand what is our ideal. The masses cannot be asked to sacrifice themselves to a vague and indefinable ideal. It is easy to arouse the religious fanaticism in an Oriental mob and the so-called "national" spirit, which through a psycho-analysis will be found to be based on race hatred. But the enthusiasm endangered by fanaticism on other kinds of frenzies, religious or political, will not avail in the long run in the twentieth century. Rather it will recoil on itself. What now seems to be helpful will prove destructive in the end. The basis of unity of the people or peoples lies elsewhere. The Economic Interpretation of History is at the bottom of every human motive. We must never lose sight of that fact. In a country like India religion cannot be the binding force. The bond of union must be sought elsewhere. Therefore before the masses are asked to sacrifice themselves for a *Swaraj*, one has the right to ask the nature of it. A clear ideal together with a programme of systematic action must be put before the masses.

Present-day India is making heroic efforts for the "national freedom". But we must know clearly what we mean by it. Unfortunately for us our leaders have set up an ideal, of which the nature is still unknown; on the contrary a spiritual interpretation is now being given to it. We are groping in the dark. The methods and means have been mixed up with the end and aim; and we are only led by emotion. It is easy to arouse the emotional Panjabi and the nervous Bengali and we glory in them when they are worked up to frenzy. But their effects are momentary. The movement for the freedom of India must be put on a more solid and permanent basis.

The Indian peoples suffer from a plethora of injustice, and Hindu Society is based on inequalities. The oppression and exploitation of the Indian masses have been going on for thousands of years. Empires and dynasties have risen and fallen, hundreds of foreign invasions have swept over the land, races after races have conquered and settled in the country, religions have changed but the condition of the Indian masses has remained always the same. Political, social, religious oppressions and exploitations have been their lot. It has been their destiny

to remain as helots. And these masses are now asked to sacrifice themselves at the altar of a mysterious god—*Swaraj*.

Now, what is *Swaraj*, and intended for whom? A *Swaraj* where the upper social classes dominate, cannot have any interest in uplifting the masses. However philanthropic and pious the upper ten thousand may try to become, the cleavage of class interests will remain just the same. Benevolence, philanthropy, abolition of Untouchability will never elevate the Indian masses. From the time of Buddha down to Keshub Chandra Sen, attempts have been made to put the Indians on the basis of social equality through religion, but to no effect.

Human society is dynamic, the different social classes have different interests and stand in opposition to each other. The most powerful classes dominate over the weaker ones. Therefore, social equality can never bring men on the same footing. It is only economic equality that can put man on equal social basis. As has already been said, economic interest is the greatest motive power in society. And we must not forget it in the case of India and its present struggle for freedom. The history of Indian society has not evolved in a way different from that of the rest of mankind. The Historic Determinist finds the same motive forces in Indian history as elsewhere. The history of India has also been the history of class struggle, and this struggle is still going on, however much we may begot it under the name of "Nationalism." The struggle to-day is between the Indian and the ruling British Bourgeoisie. It is true that the political cleavage between the Indian bourgeoisie and the masses is not now much perceptible and that they have a common political goal, *viz.*, political freedom, as long as they have a common enemy. But the difference in social and economic interests will always remain the same. For a day will come when the common barrier will be removed and the different social classes will stand apart in juxtaposition to each other.

#### The Demos.

To-day the Indian masses—the Demos—are not yet class conscious. Long years of servitude have dehumanised them. They have been bereft of all rights. It will therefore take time to make them self-conscious. But the time will come when they will be class conscious and demand

their rights and their proper position in society. They cannot be kept down for ever. They will demand a new order of things. In the Indian and especially the Hindu social-polity the "lowly" have no place. Indian society is still feudalistic and is based on social inequalities. There is a huge landless agrarian population, besides the "submerged tenth" who have gone down without redemption. Besides the economic exploitation there is religious exploitation by the priestcraft. As a result of all these exploitations and social injustice the Indian masses have sunk down to the position where they are to-day. Specially the case of the Hindu is the most pathetic in the whole world. From birth to death the Hindu is a slave, rights he has none, but only orders to obey. There is no social polity in the world which keeps the man so bound down as entirely to hamper his development, as the Hindu social-polity.

Thus we see that in the Indian body politic the masses do not enjoy any right or liberty and as it happens everywhere, a handful of men forming the upper classes of the society rule the others and enjoy all the benefits. Yet in full view of these facts these masses are asked to sacrifice themselves for what is called "national freedom." This no doubt provides food for reflection for the Indian sociological thinkers and leaders. Granting of only a concession here and a few rights there can never remedy the disease which is rotting the whole Indian social-polity. A radical change is necessary. A new social-polity has to be introduced in the Indian society. Truth is always unpleasant, but it must be said, the solution of the Indian problem cannot be found merely by getting rid of the foreigners. It may leave the administration to the hands of the Indian Bourgeoisie but it cannot help the masses to attain the maximum development of manhood. Hence a new "watch word" should be found for the masses, a new world view should be given to them. A new ideal must be held up to them by which they can realise true manhood. A positive and concrete program dealing with the vital interests of the masses must be put forward. It is of no use shutting one's eyes to the conditions as they exist in Indian society. We must face the facts broadly and try our best to find out a solution of the problem. The masses are being asked to fight the battle of freedom, but what benefits are they going to get thereby? They are asked to make a solid national front against

the enemy, but nothing as yet has been set on foot to bring the different classes on the same social level. After the struggle for freedom of 1857, the feudal aristocrats went out of the arena, after playing out their role. Next came the Liberal bourgeoisie to play its part. At present the third and most important factor, the masses—are going to play their role, and the future of the movement lies in their hands. In this matter the same historic process of development is going on in India as has taken place in other oppressed countries of the world. Only in this following respect India is lagging behind the other civilised countries. In India the Third Estate is trying to assert itself, while in the other civilised lands the Fourth Estate is now trying to do the same. Unfortunately the Indians living, as they do, within the narrow limits of their own country appear to be amazingly ignorant of the outside world. The political, social and economic conditions as they exist in other parts of the world find no place in the Indian mind. The isolation of India from the outside world had been a curse to her in the past and it is continuing the same even to-day. The leaders of the Indian masses have built a Chinese Wall around the country, and lead by preaching emotional hatred against everything English. But the world's prosperity is built on mutual aid and co-operation. The educated Indian mind fed with the Spencerian doctrine can not see the truth in the principle of co-operation. India is a part of the world and as it contains one-fifth of the population of the world she can never remain aloof. The various world problems must find echoes in the Indian mind, and the movement of the Indian masses must be a part of the world movement, otherwise, their salvation will not be easy of access. India must take part in the working out of the world problems and contribute her quota to it.

It is said that no foreign people will help India in her struggle. True it is that no foreign people or political party will actually come to free the Indian people from their sufferings. But the world's sympathy and with it the recognition of India's claims are not to be trifled with. So, in order to establish relations with the outside world the Indian public must have a new program of work before them and must rise to the new demand. India must organise her own forces within her own borders and at the same time collaborate with the outside world.

On this account the Indian mass movement



should be put along the same line with the world mass movement. India is a *world problem*; and as the key to the world situation lies in India, the suffering working masses of the world are looking towards India with high hope. For this reason the movement in India for independence must be looked at from a different angle of vision. The Indian question is not merely one of foreign or indigenous rule, but is a question of exploitation of one-fifth of the humanity by a handful of exploiters. It is the exploitation of the Indian masses that is mainly keeping the British bourgeoisie in power, and it is again the strength generating out of this exploitation that enables the British Bourgeoisie to dominate the world. Hence it is that the world-suffering humanity are looking towards India with high hopes for a solution of their own problem.

India contains a vast impoverished population, therefore, labour is cheap. The capitalist class of the world will always find there a huge industrial reserve army at their command. Therefore nothing will prevent India from passing through a high capitalistic period and an exploitation of her resources. A negative hatred against modern Industrialism and the introduction of Charka can not prevent it. The inevitable laws of economics must find its fulfilment in the Indian history. For, how can the enslavement and the exploitation of one-fifth of humanity alter, *parri passu*, the conditions of the toiling masses of the world? Nay, rather it will crush them. Hence the workers and the exploited population of the world hope that the little cloud that is gathering in the Indian horizon if it drifts aright may bring their salvation. This is not a mere speculation but is actually passing through the minds of many revolutionary labour leaders. For this reason the Indian movement must collaborate with the world movement. The days of Mazzini are gone. The world is now being treated to a new philosophy—the philosophy of Karl Marx. As has been said before, we must look at the Indian problem from a different standpoint. We must analyse it from the stand point of Marxian doctrines. In future it will be the Fourth-Estate—the proletariat which will fight the battle of freedom. And when it will become class-conscious, the class-struggle will become inevitable. It is said that the movement will be hindered if the proletariat be organised and class-struggle begun at once. But then it is only the dictum of the class which has vested interest at

stake. True class-struggle may not take place until the horizon be cleared of the threatening cloud that hangs like a pall on the head of all the social classes. But for the sake of humanity and of civilisation the huge traditionally oppressed and exploited masses of India, have to be awakened. The sociological and economic forces are acting towards it. The electric shocks generating out of political, social and economic stresses which are arousing the world proletariat will also rouse the sleeping Indian leviathan. And when they will be awakened will they be satisfied with such a Swaraj—theocratic or plutocratic or bourgeoisie democratic?

The world is striving towards democracy. The toiling part of humanity is always restless under the oppression of the privileged classes. The masses of the world are no longer satisfied with hearing the theory of the leisured classes but are interesting themselves in the theory of the working classes. The masses have found out that true democracy is yet to be evolved. Hitherto the so-called "democratic" experiments have not been successful. The third estate in France established a democracy, but it was a class democracy. The fourth estate in Europe is trying to evolve a democracy not based on class interests, but on economic justice. This makes the fourth estate hated everywhere in the world. But true democracy does not know any class interest. In the new social-polity there will be no class interest. True it is that from Plato downwards to H. G. Wells lots of Panaceas have been prescribed for the betterment of the world. But we are not interested in any Utopian cure—all are mere Panaceas. We will have to look the cold facts in the face. We must seek out the most effective means for the uplift of the Indian masses.

### **Uplifting the Masses.**

The true means of uplifting the Indian masses lies in a new social-polity. There cannot be a flourishing civilisation and development of true manhood in India unless and until a rational social-policy be made the foundation of the Indian society. Naturally enough it will have conflict with the existing prejudices, interests, etc., but wherever nationality and rationality conflict, nationality must give way. We must not shrink from it. If Asia is ever to rise in the scale of civilisation and her teeming millions are to be redeemed from abject degradation, it must be through the destruction of feudalism and the



establishment of democracy on economic basis and the introduction of rationality—and that again is possible only through a social revolution.

These are hard and unpleasant things to say and sound Utopian. The interest of the privileged classes has befogged their eyes from seeing the truth, but the truth must be said and talked. The sooner the Indian leaders and social thinkers discern it the better. To-day the non-co-operation movement is in swing. But the repression has already been set on foot to crush it. It may be crushed, and the movement may turn into a Sein Fein movement. As a result the authorities may be obliged to grant some sort of self-government at a future date. But, will that elevate the Indian masses who compose the majority of the population? I suppose that complete independence is achieved; will then the Indian ruling authorities establish true democracy or will it be a class rule again?

Hence it behooves the Indian thinkers to look forward and analyse the social conditions. Those who have no prejudices or interests to warp their judgment will discern that the struggle for freedom does not end with getting self-government—*swaraja*—"within or without the British Empire." That this kind of qualified freedom may better the conditions of the privileged classes but will not bring the masses up to a higher level of civilisation and manhood.

### **Swaraj to be Defined.**

What they need is an all round egalitarianism, political, social, and economic. The term *Swaraj* therefore must be defined. The masses must know what they are going to get as it is on them that the brunt of the fight is going to fall in future. A patched-up truce can never put off the inevitable.

The Asiatics as a rule are individualists, especially the Hindus. But it is not the individualism according to the Spencerian sense but the selfish habit which is the outcome of slavery. It is "every one for himself the devil take care of the rest" principle engendered by thousands of years of political, social, religious and economic oppression and exploitation. Collective principle and co-operation are unknown to them, particularly to the Hindus. Nowhere in the affairs of life can the Hindus co-operate with one another. As a result of this slavish instinct mutual aid and co-operation are unknown to the Indians; but the world is built on mutual aid.

The biological principles do not controvert this fact. In an inter-racial group, individual competition is not necessary for its development, and the principles of economics show that society is based on collectivism. The old individualist doctrine emanating from the principles of the Physiocratic School and developed later on by Adam Smith and ending with Spencer's *Laissez Faire* theory, does not hold good any longer except in the case of those who have need of it for selfish ends. Communality on social and economical lines is absolutely necessary for the uplift of the Asiatics. The principle of natural selection does not imply the cut-throat principle euphemistically called individualism. In an inter-racial group, natural selection plays but a small part as Karl Pearson says, "All the evidences, however, that I have been individually able to gather from a naturally limited examination of Anthropometric Statistics and anthropological facts, distinctly point to the very small part played by intragroup selections in the case of civilised man. If this be so, then the manufacture of Biological bogies for socialists is idle, being an occupation like that process of planting economic scarecrows round the field of social reform, by which the Manchester school strove for a time to delay their political bankruptcy". (*Chances of Death* Page 138—139).

Thus communality on social and economic lines is what is wanted for India. But what we need for India is not a blind imitation of the old English systems, but a sound rational socio-political system, which has to be evolved in India. Unfortunately, we have not as yet developed any political philosophy of our own, only we are led by emotion and try to assert ourselves in the world only by sentimentalism. No movement for freedom has been so poor in Philosophy as the one in India. A positive hatred towards the British, and a negative idea of getting freedom, will lead us no where. The thing wanted is that our leaders and thinkers should study what is going on all over the world, and try in the light of that to uplift the Indian masses to their fullest capacity.

### **To get rid of Class Rule.**

The exploited classes of the world are trying to get rid of class rules and apply the principles of social democracy based on economic equality or communism. We cannot lag behind the other nations of the world for ever. Now that a movement for freedom has been started we must

try to conduct it on rational lines. For this reason what we want should be clearly defined. The masses must know where the movement is leading to. By appealing to sentiments or arousing enthusiasm only we cannot achieve much. The masses cannot be made the food of the cannon, unless they regain by it what they have lost. For this reason, before the masses are asked to die the moot questions regarding the reconstruction of the Indian society must be grappled and solved. A country means the people inhabiting a given geographical area. These people or the individual "Socius" collectively, form the society. It is the welfare or development of the "Socius" and its collective organ—the society that mankind strives for. Therefore, the philosophy underlying the present struggle in India is nothing but an attempt of the people to create an environment where they can realise themselves to fullness. This being the case, the thing which hinders the development of the socius in his entirety has to be detected and remedied.

But the present struggle for freedom tries to deny or postpone for the present all the vital

problems affecting the exploited social classes or the Indian social polity. In to-day's fight for freedom, the exploiting and the exploited classes are being asked to co-operate and form a single "national" body. The leaders try to ignore the cleavages of interests that exist between the landlords and the peasants, between the capitalist and the labourer, between the Brahmin and the Sudras, and are trying to unite them on "national" basis, which in the long run is bound to be a failure.

The masses of the world are already detecting the trick of "nationalism" played by the interested classes. And in India also the oppressed and exploited classes will sooner or later detect it when their class-consciousness will be aroused. On this account the sooner the solution is found, the better for the Indian people. An Indian fight for freedom, instead of dwelling in the morass of impossibilities, contrarities and platitudes which are characteristic of Indian mentality should be conducted on a concrete and clear socio-political plan of action setting forth the various means of reconstruction of the Indian society.

## SPINOZA AND VEDANTA:

Among the idealistic systems of philosophy developed in the West Spinoza's is one of the most important. Besides it is one of the most thorough idealistic monisms there. In the East, at any rate in India, we know no better idealistic system than that developed by Sankara. Some people may demur to call him the greatest idealistic philosopher of the world but none can deny him a very high place among such men. A comparative study of the two thinkers will therefore be of very great use to a proper understanding of idealism besides being of absorbing interest in itself.

It will be better to recapitulate the two systems before proceeding to compare them. Spinoza starts with the cartasian principle that substance has, as nature, independence of everything else for its existence. It is unconditioned, unlimited and infinite. Its existence is spontaneous. A plurality of substances is therefore im-

possible and a contradiction in terms. There is only one substance. But what is its nature? How about its positive characteristics? This question is impossible to answer for a definition means limitation and substance is unlimited. This is the reason why Spinoza speaks of it only in negatives as that it is not this and not that. The next main conception is that of attributes. Substance has two of these: mind and matter. It appears either as a mental phenomenon or as a material one. It cannot appear as any other. But its limitation in this manner is not due to anything inherent in itself but to the finite nature of man which cannot comprehend it in any other form. The limitation is in man and not in substance which is by nature unlimited. These attributes are mutually exclusive; a mental thing becoming by no possibility a material one and *vice versa*. But in so far as they are both the aspects of the same thing, they are not so. The



third important idea of Spinoza is that of modes. The various individual things seen under the aspect of mind or of matter are so many manifestations of the substance and they are all conditioned by necessity.

As to his practical philosophy man being only a *modus* he can have no free will. Good and bad are not things which are true in themselves but exist only in our minds. Where everything is substance there cannot be anything bad in itself. But we call that bad which does not fall in with our scheme of right and wrong. Only that however can be called truly good which leads us to a knowledge of God.

The Vedanta system is not as easy to summarise. It starts with *pramanas* or measures of truth and recognises three of them. One is the *pratyaksha pramana* or the standard of sensuous perception; a second is *anumana pramana* or the method of getting at truth by means of inference as when we know the existence of fire by the perception of smoke; the third is *sabda pramana* or the criterion of authority. This consists for the Vedantists only of the Vedas. Next comes a long argument at the end of which it is established that subject and object are mutually exclusive and that the common of the world consists in translating one to the other as when we say "We are strong or we are right." In this way is established the illusory character of the connection between the Ego and the non-ego and the sole reality of only the former. The seeming nature of the connection however is due to *Maga* or ignorance which is not individual but universal. Truly, it is only the Ego that exists. Though this is the truth, we must grant the reality for all practical purposes, *Vyavahartham* as Sankara says, of the universe as it appears to us from day to day. We have thus two kinds of realities, the real and only Reality and the Phenomenal one. Corresponding to this duplication of reality we have knowledge also divided as higher and lower, the first consisting in the way of freeing the Self from its illusion as to its connection with the Universe for all eternity and the second being the way in which man by doing works and worshipping Brahman attains liberation. The former emphasises knowledge, the latter action. Two Brahmanas are also given, the *Nirguna Brahman*, the qualityless Brahman and the *Saguna Brahman*, the "quality-ed" Brahman. The former is of course the true Brahman, the latter

being meant only for phenomenal purposes. For such purposes also the doctrine of *Karma* is introduced. It only carries beyond one life the law of cause and effect and applies it to moral relations as well as to material ones. It explains why there are the existing differences in the world and indicates what the way is to improve oneself in coming lives. In fine we may say the Vedanta teaches the truth of the Brahman and the unreality of the universe. The ego can not be anything else than that Brahman. But for practical purposes the world shall be real, man shall do good actions and worship a Brahman as living, as human as he himself. The position of this school has been very beautifully put in the three words "That *thwam asi*". "That, thou art". Now for a comparative review of the two systems. And first to the criteria of truth, the sources of knowledge. The Vedanta, as we have seen recognises three of them, the *pratyaksha pramana*, the *anumana pramana* and the *sabda pramana*, that is, sensuous perception inference and authority. For the purpose in hand, we shall say that the first two are dependent only on reason so that the Vedanta might be said to count upon only two things as sources of knowledge, reason and authority. Spinoza however takes only one of these reasons as his criterion and indeed we could not expect anything else from a lineal descendant of Descartes who started Modern Philosophy in Europe after rigorously eliminating all prejudices and writing on the clean slate, as his first point of speculation "Cogito ergo sum" "I think, therefore, I am." In a sense we may say that Descartes rejected all authority but we must be careful of what we mean by that term. If it implies such a thing as was used to stifle rational inquiry in the Middle Ages then certainly it must be set aside. But if it refers to authority, not on account of reason but on that of a faculty higher than reason, it is but right that reason should submit. In fine the Vedanta recognises, as means of knowledge both reason and a higher faculty in man than that, whatever we might call it, intuition or anything else while Descartes and like him Spinoza both recognise only reason. To the very pertinent enquiry as to whether such a faculty exists one should think that it is too late in the day, with Bergson staring in the face, to give an elaborate answer. In any case, Indian philosophy assumes such a faculty and is prepared to justify the assumption. It rests on those who deny it to substantiate their position.

Both the systems arrive at the sole existence of only one Reality but they do so in different ways. Spinoza starts with the Cartesian principle that Substance is the thing which does not depend on anything else for its existence. But while Descartes very inconsistently assumed two such substances mind and matter, Spinoza rightly came to the conclusion that plurality must mean dependence in some way or other and real independence can be posited of only one. Sankara who also holds that only one exists comes to his position in a different way. He starts with the diametrical apposition of subject and object, Ego and the non-ego and with the natural corollary that one cannot be attributed of the other. Of the two things it is self-evident that the Ego is real ego, the non-ego is unreal. But the real is unlimited, independent and unconditioned. The "I" therefore is the Real, the whole world is unreal. Thus we reach the same destination by both the paths.

Moreover both the philosophers decline to describe the nature of the Reality in any definite and positive manner and for the same reason. The attribution of positive qualities implies the negation of their opposites and negation is limitation, a thing which is opposed to the nature of Substance. Spinoza says that it is not finite, it is not limited and so on while Sankara summarily says, it is Nirguna Brahman, the qualityless Brahman. He is afraid of saying that It is one lest his statement might be construed to mean It is not two. He merely says It is *adwaitam*, not two. After all, the true explanation of Its nature seems to be that given by the ancient Rishi who when asked what the nature of Atmam was, did not reply but kept silence. He was asked the same question a second time but did not reply then also. The increasingly anxious pupil put the same question a third time when he got the reply from the Rishi. "My son, I answered you twice but you did not understand me. You want more preparation to do so". Brahman is not a matter for words but one for experience.

Sankara says that though in reality Brahman alone is existing, we see so many things in the world because of ignorance which is not individual but generic. That ignorant is Maga. In short, he holds that appearances are desistful. At the same time however, he discerns that as Brahman is infinite, those appearances also can not be devoid of reality. He grants them therefore what we might call phenomenal reality.

Spinoza also holds the same doctrine of Maga in a way. Of course he never called it by the Indian name and might not have even thought of it as such. But his position regarding the appearance is very similar to that of the Vedantin, for he says that man by his finite nature is constrained to get a view of substance only in two aspects, mental and moral. There must be, there are, he admits various other aspects in which substance can be seen but the nature of man incapacitates him to do so. That is, the nature of man limits his vision. At least in so far as this limitation goes, have we not a distant echo of the doctrine of Maga?

A difference however soon crops up between the two philosophies. For Sankara, the world as we see it, is only phenomenally real, that is the true and only reality is Brahman who is beyond and above the appearances we see in experience, and those appearances are deceitful and to be taken as true only so long and so far as the Reality is not reached. They are real only for the purpose of every day life not for that of truth.

Spinoza however holds that his modes are really real. There is no phenomenal reality or real reality for him. He has only one kind of it. We may shortly put the difference between him and Sankara on this point thus. Appearance for him has for him reality while for Sankara it has not.

We have seen the two kinds of realities the Indian philosopher arrives at. His distinction necessitated a division of knowledge also into Higher and Lower. The former helps a man to know the nature of Brahman in its true form. It aids him in gaining freedom for the Self from all the Upadhis and to do so for all eternity, not for this life only. The latter also helps him to gain the same object but in a different way. It enjoins on him the worship of the phenomenal Brahman, the Saguna Brahman as distinguished from the real one, the Nirguna one, the discharge of worldly duties in a strictly moral way and to do other good things in life as though the world with its appearances is the real one. Spinoza of course has nothing of this kind.

The psychology of the Indian is much deeper than that of the Jew. Whereas the latter recognises, in all probability, only three states of consciousness, the former speaks of four. For Spinoza, they are conscious stage, subconscious one and the dreaming one. But for Sankara there are the conscious one, the dreaming one, the stage of deep dreamless sleep and what is merely



called the turiya stage, or the fourth one. In the first the Self is perceiving with the aid of Manas and the Indriyas; in the second, the Indriyas cease to work but the mind does not; in the third mind also ceases to work and the Atman is separated from it; and in the last stage the Self goes out of the material body with the Sukma-Sariram.

Coming to practical philosophy, the two systems are quite opposed in the matter of free-will. According to Sankara our actions are determined by Karma, that is, by what we do, we are bound. Here it is wise to clear an existing confusion.

Karma does not inculcate fatalism. The latter by binding an individual hand and foot denies to him all initiative and makes him dispirited and worthless but Karma far from doing any of these things gives him hope for the future. "Do not be discouraged by your plight now," it says, "but do good actions and you will be better, if not in this life, certainly in the lives to come." This is anything but make a man useless and implies free-will on his part. According however to Spinoza, modes being all determined and an individual soul being a mode, it and free-will are antipodes. It is the same with the notions of good and bad. The Jewish philosopher deriving everything from Substance cannot consistently say that some things are good and some are bad for everything is Substance. Such conceptions are only in the mind of man who as soon as he sees some object which does not square with his preconceived scheme of things at once classifies it as bad, other-

wise calling it good. According to the Vedantin however, it is clear that what contributes to the freedom of the soul is good and what does not bad. But it is interesting to observe that the realisation of God is the end of man according to both.

One word about the criticism levelled at Spinoza that his God is all devouring. He is a negative gulf, a lion's den to which there are many steps but from which none. This is essentially just in his case for he has failed to bring experience in its fullness out of his abstract substance which he has taken all pains to subsume under it. In the case of Sankara such a criticism is obviated for plurality is derived from Oneness by means of Maga.

On the whole we can see that their abstract monism is the central point in both the systems. "There is no reality but God and Substance is his name" Spinoza would say. "There is no reality but God and Brahman in his name" would say Sankara. Both are God intoxicated. Schwegler says that Spinoza's system is the most abstract monism that can possibly be conceived and such a conception is a consequence of his nationality, an echo of the East. May not the same be said of Sankara and his nationality? And in praise of the Upanishads, Schopenhauer says "In the whole world there is no study except that of the original (of the Upanishads) so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat (Persian translation of the Upanishads) It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death". And may not the same be said of Spinoza and his system?

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## THE NEW SCHOOLMASTER.

MR. N. K. VENKATASWARAN, B.A.

The schoolmaster is not quite a happy individual. He is often positively discontented. But he puts a good face on things and seldom complains. This is particularly so in India where there is so little of the spirit to oppose and hit out. The schoolmaster has patiently borne no end of negligence, disrespect and obloquy. The

public pay him slight attention or at best pat him occasionally on the back with patronizing condescension. Altogether his position is not enviable.

But he has to thank himself for all that. He has been too meek and seldom got out of his shell. He has always been willing to put up



with any amount of annoyance and overwork himself. He has been content to live in the illusion of claptraps and if anybody ever suggested that his was the noblest of professions, he straightaway mounted the high horse and felicitated himself to the immense amusement of less simple folk. No wonder people often carry about them a smile, however slight, of pity if not of contempt for the schoolmaster.

There is, however, an end to everything in the world. It is nature's inexorable law. Therefore the school-master has become dimly aware that his proverbial patience is not for aye and that already past are its halcyon days. Indeed the urge of restlessness has begun to haunt his breast and latterly his snug vocabulary has been rudely stirred by the irruption of such disturbers of peace as Messrs. Whys and Wherefores. The newcomers do not allow him now-a-days to show the other cheek to his enemy or to plod along with unquestioning obedience. He has nearly turned a new leaf and entered a new existence.

His discontent has broken its shackles and found its voice. He is no longer of that sagely fraternity known as dumb, driven cattle. He has begun to feel the joy of thinking and doing, of asking questions and solving them. He looks about him and says "The world is in a precious mess and bankrupt statesmanship is of little avail. Is there no way out? Cries Bernard Shaw, "There is no way out through the school-master." He thinks otherwise, positively otherwise. "The only way out is through the school-master!" Education and Education of the right sort, he believes, is the only remedy for the chronic convulsions of a suffering humankind. The school-master alone can pour oil on the troubled waters. In him lies the sublime duty of evangelizing future generations to the gospel of peace and goodwill and he will do it if his hands are not tied.

If a decade ago, the schoolmaster had suggested that his art had any such potentialities or claimed to have at least a finger in the pie, his so-called betters would have pelted him with their jeers and sternly commanded him to hold his tongue and keep his head cool. But to-day the jaded world is pathetically looking about for some means of relief and in certain quarters the schoolmaster has come to be regarded as a possible physician. Yes, the call of a new Education is heard in the distance and humanity is straining its ears to hearken to it as the call of

hope. Really are great things in store for the schoolmaster.

But what is this new Education and its missionary the new schoolmaster like? This is a question well worth answering.

Current ideas about Education are fundamentally wrong. People usually equate Education with knowledge and knowledge with information. Education is not knowledge and knowledge is not what is stowed away in memory. Education is a process co-extensive with life. It gives life its harmony and equilibrium. It makes it mellow and sweet. It liberates its potentialities and develops them. It unfolds personality and enriches it. It purifies it, spiritualises it and makes it as near as possible to the life of Him in whose image we are created. Education, in a word, is the sublimation and exaltation of life or at least it ought to be.

Knowledge, on the other hand, is only a product of Education, but not its sole nor even its most important product. Knowledge is experience. It guides us in our efforts to make the best of our talents and to live our lives fully and happily. Knowledge is the ability to think, to decide, to do. Education is an inspiration and knowledge an achievement accomplished under the spell of that inspiration. Education is the source and knowledge is the stream.

But more pathetic than the identification of Education with knowledge is the identification of knowledge with what are called facts or information. The mistake is serious because it, more than any other, is responsible for making Education a tragic failure of high purposes. If there is anything that we can boldly assert is not Education it is our present-day schooling which gives our boys a snippety smattering of the subjects in the curriculum. We give them, of course, some rudiments of reading, writing and ciphering, a few rules of grammar, a few names and dates in history, a few geographical terms, chemical formulæ and things of that kind and we put all that together and call the motley crew an Education. That is why our "schooling" is so indisputably removed from life and that is why it is so unreal, mechanical, false and injurious.

This tragic translation of Education into practice has produced an amputated humanity with unnatural cravings. Obsessions and manias have preyed on it at will. It has produced an educated class steeped in superstition and ignor-

ance. It has given them power and the capacity to make that power monstrous. It has given them a thousand giants' strength and ten thousand giants' unscrupulousness to use it like giants. It has furnished old Adam with liquid fire, poison gas and all the rest of it. It has released primitive passions and jealousies and made man the greatest enemy of mankind.

The supreme thing in this spurious Education is the cramming in of facts. Things that really matter are left alone. Character shifts for itself. Instincts and emotions are smothered under a heavy avalanche of information. Personality goes under. "The training for citizenship" is a worn platitude fit only to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion. All real Education goes by the board and only one thing remains and that is the tyranny of facts.

Nor is this all. There is the other thing—the natural sequence to this veneration of a Mumbo-Jumbo. That is the examination system. We not only hammer into these young heads all this stuff and nonsense passing for knowledge, we also want to find out exactly the amount of such false knowledge that we have been able to put into them. The examination is the time-honored machinery to weigh out the amount. Of late the patient toil of disinterested workers has brought to life certain palpable absurdities of the examination system. The human psychology is so complex and varies so much from individual to individual that examinees and examiners respond to it with the most unequal stimuli. Say, A and B are of equal abilities in most things that matter. A and B sit for the examination. A does ill and is ploughed. B does well and gets a first class. Again, say, A and B are of equal abilities and answer their examination papers equally well. X, the examiner, marks A's paper and passes him; Y marks B's paper and plucks him. If both A and B are to get their desires, they must equally be apt at examinations and their answer papers must be marked by the same examiner or examiners having the same mind. This is a combination of circumstances that fall to the lot of only those who are born under exceptionally lucky stars, but unfortunately such stars are few in the heavens and there is a close scramble for their patronage. With the result that examinations often prove the ruin of many an ambition and ability, if occasionally also the exaltation of mediocrity, of even of unworthiness.

Here is a classical story which, although has nearly become a chestnut by constant repetition, may perhaps bear re-telling yet once more.

P. B. Ballard relates it in his book, *The New Examiner*. It refers to an examination in history in an American University. The passing mark was 60. There were six examiners. Papers that secured less than 60 were handed on to the other examiners so that examinees on the borderline might be given full justice. One pious examiner with a rather disturbing "still small voice" within prepared a model answer to each question before setting out to mark the papers. Mischance always on the look-out to play its pretty pranks got the good Professor's model answers mixed up with the papers which he forwarded for the perusal of his colleagues. It was valued by them as a *bona fide* paper and, as with the others, met with different fortunes at different hands, the marks it received ranging between 40 and 80. The Professor came to the very verge of failure on his own examination.

And this is not a solitary instance. Examinations therefore stand self-condemned; but the schools of to-day are not past the totem-stage yet. They still venerate facts and allow themselves to be dominated by examinations. That is why the present Education is justly stigmatized as being unpractical. Indeed, it is so completely divorced from every-day life.

And what are the practical results of this divorce between life and Education? It is undoubtedly one of the causes of the general discontentment on the part of pupils and teachers alike. The former, living as they have been on this kind of chaff, crave for something better. The latter tired of vending this niggardly nutrition are anxious to offer something richer and more abundant. Dissatisfaction smoulders under a false discipline. Given an opportunity youth would break the bondage of despotic Government which a hostile fraternity of school-masters has imposed on them. Given an opportunity school-masters themselves would rebel against their own despotism. A couple of years ago the Travancore school-boys went out on strike, breaking all the ties of age-old conventions. The underlying causes of this open defiance lie in the galling defects of School Education. The immediate cause, whatever that is, served only to open the sluices of accumulated disquiets and dissatisfactions. The strikes have come and gone and school-masters are where they were.



### Non-co-operation and Education.

When the evangel of Non-co-operation sanctified by the breath of one of the purest and sincerest souls that ever lived, came with its exhortations to youth to leave the schools of a "satanic Government", ardent adolescence hearing with its impetuositities gave it a response which continues to shake the foundations of discipline to this day. Our boys live in an electrified atmosphere of restlessness and it requires stout hearts and lusty hands to stand sentinel to their safety. But alas! the influence of teachers is waning with tragic rapidity just at the time when it ought to grow from more to more. Any wandering tub-thumpers are able to attract their wards and set them adrift on the unsteady waters of impassioned eloquence. No, they must not leave them to their tender mercies. They must win them by their affection, open the portals of their confidence by the golden key of love, touch and elevate them by the magic wand of personality and broaden their minds with the sweet intimations of mellowed culture. They must no more be mere fact mongers or axemen at the examination block. Theirs is a glorious mission and they must rise to the occasion or they will be unworthy of themselves and the great profession they represent. Be not satisfied with daily injections of dozes of English, Mathematics and all the rest of it.

### The Function of the School-Master.

Dr. T. P. Nunn of the University of London tells us: "They now regarded school as a real society in which free persons mingled together, not necessarily on the same level but free from prohibitions and having room for give and take. That change had been the most blessed thing they had seen in the field of education in the last half century, and it promised more in the way of training in citizenship than anything else.

"The teacher should be the interpreter between the greater society of the outside world and the smaller microcosm of the school. Citizenship should mean a consciousness of belonging to a great historical community which had contributed great things to the world's spiritual wealth. It was in this consciousness of those great spiritual traditions that our schools had hitherto been unduly weak.

"One of the great needs of the day was to introduce in the school a consciousness of great

human movements that made up the glory of civilization. The quality of the citizenship would be greatly raised if our teachers were men and women of culture acutely conscious of those great human movements, keeping in touch with the springs of knowledge and duty."

That is a fine picture and gives a glimpse of what the new school-master will be like. He must give them life, more life and still more life. He must give them freedom, more freedom and still more freedom. He must inspire them and guide them to lead their lives in amity and goodwill with all the world. "Teaching is lighting a lamp and not filling a bucket." This is the greatest secret of the school-master's art. Let them make it their gospel and live up to it with courage and faith unfathomable.

The message of Dean Inge, one of the greatest thinkers of the day, a person who has seen the ups and downs of a long experience is worth their perusal. In one of his recent sermons he said "that the whole object of a good teacher was to make himself unnecessary. He unlocked the outer gate of the treasure-house of knowledge; he imbued his pupils with a lively faith in the riches within, and with a keen desire to make them their own. And then he put the bunch of keys in his pupils' hands and bade them go in and explore for themselves. It was not the quantity of knowledge imparted that tested the teacher's fitness. It was the intellectual love that he had nurtured, the spiritual longings he had fostered. In the higher walks of education the greatest school-masters that his country produced in the last century were men who possessed this gift in a pre-eminent degree. They sometimes had nearly every other fault a school-master could have. Some were bad disciplinarians, very hot-tempered, and unmethodical, but they kindled enthusiasm, and their pupils many of whom became famous distinguished their memory."

### Scrap All That.

But few school-masters set their eyes on such an ideal and fewer still strive to reach it. The fault is partly the school-master's, and partly of the system within whose tentacles they have, perhaps unwittingly, fallen. But the rising tide of discontent does, in many cases, prove an eye-opener and straightaway they start to put their houses in order. The defects of the system, however are deep-rooted. The gateways of the

bastille can be rushed only by a well-organized and persistent propaganda. Evil outlives itself with the die-hardest of obstinacies. When a storm lashes the sea into fury and the good ship is in distress, you jettison cargo overboard. The Ship of Education is in imminent danger. Heavy trucks of fact, unrelated heaps of dry-as-dust that cluster thick in unfrequented haunts far removed from life, these have no place on the deck at such an hour. Jettison them. Nor can the crushing weight of examinations be allowed to add to the peril.

Instead of the dead weight of mere facts, give them the joy of abundant knowledge. Instead of these essay-examinations which have won our University the unsavoury reputation of being a cracker of young bones, test them by the rational method of the new-examination into which none may dip with the hope of snatching something valuable. In the field of Education, lucky-bag methods, indeed, have no place. The New Examination would test the real knowledge of the candidates which is assumed to be large. Scarcely any writing will be demanded of them. The True-and-False Test, for example, asks the candidates to indicate by simple marks which of a number of statements on a certain subject are true or false. Thus the candidates' mental depth is measured by the unerring plummet of truth. In a short paper like the present, it is not possible to exhaust this branch of the subject which alone is enough to fill a volume. Dr. P. B. Ballard in his *New Examiner* has treated it with illuminative insight.

But scrapping the present-day examination-system and the cult of facts is not enough. Teachers cannot halloo yet. They are still in the wood. The teacher cannot cast aside his old inertia and evolve a new outlook or imbue his personality with the fascination of real and ripe culture or browse leisurely—hurry is impossible in such matters—on the pastures of luscious literature so he might make his contact with his pupils fruitful and inspiring unless he has a far lesser amount of work to do and a far greater amount of time which he might call his own. Now-a-days a teacher usually works between 18 and 28 periods a week, of 50 minutes each. Good teaching is impossible wherever such a volume of output is enforced. Trashy, shoddy teaching, however big in quantity, is of no good and those on whose shoulders the burden of such sweated work rests are no better than day-

labourers. They cannot lay the foundations of the future of humanity—no, not in the least. One thing alone they do. *They earn their bread under the sweat of their brows.* But their efforts wither away in tragic futility and bear no fruit. Reduce his work by one half at any rate and the turbid stream of wasted energy may be turned to fertilize the lovely, tender little plants growing in the garden of Life.

It must be remembered that teachers whose lot it is to live in the closest intimacy with immature minds must, by way of compensation, be given the widest scope to move in society and to keep themselves abreast of all the progressive movements and the trends of the best thought. They must on occasion be afforded opportunities of travel in foreign lands and strengthen their minds with the surge of new ideas. They must for ever be drinking at the fountain of knowledge and slaking an unquenchable thirst. They must, they must; for otherwise they go to the wall—and with them humanity!

### A Glimpse of the Future.

Such in brief are the conditions for the coming of the New School-master. But when he comes—and he is coming as certain as tomorrow—he will assuredly change the face of things and accomplish the greatest task of all, to get man to love his kind. For, when this is done the millennium of which he has been trying to catch a glimpse through the endless vistas of bleak centuries, shall have come and our present-day blustering jingo nationalisms shall have broken into the sweetest flowers of love for the whole of human kind sojourning in this wonderful Earth of God.

For, he the coming one, will bring a race of manly, benevolent, happy, aspiring, hopeful citizens who will forge ahead with heart within and God overhead, who will make their voice heard in the councils of the world and who will have their rightful seats in the galaxy of nations, true and worthy sons of mother earth able to guard her honour in her old age and make her young in the holy ashes of voluntary action. Yes, he will bring up a race who shall eschew an education that does not impart to them imperishable lessons on the sanctity of existence and oneness of humanity, on virtue's eight-fold path, on the wickedness of war that never conquers, on the sublimity of love that ever conquers and on the vileness of passions, communal rivalries and



clannish prejudices. They will never forget this supreme lesson that History has taught us and is still teaching us that empires carved and kept by the sword have come and gone. Your Cæsars and Alexanders are dead. The empires of the mind acquired by the unconquerable weapon of love and bound together by its elastic cords still continue to flourish. The Buddhas and Jesuses,

Mahaviras and Zoarasters live. They cannot die.

Such is the future of the profession and there is none but proud of it. Let not teachers therefore strangle education in striving to educate. Be free and let education live. Be bold and let education thrive. Be great and let our children grow.

## INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L., L.T.

### X

#### SARGAM NOTATION.

1. The Notation of European Music is of two kinds, viz., Tonic Solfa and Staff. But that of Indian Music is of only one kind, viz., Sargam. I venture to name the Indian Notation....."Sargam Notation".....because the uniform basis thereof is the Sapthaswaras and the word 'Sargam' is nothing else than an abbreviated form of the first four letters of those Sapthaswaras, viz., Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma.

2. Notation is to music what alphabet is to language. Ram Doss is said to have composed 12,000 songs. Where are they heard now sung? They are lost for want of Notation. The Prabandhas of *Gitagovindam* cannot now be sung in the manner of Jayadeva; nor can the masterpieces, collected by Krishnananda Vyas in his *Sangitharâgakalpadruma*, be sung in the manner of their authors. "When I", wrote Sir William Jones in his *Musical Mode of the Hindoos*, "read the songs of Jayadeva who has prefixed to each of them names of modes in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original music. But the Pundits of the South referred me to those of the West and the Brahmins of the West would have sent me to those of the North. While they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir, declared they had

no ancient music but imagined that the notes of *Gitagovindam* must exist, if anywhere, in one of the Southern provinces where the poet was born." Is this not quaint, especially when we know as a historical fact that Jayadeva was born and flourished in Bengal near Dr. Tagore's Shânthinikethan and had nothing to do whatsoever with South India? Be that as it may, if Sir W. Jones had been driven from one corner to another, he would have to thank himself for it. For, how could he "hope" to procure the original music of *Gitagovindam*, merely with the help of modes, prefixed to each of its Prabandhas? The truth is that there was neither the Notation to record the songs of Jayadeva nor any scientific treatment in his book whereby to teach or even suggest the methods of singing them.

3. Again, Tansen is said to have electrified his audience with his enrapturing music. Mira Bai is said to have bewitched her audience with her soul-stirring music. Maha Vythinathier, Peria Vythi and Shadkala Govindan are all said to have spell-bound their respective audiences with their inimitable performances. But where are they heard now sung? They are all lost for want of notation. The four remarkable Oratorios of South India, viz., (1) Arunachala Kavi's *Râma Nâtakam*, (2) Gopalakrishna Bharathi's *Nandan*

\*See foot-note Section III.



*Charithram*, (3) Kavi Kunjara's *Skānda Purāna Kirthanas*, and (4) Ramaswami Aiyar's *Peria Purāna Kirthanas*—are every moment running the risk of getting into oblivion. Why? For want of notation. The learning process of a pupil takes an unduly long time. Why? Again for want of notation. Krithis and Kirthanas are nowadays sung in different ways by different men in different places; and some of them are slowly getting out of use. Why? Once again for want of notation.

4. Can we drift in this way any longer? Can we, who see unmistakable signs of progress in all other directions, suffer ourselves to be blindfolded in the matter of preserving music for ages? Surely not. We must therefore leave no stone unturned to find out the ways and means whereby to record the superior airs, whencesoever they may come, and transmit them over to our contemporaries and down to our successors too.

5. But to find out a uniform Notation for Indian Music is no easy task. Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande wrote to me on 28th September, 1921:—"The Girl-Schools of Bombay follow my Notation." Mr. Digambar of Bombay Gandharva Mahavidyalaya speaks of his notation. Mr. Subharama Dikshithar contemplated a third kind of notation. Mr. K. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar employs a fourth kind. Quite recently Mr.

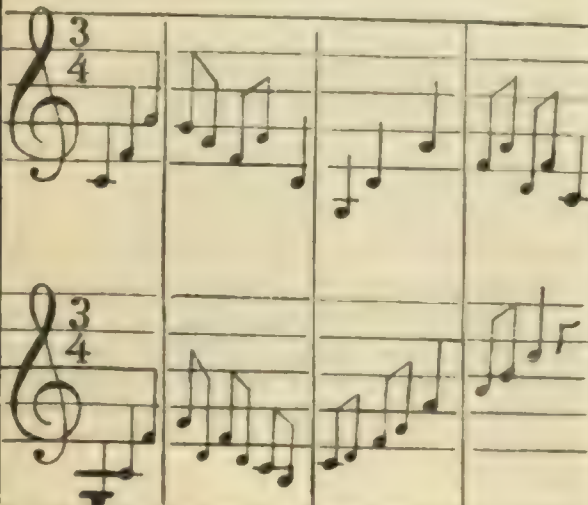
Abdul Karim put into my hands his own music-book, wherein I noted a fifth kind of notation. Hence to make the whole country of India recognise and acknowledge one particular kind of notation as a uniform and even *national* one—is certainly no smooth sailing.

6. The foreigners take advantage of our differences and move heaven and earth to foist their Staff Notation into our System. Thus the problem of Notation has been made doubly difficult. In addition to the task of settling our own differences, we have been confronted with another new problem as to whether the Notation for Indian Music should be the European Staff or the Indian Sargam.

7. Let me first consider the arguments adduced by the advocates of the Staff and dispose of them one by one:—

I. "The Staff Notation is more economical of space than an elaborate Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma—method of writing."

As against this contention, I submit that in an article, with the spirit of which I fully concur, in the *Hindu*, dated 5th November, 1921, the following remarks were found:—"The Staff music is uneconomical to be used, for it occupies much space and its printing costly." Now, put both the systems of writing a scale in juxtaposition; and you will see which of the two is more economical of space.

Staff Notation				Sargam Notation			
				○	●	●	●
				त-क-त	त-क-त	त-क-त	त-क-त
				स-ग-प	पम-गम रि	नि रि-म	गम-रिग-स
				पु स ग	मरि-गरि-सनि	सरि-गम-प	धनि-सा-ड

- II. "The Indian Notation has now begun to borrow some of the European signs. See, for instance, Subharama Dikshithar's Notation."

Such borrowing is to be attributed to individual idiosyncracies but certainly not to any indispensable necessity. The late Subharama Dikshithar of Ettiapuram borrowed European signs, because he was in the grip of the late Chinnaswami Mudaliar, possessed with Staff mania. But the mere act of borrowing is no argument why the European notation should displace our Sargam Notation altogether. Can a creditor be permitted to kill the debtor, because the latter happened to borrow money from the former? Assuming without admitting that Indian music has to borrow some signs from the Staff Notation, the principle that should guide a reformer must be what was chalked out by Lully (1633—1687) the Founder of French music. Signior Baptist Lully found the French music extremely defective and very often barbarous. However, knowing the genius of the people, the humour of their language and the prejudiced ears he had to deal with, he did not pretend to extirpate the French music and plant the Italian in its stead but only to cultivate and civilise it with innumerable graces and modulations, which he borrowed from the Italian. But the question of questions, in this connection, is: "Has the Sargam Notation anything to borrow from the Staff Notation?" I shall presently show that it has not.

- III. "The Staff Notation has the advantage of a simple 'visual' method of indicating uniformly relative pitch and relative time-value of notes."

The Sargam Notation has an equal advantage of a very simple 'visuo-aural' method of indicating pitch and time. For instance, dots above and below the notes indicate Pitch.

- IV. "But the dots are liable to misprint."

So, the semibreves, minims, crotchets and other varieties of time-value notes are as much liable to be placed on wrong lines and wrong spaces of the stave. Due care and attention in either case will set the matter aright. As for the time-value of the staff-written notes, the scope thereof is very limited from the Indian point of view. Indeed the European and Indian systems of Time-measure are as poles asunder. The Indian Thála is derived from song, while the European Thála is derived from dance or march. Though both are based on the numbers

2 and 3, the Indian system *adds*, while the European system *multiplies*, in order to form combination of these. While, again, the syllables in a European verse are marked by accent, those in an Indian verse are marked by máthras. Is there any time-signature in the Staff to correctly indicate the Sankirana Játhi of Dhruvathál or even the common Kanta Jathi of Atathál, or at any rate, Chowthál of the North Indian System?

- V. "The European Notation has signs to indicate which note is sharp and which note is flat. Much confusion is created in the Indian Notation for want of such signs."

That, in the Sargam Notation, such or similar signs are not made use of, in the body of a music-piece while writing it, is at once admitted. But it is submitted that no confusion is created thereby. An average student of Indian Music who is familiar with Venkatamakhi's *Méla-karthachakra* knows which notes in a given scale or raga are sharp and which flat. You will have merely to tell him "Melam—8"; and he will at once understand it to be *Hanumathodi* (Hindustani *Bhairavi*) and sound all the notes flatly. Or tell him "Melam—65"; and he will forthwith understand it to be *Mechakalyani* (Hindustani *Yaman*) and sound all the notes sharply. At the head of each music-piece, the names of the Rága and Thála are usually given; just as the treble or bass clef, the time-signature and the signs of sharp or flat notes are placed at the beginning of the stave. Nowadays the number of the Melam is also added. These headings alone are more than enough for an Indian music-student to know what sharp or flat notes he has to sound in a given piece. If desirable, the heading of a music-piece, say, *Niravadhisukada* may be as follows:—

Mela. 28	} <i>Janya Raga</i> —Ravi Chandrika.
Harikamboji	
(Hindustani Jinjoti)	
	} <i>Thála</i> —Adi.
	} <i>Kála</i> —Madhyama.

Arohana :—Sa—Ri<sub>2</sub>—Ga<sub>2</sub>—Ma<sub>1</sub>—Dha<sub>2</sub>—Ni<sub>1</sub>—Dha<sub>2</sub>—Sa

Avarohana :—Sa—Ni<sub>1</sub>—Dha<sub>2</sub>—Ma<sub>1</sub>—Ga<sub>2</sub>—Ri<sub>2</sub>—Sa

In the body of the music-piece, it is enough that mere swara letters are written, inasmuch as the number 1 or 2, indicating respectively the flatness or sharpness of the notes, is correctly inserted in the heading. Be it noted that "Sa" denotes the key-note and "Sa" denotes its octave and that the theory of flat and sharp



notes applies only to Ri—Ga—Ma—Dha—Ni and never to Sa—Pa. Here the European Music would make confusion. We call the first black key in a Harmonium 'Flat Ri'; but the Europeans would call it C Sharp or D Flat. Again we call the second black key 'Flat Ga'; but the Europeans would call it D Sharp or E Flat and so forth. Is not our clear and unambiguous nomenclature decidedly better than the confused one of the Europeans?

VI. The following sixth contention was raised by an educated Indian lady with University honors in a letter written to me on 26-11-21. To be fair to her, I shall quote her letter at length: "I request you to kindly think over the question of having a Staff Notation for our music. With the Staff Notation, our music will be studied and appreciated by the Americans, the English, etc.; and there is the chance of Indian Music becoming universal and popular and still Indian. If we wish to be recognised as a nation, we must make others see the greatness and the superiority of all that we possess. How did our great religion find its way to the United States of America? It was through the common medium—English. At present, the western people make fun of our music; and a few like Mrs.——, who honestly and sincerely wish to know something about our music, are handicapped for want of a common notation. So if we allow our music to be written in the Staff Notation, I don't think we need fear of its becoming corrupted. On the other hand, I think it will become rich by absorbing the western music and yet remaining Indian. The time has now come when we should no longer be content with confining ourselves but should go out more and assert to the world that we are a nation."

Which reader of this letter will fail to appreciate the noble sentiment of patriotism and the nobler spirit of independence that run throughout it? O! how I wish for many more such learned ladies in our country!

But all the same I fear the writer of the letter

under reference has not caught my point and all her arguments have therefore overshot the real issue. My contention is, and shall ever be, that the Indians should learn and practise Indian Notation for Indian Music. Her main contention seems to be that the Indian Music should be reduced to the Staff Notation for a twofold purpose, viz., (1) for the benefit of the Europeans and the Americans and (2) for ourselves going out and asserting to the world at large that we are a nation. If so, I hasten to agree with her. But is the Staff necessary—I earnestly ask—for the Indians themselves to study and appreciate Indian Music? The learned lady seems to say 'yes', as inferred from her reference to the Staff as a "common" notation in her letter. Evidently she wishes that the staff should be made a *common* notation for both the Europeans and the Indians. Here I agree to disagree with her. If a European or American wants to study Valmiki's *Ramayanam* and is yet unwilling or unable to learn Sanskrit; let him by all means read Griffith's translation of the poem and appreciate the original author as much as he can. But would he, on that account, be justified in compelling even the Sanskrit-knowing people of India to study Griffith and forget their Sanskrit? Similarly, if any European or American wants to study Indian Music and is yet unwilling or unable to learn the Sargam Notation; let him by all means reduce the Indian Music into his own Staff and appreciate it as much as he can. But would he, on that account, be justified in compelling the Indian students to forget their own Sargam Notation in favour of a foreign Staff? True, Swami Vivekananda employed English in the United States of America to assert the superiority of Indian religion. But did he ever ask the Indians to forget their own Vernaculars in favour of English? Again, the letter speaks of a few Europeans being handicapped for want of a common (*i.e.* Staff) Notation. How many of those "few Europeans," I ask, availed themselves of Mr. Chinnaasami Mudaliar's *Oriental Music*, wherein some of Thiagaraja's Krithis had been reduced to the Staff Notation? For ought I know, the Europeans discarded it, because there was the *Indian Music* in it; and the Indians equally discarded it, because there was the *Staff* in it. Nor does the learned lady's complaint, viz., "the Western people make fun of our music", frighten us into adopting the Staff. For if the westerners make fun of our music,

they really make fun of themselves. For, it is a truism that different races possess different auditory faculties and hence different systems of music came rightly into existence. The Frenchman cannot enjoy the English music, nor can the German enjoy the French music, nor can even the Hindustani Gavayi enjoy the Karnatic music. Hon'ble Sir Charles Turner, Kt. C.I.E.,\* observed in this connection: "the Southern Englishman and the Scotch are within 400 miles of each other; and yet the former cannot honestly enjoy the latter's bagpipe. This difference in taste is due to the difference in the structure of the ear and more to habits and other circumstances of life." If therefore the westerners make fun of our music, the inference is that the funny element is, not in our music, but in themselves. Reduction of Indian Music into the Staff Notation cannot be a remedy to such "funny" people. They must be prepared to have their tastes changed or modified, before they can approach our music.

VII. As though a seventh contention were raised, a European friend of mine wrote to me on 7-9-1922: "I have now got a native musician, quite ignorant of English, who tells me that it is not impossible for him to reduce all the Indian airs into the Staff Notation."

My reply was: "Possible or impossible—that's a different question. Inasmuch as the mother's milk of the Indian (or Sargam) Notation is plentiful for the Indians, why should a foreign Doctor hoarsely cry and unduly praise to the skies the unnecessary Mellin's Food of the Staff Notation?"

VIII "If the Staff Notation is not accepted, why should not the Tonic Solfa Notation be adopted, inasmuch as it has been advocated by no less a person than Abbe Dubois?"

I don't know whether Abbe Dubois ever advocated the Tonic Solfa; but he expressed his over-anxiety to give the whole credit of inventing the music scale to Guy of Arezzo. The French Missionary had, however, to feel surprised to find that the Hindu Music had also the same scale. Here are his own words: "The Hindu Scale bears a striking resemblance

to ours, being composed of the *same* number of notes, arranged in the *same* way, as follows:—

Do—Re—Mi—Fa—So—La—Si—Do

Sa—Ri—Ga—Ma—Pa—Dha—Ni—Sa

Are we then to deny the merit of this invention to Guy of Arezzo?" My answer to this last question of the ill-informed Missionary is an emphatic "yes."

8. Above all, the Staff Notes are meant more for the eye, while our notes are meant more for the ear. Mr. Hawis, in his *Musical Memoirs*, gives the palm to the ear rather than the eye. If, with a key given, an Indian note Ga is written on a piece of paper, the ear—as soon as the eye is directed to the note—rings within itself the sound peculiar to Ga. But if a European crotchet is written, you cannot at once give its proper sound, even with the help of the keynote given. For some more ceremony has to be performed for it, *viz.*, placing it on the correct line of the stave, perhaps E, if the given key is middle C. Indeed the European Staff is seven times more unnecessary, more difficult, more cumbersome, more uneconomical and more costly, in addition to its being quite defective from the Indian standpoint.

9. I am happy to be able to state that quite an array of my friends and others back me up in my position. The Maharaja of Travancore wrote on 29-6-1885 in reply to Captain Day's letter: "Captain Day has to some extent anticipated the difficulties in getting the Hindu airs written out according to the European system of musical notation. There are, however, far greater difficulties than that of finding a man equally conversant with the two systems. The two systems themselves widely differ in many respects:—

- (1) In the Hindu system there are half notes, quarter notes and infinitely minute and delicate shades, as in a painting by a master artist;
- (2) The Vocalist or Instrumentalist very often glides over a whole gamut or half gamut, backward or forward, in an unbroken easy flow.
- (3) In European Music, there is no such thing as Rāga, which in the Hindu system is a thing permanently and scientifically established from time immemorial.

Any man possessing the most ordinary knowledge of music will at once recognise the particular Rāga, in whatever form of composi-

\*Vide Madras Mail of 17-11-1884.



tion (and there are innumerable forms) it is sung to him; and one mis-placed swara will immediately jar in his ears. Indeed with all deference to European Music and appreciation of its soul-stirring effects, I must say that Hindu Music is far more scientific and systematic. In the meanwhile what I have said will in a manner indicate the great inherent difficulties which must present themselves to one who attempts a 'translation' as it were."

10. Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande of Bombay wrote to me: "I am strongly opposed to making the Staff Notation the sole medium of instruction. My idea is that an Indian notation will go certainly, if not further, at least as far as the Staff Notation, with proper signs and symbols. If, for our gamakas and grace notes, new signs would be necessary even in the Staff Notation, why should we not introduce them in the Indian notation and make it serviceable? An Indian notation will appeal to the Indian mind much more easily. I leave out the question of patriotism and base my opinion on utilitarian grounds." Mr. H. P. Krishna Row of Mysore once wrote a book called "First steps in Hindu Music in English notation" and, by sheer force of experience, changed his opinion and wrote to me (25-9-21): "The Staff Notation is unnecessarily difficult for our music. If we use it, we are likely not to develop our swaragmanam." Mr. P. S. Sundramier of Tanjore wrote: "There is already a notation and the Staff is cumbersome and costly." Mr. Govindasami Pillay of Trichinopoly, Mr. Muthiah Bhagarathar of Harikesanalloor and Mr. Mysore Krishniengar—these Vidwans told me they were quite opposed to the Staff Notation being used for Indian Music.

11. Sir W. W. Hunter wrote, in his *Indian Empire*: "It is impossible to adequately represent the Indian system by the European Notation." Sir William Ousley remarks: "Nor are the Hindu airs known to the Europeans from the impossibility of setting them according to the European system of notation. The fact that the Hindus have quarter tones renders it still more difficult to express their music by the European system." Maharaja Sir P. C. Tagore wrote very recently, in the *Statesman*: "No one who has a thorough knowledge of Hindu Music will venture to deny that it is impossible to accurately represent it by European notation or express it by European instruments. We

have already become too denationalised in many things. But for Heaven's sake, let no desecrating hand be laid on Hindu music, which is venerated by orthodox Hindus as being of divine origin." John Curwen, a European musician, observed: "Even in Europe, the Staff Notation presents discouraging difficulties. If a simpler notation be used, the progress will be quicker and far more solid. *The Staff was never designed as a teaching instrument* but was intended to give a picture of the keyboard of the piano-forte. The crotchets, quavers, clefs, flats and sharps of the Staff are too abstruse for children and even for men."

12. While thus even in Europe the Staff Notation is not universally accepted, it would be an unpardonable crime and sin to attempt to thrust it as a compulsory notation into India, where there has been from time immemorial a 'Sargam' Notation from Mount Kailas to Cape Camorin. By all means, join with us in improving our Sargam; but, pray, do not think of throwing it overboard.

13. Enough, I believe, has been said to convince you that the system of Notation, most suitable to Indian music, is neither the Staff nor the Tonic Solfa but the Sargam. I must now proceed to place before you what occurs to me the best possible uniform—and I may even say "national"—system of Sargam Notation for the whole of India, which is the main, if not the sole, way to resuscitate our fallen music.

14. But a preliminary point has first to be settled, for at the very outset we are confronted with the question: "At what stage in a pupil's course of music should Notation be commenced?" Doubtless it is in human nature that, as between the thing and its symbol, preference is given to the former rather than to the latter. A hungry man cannot be satisfied with the symbol of bread but wants the bread itself. In education, symbols are needed and employed only when the things they denote are not available or procurable. The true function of Notation, which is but a symbol of music, begins only when the sounding material, the living music teacher, is not available or procurable. Hence the teaching of Notation may be postponed to a later stage, when the chances of the pupils' leaving the school and of being away from the living teacher become greater and greater and may, in fact, be commenced from the First Form, according to my Syllabus. The pupils of



the Primary classes who would even otherwise have to encounter the difficulty of mastering the "notation," so to speak, of the language (or languages!) they have to learn, need not be encumbered with an additional burden of the music-notation. The method that has to be employed in the earliest stage of a pupil's course of music should be what may be called the Imitation, or Lip-Ear method. That is the time-honored method too. Further, it is only after the pupils' minds have been saturated with a bit of Swaragnānam and Thālagñānam that Notation proper could, with advantage, be commenced. The teaching of Swaras and Thālas should necessarily precede the teaching of Notation.

15. Is Swara-teaching after all necessary? Can it not be altogether avoided? These side-issues have of late been causing much anxiety in the music-world of South India, inasmuch as they have emanated from high quarters and attempted to shake the very foundation of Indian Music. I must answer them.

16. Most managers in schools and most parents in households are obsessed by the idea that every music-piece must, at every stage, be capable of—and be ready for—show and display to casual visitors and friends. Surely saralis, alankaras and githas are not adapted for such popular show but are intended to illustrate the principles enunciated in Text-Books on Music. The idea of caring for the visitors' vapoury satisfaction must not be allowed to prevail against the substantial and necessarily slow development, especially at the initial stage, of musical knowledge in the pupils. "The early steps of any art," observed Florence Wickins, "are and must be slow at first; and these beginnings should on no account be hurried (or avoided). For once the elementary lessons are thoroughly and clearly understood and grasped by the pupil, the rest of the teacher's work is easy." It is those that are impatient of the necessarily slow progress of the early steps of the art who would generally sympathise with the objectors of Swara-teaching.

17. The truth is, just as a man with a mere bone frame is disagreeable, but a man with flesh and blood is agreeable, to look at; the songs which form the 'flesh and blood' of music are agreeable to hear, but not the swaras as forming the mere boneframe thereof. The on-looker may be satisfied with the sight of the flesh and blood; but the possessor thereof must take care of his

boneframe as well. For, the stronger the boneframe, the healthier the flesh and blood. How can you have a strong boneframe without attending to its growth and development? And how can you attend to its growth and development without knowing the component parts thereof and the laws of their growth? In Indian music, the component parts of the boneframe are saralis, alankaras, githas, varnas and other "idioms" of swaras. A learner therefore cannot with impunity dispense with them. Whoever observes "There is no need at all to practise Jantaswaras and other gymnastic exercises," may as well say that there is no need at all to practise, under the modern system of education, gymnastics and other physical exercises. I would however agree with him, if he should say that the teacher must not make too much of swaras and mistake the means for the end itself. Be it remembered that swara teaching has been, from the time of God Parameswara, the right royal method of music-teaching in India, inasmuch as Narada said and Thiagaraja repeated in his famous Krithi, "Swararagasudharasa"—that the secrets of *Swarārnavam* had been first taught by God Parameswara to Goddess Parvathi. I need hardly tell you that "Swararnavam" was a musical treatise presented by Narada to Thiagaraja. The word *Swararnavam* literally means 'Ocean of Swaras.' Evidently the book related, as the name indicates, to the illimitable permutations and combinations of Swaras.

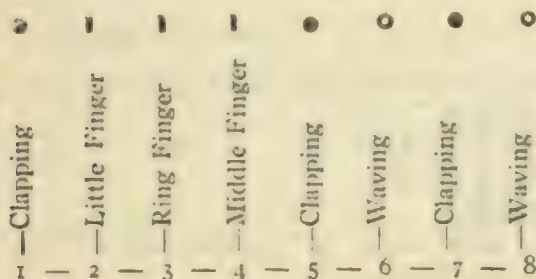
18. I believe you will have, by this time, been convinced of the truth of two important points, viz., (1) The System of Notation, most suitable to Indian Music, is Sargam and nothing else; and (2) the teaching of Sargam Notation should be preceded by the teaching of Swaras and Thālas.

19. I shall now proceed to the Notation itself.

20. Each of the 35 main Thālas of South India and of the 25 main Thālas (according to *Abhinavathālamānjari*) of North India—has, on ultimate analysis, three essential parts, viz., clapping, fingering and waving. Note that, when you *clap*, you see the outer part of your hand and, when you *wave*, you see the inner part or palm of it. Is not the palm or inner part of a hand whiter than its outer part? And is not 'the outer part' blacker than the palm itself. Hence the clapping may be represented by a black-sign or New-Moon sign, viz., ● and the

Waving by a white sign or Full-Moon sign, viz., ○. The Finger looks like a rod and hence the fingering may be represented by a rod-like sign, viz., |

21. Now the most popular South Indian Thāla is Adi. It has 3 clappings, 3 fingerings and 2 wavings—in all 8 beats, which may be represented thus:—



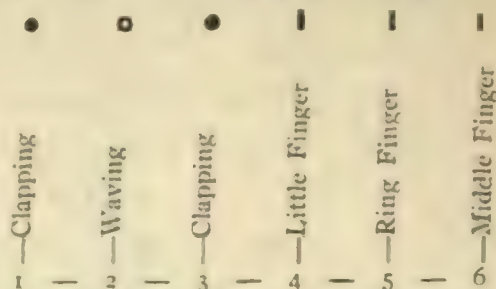
For every song in the Adi Thāla, the following heading is desirable and may, with advantage, be adopted:—

●				●	○	●	○
त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क	त-क

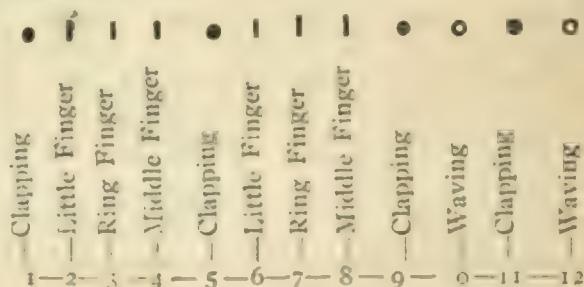
The letters त-क (pronounced Tha-ka) in the heading above denote the mātḥras or Kalais, the slowness or quickness whereof depends on whether the Kāla or time is vilambitha (slow), madhyama (middling) or drutha (quick). "त" denotes one mātḥra and "क" denotes again one mātḥra. So one column or bar, consisting of "त-क" denotes two mātḥras which come to one beat. The letters त-क may be written त-क or क-क. It is for convenience of pronunciation that I have given two different letters त-क. But, be it remembered, that each of the two letters denotes one mātḥra and both together represent one beat. Again, the lines of the bar are drawn for convenience sake and have no significance of their own, except the last perpendicular double line which denotes the end of an āvartḥa.

22. The same principles may be applied to other thālas as well. Take, for instance, Chathusra Roopaka. It consists of 2 clappings,

3 fingerings and only one waving—in all 6 beats, which may be represented thus:—



Take again a North Indian Thāla, Chowthāl. It consists of 4 clappings, 6 fingerings, and 2 waving—in all 12 beats, which may be represented thus:—



23. As the student learns each new Thāla, he may easily get it analysed into clappings, fingerings and wavings and have such analysis recorded in the manner indicated above. The old notation of | to denote *Laghu* and ○ to denote *Drutha* has a deal of ambiguity and confusion about it, especially to a beginner. For instance, the *Laghu*-sign | stands for one clapping and any number of fingerings ranging from 2 to 8. I have therefore eschewed the old notation and given you my own. So much for the Notation of Thāla.

24. As for the Notation of songs, the Sapthaswaras, viz., Sa-Ri-Ga-Ma-Pa-Dha-Ni, shall invariably form its fundamental basis. But with a view to *nationalise* the Indian (or Sargam) Notation from Mount to Cape, those Sapthaswaras shall invariably be written in Nagari characters. The *Sahithyam* or wording of songs may be written in the language of those songs or in any other language; but the Sargam Notation of those songs must be uniformly written in Nagari, throughout the length and breadth of India. The music students need not fear that they have to learn, for this purpose, Sanskrit Language. I assure them that it is enough for them to learn seven letters—not more nor less



than seven letters—of the seven notes of the scale. They are as follows:—

Notes	Nagari Letters		Same Letters but Conjunct	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
Sa	स	सा	स्स	स्सा
Ri	रि	री	र्रि	र्री
Ga	ग	गा	ग्ग	ग्गा
Ma	म	मा	म्म	म्मा
Pa	प	पा	प्प	प्पा
Dha	ध	धा	द्ध	द्धा
Ni	नि	नी	न्न	न्नी

25. With the sapthaswaras written in Nagari characters, we have yet to learn some special signs to denote pitch, time-value, commencement, end, repetition, grouping, rest, and so forth. Let us study them one by one.

26. The signs of Pitch may be as follows:—

Pitch	Signs	Signs Explained	Ex-ample
High or Thara Sthayi	●	A Dot above	सं
Middle or Madhaya Sthayi	Nil	Nil	स
Lower or Mandra Sthayi	●	A Dot below	स.

N.B.—Whatever applies to स applies equally to each of the other six swaras.

27. The signs of Time-Value may be as follows:—

Time Value	Signs	Signs Explained	Examples
Ekamathra ...	Nil	Nil	स
Ardhamathra ...	—	A Single Horizontal Line below.	सरि
Chathurthamathra ...	— —	A Double Horizontal Line below.	सरिगम
Ashtamamathra ...	— — — —	A Quadruple Horizontal Line below.	सरिगमपधनिसं

N.B.—Whatever applies to स applies equally to each of the other six swaras. Be it noted here that the European signs, Crotchet, Quaver, Semiquaver and

Demisemiquaver correspond respectively to Ekamathra, Ardhamathra, Chathurthamathra and Ashtamamathra

28. The following supplementary sign have also to be studied:—

What the Signs indicate	Signs	Remarks. if any
Commencement ...	⊙	
End ...	॥	
Drone ...	ॐ	
Rest ....	■	
Ditto ....	”	
Grouping ...		
Accent ...	W	
Repetition ...	+	
Portion Repeated ...	+ { }	
Prolongation of the previous Vowel sound.		This will occur only in Sahitya and not in Notation.
Komala ...	रि <sub>1</sub>	} So is the case with each of ग-म-ध-नि
Thivra ...	रि <sub>2</sub>	
Suddha Gandhara ...	(रि <sub>2</sub> ) ग	} See <i>infra</i>
Shadsruthi Rishabha ...	(ग <sub>1</sub> ) रि	
Sudha Nishada ...	(ध <sub>2</sub> ) नि	
Shadsruthi Dhaivatba ...	(नि <sub>1</sub> ) ध	
Anuswara ...	(गस) स	(गस) Ex :— सरिगस

29. At the commencement of a song, the Mēla, the Rāga, the Thāla, the Kāla, the Gathi, the Arôhana and the Avarôhana should be clearly given. The flat or sharp notes should also be pointed out. If flat, write, for example, रि<sub>1</sub> ; if sharp, write रि<sub>2</sub> ; and so on with each of

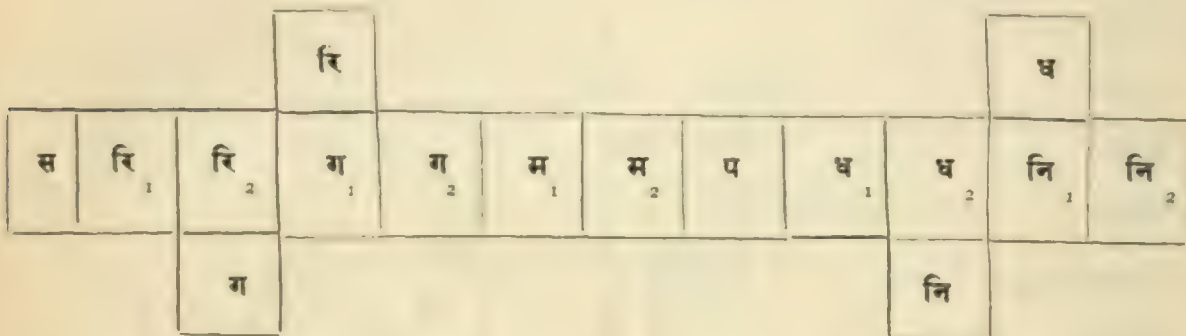
ग-म-ध-नि as well. Remember again that the theory of flat and sharp notes applies only to रि-ग-म-ध-नि and never to स-प. Remember also that 1 and 2, indicating flat and sharp notes respectively, will be tacked on to any of the former but not to either of the latter.

30. At this stage, I may be confronted with a query, whether, in view of the fact\* that Venkatamakhi gave 16 names to 12 swaras, the nomenclature of Kōmala and Thivra and their respective signs 1 and 2 cover all the "16

Swaras"; and whether, if not, what special signs have been, or should be, given to the four special swaras of the Karnatic System, viz., Suddha Gandhara, Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada, and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha.

\*Vide my *Theory of Music*.

31. In the following Figure,



the four side-swaras, so to speak, marked रि-ग-ध-नि belong exclusively to the Karnatic System and are of Venkatamakhi's creation, for all practical purposes; while, the twelve Swaras, marked स—रि<sub>1</sub>—रि<sub>2</sub>—ग<sub>1</sub>—ग<sub>2</sub>—म<sub>1</sub>—म<sub>2</sub>—प—ध<sub>1</sub>—ध<sub>2</sub>—नि<sub>1</sub>—नि<sub>2</sub> form a common feature of both the Indian (North and South) and the European systems. Signs like रि<sub>1</sub>—रि<sub>2</sub>—रि<sub>3</sub> to indicate respectively Suddha Rishabha, Chathusruthi Rishabha and Shadsruthi Rishabha, will not only clash with the general arrangement, hitherto followed, but also prevent us from arriving at a notation common to our country as a whole. Reference has already been made in my *Theory of Music*\* that Suddha Gandhara and Chathusruthi Rishabha sound alike; as also Sadharana Gandhara and Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada and Chathusruthi Dhaivatha, and Kaisiki Nishada and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha. Hence the signs

(रि<sub>2</sub>) — (ग<sub>1</sub>) — (ध<sub>2</sub>) — (नि<sub>1</sub>)  
ग   रि   नि   ध

have been given respectively to Suddha Gandhara, Shadsruthi Rishabha, Suddha Nishada

\*Vide my *Theory of Music*.

and Shadsruthi Dhaivatha. This arrangement, it is believed, will serve us a double purpose, in so much as it avoids clashing with the arrangement in other systems of music and indicates the true nature of the sounds of the four special swaras of the Karnatic System. The Kanakangi scale may, for example, be written thus:—

(रि<sub>2</sub>)                      (ध<sub>2</sub>)  
स—रि<sub>1</sub>—ग—म<sub>1</sub>—प—ध<sub>1</sub>—नि—स

32. I shall bring this subject of Sargam Notation to a close with giving you a few typical exercises for practice, only to familiarise you with all the signs and explanations mentioned above.

### TYPICAL EXERCISES.

**Caution**—The teacher should demonstrate to the pupils how to sound न (tha)—क (ka) in Vilambitha (slow), Madhyama (middle) and Drutha (quick) Kālas. Later on, the very swara letters should be taught to be sung; instead of न—क. in all the three Kālas. Then the pupils should be slowly initiated into the saralis and their paraphernalia, till they reach the classical songs.



## EXERCISE I.

## SOME PHRASES AND IDIOMS.

● त—क	त—क	। म—क	। त—क	● त—क	○ त—क	● त—क	○ त—क
स	रि	ग	म	प	ध	नि	सं
सं	नि	ध	प	म	ग	रि	स
<u>सरि</u>	<u>सरि</u>	<u>सरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>सरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>निसं</u>
<u>संनि</u>	<u>सुनि</u>	<u>संनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	<u>संनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>
स	रि	<u>सरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	प	ध	<u>पध</u>	<u>निसं</u>
सं	नि	<u>संनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	म	ग	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>
स	रि	<u>सरिगम</u>	<u>पम</u>	प	ध	<u>पधनिसं</u>	<u>रिसं</u>
सं	नि	<u>संनिधप</u>	<u>मप</u>	म	ग	<u>प्रमगरि</u>	<u>गस</u>
<u>सरि</u>	<u>गरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>पम</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>निसं</u>
<u>संनि</u>	<u>धनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	<u>धप</u>	<u>मप</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>
<u>साड</u>	<u>डरि</u>	ग	म	<u>साड</u>	<u>डध</u>	नि	सं
<u>साड</u>	<u>डनि</u>	ध	प	<u>साड</u>	<u>डग</u>	रि	स
<u>साड</u>	<u>डरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>गरि</u>	<u>साड</u>	<u>डम</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>निसं</u>
<u>सांठ</u>	<u>ठनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	<u>धनि</u>	<u>धाड</u>	<u>डप</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>
<u>सरो</u>	<u>डग</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>	<u>रिसा</u>	<u>डम</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>निमं</u>
<u>संनि</u>	<u>डध</u>	<u>पध</u>	<u>निमं</u>	<u>निधा</u>	<u>डप</u>	<u>मग</u>	<u>रिस</u>
स	रि	<u>डम</u>	म	प	ध	<u>डनि</u>	सं
सं	नि	<u>डध</u>	प	म	ग	<u>डरि</u>	स
<u>साड</u>	<u>डरि</u>	<u>गम</u>	<u>पम</u>	प	ध	<u>डनि</u>	सं
<u>सांठ</u>	<u>नि</u>	<u>धनि</u>	<u>धप</u>	म	ग	<u>डरि</u>	स

● त—क	। त—क	। त—क	। त—क	● त—क	○ त—क	● त—क	○ त—क
सरी उम मम रिम पधा उनि सरि सं मंनो उध सरि संनि धमा उम रिम स							
सग री सरि मम पाठधनि धाडनिस निडसरि सां संध नि संनि धप माडपममाडमग रीडमरि सा							
सरि मम मरि मम पम मम पध निसं संनि धप धनि धप मप धप मम रिस							
सरि मम प सां उरि संनि मा ड संनि धप म धा उम रिम सा ड							
स रि ड रि ड सनि सरिमम पधनिसं सं नि ड नो ड संरि सनिधप मगरिस							
सा ड ड रि ड म मपधनि सां सा ड ड नो ड ध पमनरि सा							
साडरिम रिम मस रिम मपा उधा उनि सं सांउनिध धनि निप प संनि धमा उमा उरि सा							

## EXERCISE II.

## HEADING

Mala 28.	{ Janyaraga—	Ravichandrika,
Haikamboji	{ Thala —	Adi.
	Kala —	Madhyama.
	Gathi —	Chathusra.

Arohana—स—रि—ग—म—ध—नि—ध—मं  
2 2 1 2 1 2

Aarohana—सं—नि—ध—म—ध—रि—स  
1 2 1 2 2

## SONG.

## Pallavi.

Niravandhi Sukhada, Nirmalarupa,  
Nirjithamunishapa.

## Anupallavi.

Sharadhibandhana, Nathasankrandana,  
Shankarâdigiyamana Sadhumanasa Susadana.

## Charanam.

Mamava Maragatha Maninibha deha  
Srimanilola Srithajanapala  
Bhimaparakrama, bhimakararchitha  
Thamasarajasamanavadoora Thiagaraja  
vinuthacharana





● त—क	। त—क	। त—क	। त—क	● त—क	○ त—क	● त—क	○ त—क
ANUPALLAVI							
+ { पसं डसं सं संनी धा डध सां ड रिमं मंग री ड मंग मरिं सा Shara—dhi ba ——— nda na —na tha—san —Kran da—na }							
..	..	..	..	..	रिं रिं	री	ड ड सं रि
..	..	..	..	..	.. natha	sare	—Kra
सं री	डसं	धसा	डनी	धनी धम	धनी धसं	सनि निध	धम मंग रिम मंग मरि सध
Share-ka	ra—da	gi—ya	ma—na	sa—dhu	ma nasa	ra—sa	da—na
CHARANAM							
रिमा	डम	मंग	रिम (मस सा	डरि	मा	ड मधा	डम मंग रिम मंग मरि मा
Ma—	ma	ra	ma—ra	—ga	tha	— mani	— niba de— ha
..	धसा	डसं	स	रिम मंग	रिम (मस)सा	.. समा	डम म ध म ध धा
.. sri—	ma	ni	lo—	—la	—sritha	—Ja	na pa—la
पसा	डसं	स	सनि धा	डध सां	— रिमं	मंग री	ड मंग मरि सा
Bhi—	ma	pa	ra—	Kra ma	— bhi—	ma ka	— ra— rchi tha
..	..	..	..	..	.. रिं रिं	री	ड ड ड री
..	..	..	..	..	.. bhima	ka—	— ra— tha
सरिं रिं	धसं	सनी	धनी धम	धनि धसं	सनि निध	धम मंग	रिम मंग मरि सध
tha-masa	ra—jasa	ma-nara	doo—ra	Thia—ga	ra—javi	nu—tha	chara na (Ni)

EXERCISE III.

Adapted after the European fashion.

C. Major, (Sankarabharanam).

Thala—Adi; Kala—Madhyama; Gathi—Thisra.

N.B.—Only Notes and no wording.

● त.क.त	। त.क.त	। त.क.त	। त.क.त	● त.क.त	□ त.क.त	● त.क.त	□ त.क.त
प.म.म	ध.म.म	व.म.प	भा.उ.उ	नि.प.ध	सु.प.प	म.प.ध	मा.उ.उ
प.सं.धनि	सं.निध.पम	प.ध.मप	ध.मम.रिम	सम.म.मम	प.प.ध.निध	प.स.मप	धनि.सा.उ
रि.सं.रि	मेरि.सनि.धनि	सं.नि.सं	रिम.निध.निसं	रि.स.रि	सरि.सनि.धनि	सं.नी.सं	रिस.निध.पम
ममं.रि.सं.मा	ममं.ममं.मं.रि	सनि.धप.म	उ.उ.उ	मरि.मम.पध	निस.रिम.मा	म.रि.सं.मरिसं	रिसं.निध.पम



## THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

Walter De La Mare. By R. L. M  groz  
(Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London) 1924.  
7s. 6d.

The art of literary criticism has not yet been reduced to strait-laced principles. There is consequently a wide latitude for the critic in the matter of form and method of criticism. But criticism of poetry and poets has always sought to escape rigidity of rules. The scope for the critic of contemporary poetry is wider still: he has almost an uncharted field to roam about and explore; he need not feel the handicap of prejudiced opinion; he can give the lead whereas in case of old poets the general opinion is already crystallised and the modern critic's function is limited to mere elucidation of details. And yet criticism of a living poet is a very ticklish matter. The critical faculty must be extremely alert; it must approach genuine intuition to arrive at a judicious appraisal. We accordingly welcome with great pleasure such a fine work of criticism as Mr. M  groz's study of *Walter de la Mare*. The subject is a living poet of great power and recognised skill. But opinion about his poetry has still to be formed; he is yet to be placed. Mr. M  groz undertook the task of disintegrating the man and his poetry with eager enthusiasm. He is wildly appreciative but with a critical discrimination. If the author on occasions becomes over-enthusiastic in praise of his favourite poet he knows and feels that he is not over-stating his case. Poetic appraisal is largely subjective and with this criterion the critic justifies his enthusiasm for Walter de la Mare's poetry.

What is poetry? It is defined as "sublimated imagination" a definition as good as any other. There should be imagination and imagination to be poetic should be of a refined and exalted nature. Mr. Walter de la Mare's poetry undoubtedly satisfies this test. Who will not take genuine delight in the exquisite lyric:

"I met at eve the Prince of sleep,  
His was a still and lovely face,

He wandered through a valley steep,  
Lovely in a lonely place."

We feel here that the poet has achieved a delicacy of touch and a pleasing sequence of ideas and words. The lyric is undoubtedly great and deserves a permanent and high place in English anthologies. But high as this achievement is we can not really ignore the extreme limitedness of Mr. Walter de la Mare's poetry. He surveys a narrow field but with almost a divine vision. He has confined himself to few subjects but he has achieved a masterly excellence in what he has done. He is *par excellence* the poet of childhood and no one has delineated the moods and instincts of children with more exquisite beauty and picturesqueness. It has been said that few children read and enjoy his verses. We think it is not a correct statement as indeed Mr. M  groz explains in his book. The psychology of childhood is a very serious psychology; the child when he plays the dragon or the cavalier is extremely serious about it; he genuinely imagines himself to be the centre of his imaginary world. He draws his inspiration from his own world of ideas and it is only by way of relaxation that he turns to picture-books and nursery rhymes, laughing all the time perhaps in his tiny little mind at the stupidity of the grown-ups who think his world revolves in the whimsical manner delineated in the fantastic picture-stories. Walter de la Mare's accomplishment does not lie in providing the child with amusement in the hour of relaxation; he has attempted a more difficult task: he interprets for the adults the serious moods and ideas of the child when at play. He has succeeded remarkably well in this interpretation. His *Songs of Childhood*, *Peacock Pie*, and *Down-a-Down Derry* deserve very high praise. The poet himself has written that "Children ..... live in a world peculiarly their own, so much so that it is doubtful if the adult can do more than very fleetingly re-occupy that far-away consciousness." How astonishingly well he has recaptured for us that "far-away consciousness" becomes vividly evident from a perusal of his songs of childhood. Andrew Lang

in an appreciative review of Walter de la Mare's first book applied Lamb's phrase "A fairy way of writing" to his poetry and children all over the world love fairies and gnomes, the elves and the moonlands. Mr. Mégroz's estimation is fair and just: "As a poet of childhood he can remain himself, the artist, the thinker of primitive phantasy, the epicure in pleasing imagery and wistful inconsequence.....the rich tapestry of image and the melodious sweetness of the song respond to the essentially childish desire for sensuous beauty."

The second chief characteristic of Walter de la Mare's poetry is its dreamland inspiration. The critic devotes two valuable chapters to the consideration of dream poetry and shows that while inspiration and rational thinking combine together to yield a poetic note, the character of the tune depends upon the balance preserved between dream and reality. This attitude is reminiscent of the prosaic mean sought to be achieved between romance and history. If we differ from Mr. Mégroz in his estimate of poetic inspirations it is because we consider poetry to be outside the confines of nicely calculated balances. Yeats is the dream poet of the first rank, as were Blake and Coleridge, but a comparative assay of their work does not leave a common residue in the shape of a balanced inspiration. The phrase is a contradiction in terms. Dream and reality can not be weighed in the same scale. Mr. Mégroz's chapters however are very interesting and suggestive. Perhaps we will not go so far with the critic as to say that Walter de la Mare is of the same rank as Shelley and Yeats; but it is to be admitted that whereas Keats, Shelley and Yeats wrote poetry of very unequal merits, Walter de la Mare has been continuously brilliant. His fame rests upon work of continued and sustained excellence.

Mr. Mégroz adds a chapter on the poet's style and content and regards him in the rich display of his picturesque elfland as the lineal descendent of the pre-Raphaelites. Mr. Mégroz has accomplished his work with commendable industry and in the present study of Walter de la Mare he has produced a work of high literary merit. We are especially pleased to commend his work to the notice of lovers of modern poetry in the hope that they will appreciate the better the work of a leading English poet.

W.

**China: Yesterday and To-day.** By Professor E. T. Williams (Harrap & Co., 15/-).

The author of this book of reference has exceptional claims to be regarded as an authority on this interesting and little-known kingdom. Formerly Vice-Consul at Shanghai and American Charge d'affaires at Peking, he was an eye witness of the Boxer insurrection and the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He was in charge of the Division of far Eastern affairs till recently, when he reverted to his first enthusiasms as Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California.

The Oriental scholar is responsible for over half the book, which forms an encyclopædia book of reference on the origins of the race and the religious cults and social arrangements of to-day. Although somewhat paragraphic in style, this portion is of intense interest to the Asiatic scholar. One looks in vain for a reference to the popular belief that China has tried out and discarded all the inventions of modern science. The age of her civilisation is beyond doubt. The heights to which it is said to have risen seem to be mythical.

The next few chapters are written by the man of affairs and describe the impact of Western Civilisation. The almost bloodless coup d'état which led to the abdication of the Manchu dynasty marked the end of the haughty manner of dealing with "barbarian" envoys.

Then came the war, which left China to work out her struggle towards democracy for three years, although she was a nominal belligerent for some fifteen months. The interest now lies in the efforts of Japan to gain control of the Shantung railway. The secret treaties between Japan on the one part, and Great Britain, France and Russia on the other, leave a nasty taste in the mouth. As in the case of the Arabs of the Hedjaz, Great Britain had to pay a stiff price for Japanese assistance during the submarine crisis. And in both cases an aftermath of agreements and secret treaties has been left which makes the work of resettling the nations more difficult, and threatens to dot the world with a number of Alsace-Lorraines.

The author, as an American, is scrupulously fair in his account of British activities. Not a



word of reproach is uttered in recounting the difficulties that arose in fighting the opium traffic; now diverted into Japanese channels. But one cannot read these latter pages without a feeling that Great Britain has picked up an ally in the Far East that may prove an embarrassment.

Professor Williams has an illuminating chapter on Oriental immigration, and the difficulties that followed the Burlingame agreement. He points out that the difference in treatment accorded to China and Japan simply rests on the latter's possession of armed forces. A discouraging but important thought in these days of pacific idealism, Oriental immigration is the probable cause of the next world crisis.

A lengthy appendix and bibliography round off this comprehensive book of reference.

H. E. H. T.

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**The Sanskrit Drama, in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice.** By A. B. Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt.—Clarendon Press, Oxford.

*Review.* By Dr. Ganganatha Jha, M.A.

It is a wonder to most of us how Dr. Keith can find time and energy to write so many books of the right kind. His latest achievement is a volume of nearly 400 pages, dealing with Indian Drama. It has been executed with Dr. Keith's usual thoroughness. He has examined all available information with a scrutiny free from bias. He has begun with the Vedic period and has succeeded in showing that the germ of the drama like the germ of every other branch of literature is to be found in the Vedas and Vedic rituals. He then carries us through Post-Vedic literature, making gleanings from the epics and other works assigned to that period. Drama in its real form is found to

appear only in the Buddhist period. It is refreshing to find that Dr. Keith has accepted after all the genuineness of the Bhasa-Dramas, and he has submitted them to a critical study worthy of himself. His comparison of Bhasa with Kalidasa is made on satisfactory lines, though an admirer of Kalidasa cannot help feeling that Dr. Keith is prejudiced in favour of the earlier writer. This prejudice however has not led the writer in any way to lessen his attention to the works of Kalidasa, whose dramatic art he admires. Later on the Doctor works his way through the dramatists of the mediæval period till he comes to what he calls the period of the decline of the Sanskrit Drama. He has devoted one chapter to detailing the characteristics and achievements of the Sanskrit Drama; more than 60 pages to dramatic theory where an instructive comparison is made between Aristotle and the Indian Theory of Poetics. The last chapter deals with dramatic practice wherein we find our knowledge carried very much farther than that obtainable in the earlier works of Wilson.

We are sorry to find however that certain typographical errors have crept into a book so neatly got up, and we may be permitted to point out a few cases of what we consider mistranslation. '*Bisam*' is not the *lotus* but its root (p. 109); '*Cailatanaya*' is not 'the lady of the mountain' but the 'daughter of the mountain' (p. 170). In the estimation of so many poets there will always be divergence of opinion. Hence there is no wonder if we find ourself unable to agree with the learned Doctor in his estimate of Bhavabhuti and some other dramatists. It is the virtue of poetry that it appeals to different natures in different ways.

The book is one which deserves a place in the hands of every Sanskrit scholar; for our University students it is indispensable and for every serious student of Sanskrit literature a perusal of the book will prove not only interesting but highly instructive.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

## DRAMA.

## CONTEMPORARY BRITISH DRAMATISTS.

*The Fifth of November* by Howard Peacey. Volume Five.

*The Dance of Life* by Hermon Ould. Volume Six.

*The Fanatics* by Miles Malleson. Volume Seven.

*The Three Barrows* by Charles McEvoy. Volume Eight.

*First Blood* by Allan Monkhouse. Volume Nine.

*Krishna Kumari* by Edward Thompson. Volume Ten.

(Published by Messrs. Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1924) 5s. each volume cloth and 3s. 6d. each volume paper.

We have on a previous occasion welcomed the series of modern plays which the enterprising house of Benn Brothers have placed before an increasingly appreciative public. It is a welcome sign that the series has received commendable support and further volumes are in course of preparation. It also bespeaks of the essentially healthy feature in modern British Drama. The selection of plays has been made with a view to popularise the modern tendencies in dramatic art and it is pleasing to note that the essentially modern habit of intellectual snobbery and quizziness has been kept in the back-ground. We noticed the first four volumes in our issue of January, 1924, and have now before us further six volumes—each is singular and individual in conception and design, yet each one be tokens the modern spirit and has an important relation with the human and social passions which sway peoples' minds to-day. We look forward with pleasure to further issues in this admirable series.

Mr. Howard Peacey has built his story of *The Fifth of November* round the personality of Roberts Catesby and Father Garnett acts as the villain of the piece. The author has almost ignored Guy Fawkes who is popularly connected with the Gunpowder Plot. The romantic interest in the drama is preserved by the keen analysis the play-wright has made of the thoughts and feelings which impelled the conspirators and their women. Mr. Peacey has no doubt seized the historical incident and carefully kept to the essential details of the plot; but he has not been content with mere dramatisation. It seems that he himself set out on a dangerous adventure with a desperate company and

wrote the chronicle of their exploits out of deep personal experience. The story as unfolded in the drama is a creative triumph for the author. The characters are well drawn and remain human; the language is lucid and simple and the final scene well conceived and finely written.

Whimsical is possibly the aptest description of Mr. Hermon Ould's *The Dance of Life*. A young man of twenty three born of idle and prosperous parents finds life boring and living too dull for him; his quest after the whys and wherefores of life embitters him. The honest intentions of his parents for his career carry no meaning to him. Olga Heath, erstwhile a lady's maid, in love with this young man provides the balance and later the justification for his existence. Young Beresford's search for the human light does not provide enough dramatic interest for the playwright. Neither do the intervention of dream-scenes improve the artificial make-up of the play. And yet the problem is an age-old one and Mr. Ould's treatment if not entirely original is at any rate novel and full of surprising twists and turns.

When Mr. Miles Malleson chose the *motif* of his play entitled *The Fanatics* he must have given tremendous thought to the manner and method of treatment. The fanatic is one who "lives by what he believes, which is difficult," but then "you have got to have something of a fanatic in you to do anything worth while these days. The thing is to keep one's fanaticism and to keep one's humanity." Fine idealism this but possibly too deep for the average mortal. We will appreciate better the essential truth in this statement if we ponder for a while on the social and individual problems which face mankind to-day. It is accordingly a double welcome we extend to Mr. Malleson's clever exposition of the sex problem. He has tackled the most insistent social question of the day in a manner at once bold and courageous, defiant of conventional standards and unaffected by social small-talk. If the dramatist preaches trial marriage and antenatal intercourse he does so with a profound conviction that the church-made marriages of the day have resulted in the present possible mess of sex warfare and disintegration of family life. Love to a maid is an untried experience and happiness in love is the only test for tying up two people in wedlock for life. Mr. Malleson has not become the preacher at the expense of the dramatist; his play preserves the essential unity



of dramatic action. The diction is admirable and interest of the reader sustained to the very last line. We do not remember having read recently any play with such powerful appeal to reason and courageous treatment of a grave social problem as is given in *The Fanatics*.

*The Three Barrows* like the *Fanatics* deals with the love problem, but if the atmosphere in the two plays is different, the final effect is entirely depressing in contrast to the joyous climax of Mr. Malleeson's play. Mr. McEvoy devotes special efforts to elaborate the effects of environments on a man's most intense and vital feelings; he portrays with success the mentality which effaces the noblest urge at the call of luxury and social convention. Victor Mieux remains the invertebrate, supine lover of a heroic soul. His struggle appears feeble even at the opening of the play. This weakness explains why the reading appears verbose and painfully long. There is a dramatic unity of a sort in the plan of the book, but the final effect is not pleasant. We may not ignore however the realism which touches many of the scenes. The dramatist has taken the average product of present day social conventions and portrayed him in his miserable dependence upon surroundings. Pity describes our feelings as we close the book.

Allan Monkhouse possesses the gift of realism to a remarkable degree. In *The Conquering Hero*, the second volume of this series he laid bare ruthlessly the anguish of the soldier's soul. In *First Blood* he reveals with almost barbaric bluntness the tragic consequences of industrial warfare. A strike of cotton operatives provides him the plot for his play. A peaceful countryside is suddenly divided into warring factions and the incidents of the strike present the basic class instincts of love and hatred in mortal conflict. The dramatist feels the realities of the struggle acutely and portrays faithfully the sufferings which industrial warfare entails. It is but a fitting close that the two persons who viewed the struggle from a humane point of view end their lives under tragic circumstances. A play intensely human and modern.

*Krishna Kumari* is the dramatised version of an historical incident related in Tod's "Annals of Rajputana" Mr. Thompson is well known for his sympathetic studies of Indian customs and traditions. He has sought to frame for us in the heroic self sacrifice of Krishna Kumari, the symbol of life that is ungrudgingly given for love of country and neighbour. The youthful princess of Mewar is sought after by two

powerful princes and the beautiful Mewar countryside is devastated in turn by the rival suitors. Mr. Thompson has related with poignancy the final resolve of Krishna Kumari to drink of the poisoned cup. Inevitably the dialogues are lengthy, unsuitable for stage elocution, but the play is good reading. We are not quite sure whether the author has correctly reproduced the incidents leading up to the British Ambassador's intervention. Close historical accuracy may not however be looked for in a play which is meant to carry a modern appeal.

#### BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE LIBRARY.

*Ayuli* by Laurence Binyon. Volume 5.

*The Prince* by Gwen John. Volume 6.

*The Lilies of the Field* by J. Hastings Turner Volume 8.

(Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 3s. 6d. each volume.

"No real renaissance of drama can take place without a new impulse towards the writing of plays"—this is from the prospectus of the British Drama League, which is doing creditable work in creating enthusiasm for the dramatic art. We have on a previous occasion commented with appreciation on the first four plays of the series. The welcome which the first volumes received have encouraged the publishers to place further volumes before the public. We extend a cordial welcome to the enterprise particularly as it is meant to help those playwrights who have unsuccessfully knocked at the doors of commercial publishers.

*Ayuli* is a delicate phantasy of beautiful imagery. Mr. Laurence Binyon, a poet of rare charm, has not attempted to dramatise one sensational incident, as is the usual practice with playwrights. This explains the charge of a lack of harmony in his interesting little tale. *Ayuli*, the beloved of the Son of Heaven, is the embodiment of all that is noble and pure in Beauty. Love is her joy, as it turned out to be her cross. A traitorous conspiracy raises its head against *Ayuli* and the King who is charged with having forgotten "the merchant's welfare in a woman." *Ayuli* learns of the rebels' demand of her head and wonders:

"Oh, why, why?"

Because I loved so much, and had such Joy?

Is sorrow part of the world, as wonderful

As Joy was?....."

Mr. Binyon has expressed Love's sacrifice in exquisite language clothed with beauty and charm. It is



mistaken to find fault with the idealism of the King; he is not the central figure of the play, but only a proud follower of Beauty, who reckons no cost and learns no obstacle in his pursuit of Joy.

In *The Prince* Miss Gwen John has attempted to sketch in eight short scenes the many-sided facets of Queen Elizabeth's personality. The interpretation does not quite succeed for although the play gives us knowledge of what Queen Bess thought on occasions, we do not come any nearer the woman and the queen. Miss John feels she has contributed toward unfolding the mystery which enshrouded the Queen's relations with the Earl of Essex. The controversy is by no means settled and Miss John's elucidation does not help in understanding the conflict of passions which determined Queen Elizabeth's attitude towards her courtiers. Perhaps the form adopted by Miss John has been unfortunate, for we certainly expect better workmanship and dramatic skill from Miss John.

Mr. Turner's *The Lilies of the Field* is one of the brightest and merriest comedies we have read for some time. The gaiety and fun which bubble over almost every line are skilfully interwoven with serious comment on modern manners. Mr. Turner's art is here seen at its highest and most accomplished stage. More deft hands have written gayer comedies; more imaginative brains have evolved cunning *mollis*; but we have seldom come across such a bright instance of a typically apt modern comedy. There is fun in plenty, there is humour, there is wit and brilliance. The crepe-de-chene delicacy of touch enlightens and vivifies the characters. If Betty in a crinoline, despite being an anachronism, successfully outwits her twin cinderella-like sister, the vicar in the supreme self confidence of a happy nonentity presents a delightful comedy in conjugal manners. We congratulate Mr. Turner on his excellent dramatic work and will look forward to his future publications. It is gratifying to note that the *Lilies of the Field* has had a successful run at the Ambassador's theatre in London.

**The Monument** by E. H. W. Meyerstein (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 2s. 6d.

This is a tragic verse-study in swindling. The widow and daughter of an artist, reduced to penury, suggest the scheme of a monument to be raised to the memory of the dead genius. The game is obvious from the beginning. Mr. Meyerstein has not introduced any *entre-scenes* to lighten the hypocrisy of the act. The

deception is preserved till the end when nemesis overtakes the two scheming women. A gruesome realistic story, rather diffuse and long-worded.

**Pundalik** by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya (The Shama's Publishing House, Madras, 1924) Re. 1/-.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya continues in *Pundalik* the dramatisation of Hindu mythological legends. He tells us here how the sacred Pandarpur came to be founded as a place of pilgrimage. The sceptic Pundalik insults his old parents and sneers at God's worship. A period of spiritual chaos follows, until the soul of Pundalik sees the light. The spiritual conflict is very beautifully rendered by the poet. Mr. Chattopadhyaya's verse has gained strength and power and his muse remains as delicate and charmingly elusive as ever.

**The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall** by Thomas Hardy (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923) 6s.

Thomas Hardy's new play for mummers reveals the master in the fulness and maturity of his powers. Hardy is not accepted as a true poet by many discriminating critics but few deny his genius for capturing the real dramatic incidents. The present play has been adapted for performance requiring no theatre or scenery. The triumph of the dramatist lies in successfully presenting this old Cornish legend in an atmosphere reminiscent of Love's golden age. The great story of Tristram and Isolt has seldom been related in a more beautiful language—with a restrained simplicity and charm characteristic of Hardy's best.

**Plays and Controversies** by W. B. Yeats (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923) 10s. 6d.

In *Plays and Controversies* Mr. Yeats has reprinted his valuable notes on the Irish Dramatic Movement together with six of his plays. The essay is a constructive plea for the renaissance of the Irish Drama and reveals the struggles of the great Irish poet in the cause of dramatic art. It will remain as much a historical document of great interest as a cogent plea for a National Theatre. The dramatic pieces represent Yeats in his characteristic dreamland, charming and elusive, mystifying the reader and the critic alike. At the end of the book appears an open letter to Lady Gregory, written in 1919, which sums up the history of the Irish Theatre and Mr. Yeats' hopes for it in the future.

## INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

**Indian Logic and Atomism.** By A. Berriedale Keith (Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1924.

Dr. Keith is a very versatile scholar. Among living Western Orientalists there is perhaps no one who has made such a thorough study of so many branches of Sanskrit literature. In his *Vedic Index*; in his *Sankhya System*; in his *Karma Mimansa*—he had already shown his complete mastery over the intricate subjects with which he was dealing, and also a gift of lucid exposition which is all too rare in scholars whose days are past amongst ponderous dusty tomes. Prof. Keith succeeds in enabling the layman to thoroughly understand subjects which he had originally given up as too abstruse and difficult. But he is not only a Sanskritist; but also a recognised authority on constitutional law and history. The volume under notice deals with the Nyaya and Vaisheshika Systems of Hindu Philosophy, and if the learned author can manage to give us two more volumes dealing with Vedanta and Sankhya, we shall then have a very valuable series of books dealing with all the well-known six systems of Hindoo thought. We have just received a copy of Dr. Keith's latest work *The Origin of the Sanskrit Drama*. Of that we shall publish a detailed review in a subsequent issue.

As the author truly points out, the Nyaya and Vaisheshika, the Indian systems of logic and realism, have attracted hardly a tithe of the interest due to them as able and earnest efforts to solve the problems of knowledge and being on the basis of reasoned argument. The systems are indeed orthodox, and admit the authority of the sacred scriptures, but they attack the problems of existence with human means, and scripture serves for all practical purposes but to lend sanctity to results which are achieved not only without its aid, but often in very dubious harmony with its tenets. There are many good works dealing with the other systems, but of Nyaya the only general expositions in English are the Sadho Lal Lectures of Dr. Jha and the well-known work of Prof. Jacobi, and on Vaiceseka, the recent work of L. Suali is the most exhaustive. Dr. Keith handsomely acknowledges his debt to the works of both these scholars, as also of several others. But it is no disparagement of the works of these distinguished scholars to say that for the general reader who wants to get a clear non-detailed knowledge of Nyaya and Vaicesika, Dr. Keith's book is the most suitable. That this book is quite exhaustive will be clear from a glance at the chapter-headings: The origin and development of the systems; the Syncretism of the Schools; Knowledge

and Error, Perception, Inference and Comparison, Logical Errors; The Nature and Authority of Speech; the Dialectical Categories; Ontology; the Philosophy of Nature; the Philosophy of Spirit; the Existence and Nature of God. The author is at places frankly critical, as for instance, in dealing with the Naiyayika's philosophy of spirit. His remarks are frequently of great value; in dealing with the Nyaya-Vaicesika, Vedanta and Sankhya views on the existence and nature of God, he says: "All three agree in denying any real value to human experience and endeavour, and stand in fundamental contrast with the tendency of recent thought, whether theistic or atheistic, to view the process of the universe as real and to insist on the fact, not of the independence and self-sufficiency of the individual, but of the necessity of the communion of selves as the basis of their reality." There are several points on which it is difficult to agree with Dr. Keith; this brief notice, however, is not the place for discussing them. The absence of a full bibliography may be noticed; the numerous footnotes are helpful, but a bibliography should be added in a subsequent edition. We think it a matter for congratulation that the services of such an able and accomplished scholar should be devoted to the cause of Sanskrit learning.

**Theism in Medieval India.** By J. E. Carpenter. (Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, London) 1924.

The various Hibbert Lectures delivered and published from time to time constitute a very valuable library of philosophical literature. It is high praise to say that Dr. Carpenter's lectures entitled *Theism in Medieval India* are fully worthy to take their place beside the earlier volumes of the series. By reason alike of depth of knowledge, of a sympathetic outlook and a critical standard, the present volume will be warmly welcomed by the ever-growing body of readers interested in the subject. Dr. Carpenter has started his discussion by a consideration—thorough and full—of the interaction and mutual influence of Buddhism and Hinduism which present many problems of great subjects dealt with are Religious Philosophy in the great epic; the Trimurti; Philosophy and Religion in Shaivism; Religion and Philosophy in Vaishnavism; Hinduism and Islam. Though the last chapter is not quite so well-informed and comprehensive as the others, we confidently commend the book to the attention of the thoughtful scholars as an honest, unbiassed account of a subject which is full of interest and importance.



**The Buddha and His Doctrine.** By C. T. Strauss (William Rider and Son, Limited, 8 Paternoster Row, London) 1923.

The above is a popular account of the Buddha's life and doctrine in its original purity, drawn from the oldest accessible documents. The author refutes certain errors and prejudices which exist almost universally with regard to Buddhism and presents a clear, straightforward account of Gautama's teaching and philosophy. The author has wisely chosen to go straight to the original authorities, the Pali Tipitaka. The work appeared originally in "the international language Ido"; it has now been adopted from that into English. In five chapters of more or less interest—dealing with the Life of Buddha, the Doctrine, the Ethics, the Brotherhood and a Defence of Buddhism—we have a popular, but nonetheless trustworthy exposition of a system which is both a religion and a philosophy, inasmuch as it satisfies both the heart and the mind of vast sections of humanity.

**The Teaching of the Upanishads.** By Edward Carpenter (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) 1923.

Mr. Carpenter is a keen student of Indian philosophy and we have in the present little pamphlet the substance of two of his popular lectures on Rest and the Nature of the Self. He emphasises the importance of the former by saying that to some, in the present whirlpool of life and affairs, it may seem almost an absurdity to talk about Rest. For long enough now rest has seemed a thing far off and unattainable. With the posts knocking at our doors ten or twelve times a day, with telegrams arriving every hour, and the telephone bell constantly ringing; with motors rushing wildly about the streets, and aeroplanes whizzing overhead, with work speeded up in every direction, and the drive in the workshops becoming more intolerable every day; with the pace of the walkers and the pace of the talkers from hour to hour insanely increasing—what room, it may well be asked, is there for Rest? He insists with much force that modern nations must learn to rest even in the very midst of the hurry and scurry. This seems to him to be the teaching of some of the Upanishads—the value of rest, or repose, which latter is probably an apter word. On the nature of the self, Mr. Carpenter is rather disappointing in his conclusion that while we can and do become even more vividly conscious of our true self, the mental statement of it always does and probably always will lie beyond us. None the less his views are alike interesting and instructive.

**Raja Yoga.** By Swami Vivekananda (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Limited, Carter Lane, London) 1923.

Swami Vivekananda did probably more than any other individual to popularise in the West the various systems of Yoga philosophy. Raja Yoga is one of the most highly developed forms of Vedanta. It teaches that desires and wants are in man, that the power of supply is also in him; and that wherever and whenever a desire, a want, a prayer has been fulfilled, it was out of this infinite magazine that the supply came and not from any supernatural being. It is needless to say anything of Swami Vivekananda's remarkable powers of exposition; it is masterly. But the translation of Patanjali's Sūtras is not always as correct as might be expected. Despite this, the book will receive a thoroughly well-deserved welcome from the students of Hindu philosophy. It is a valuable addition to philosophical literature.

**Vedic Hymns.** By R. J. Thomas, 1923. **Hindu Gods and Heroes.** By L. D. Barnett, 1922. ("Wisdom of the East" Series. John Murray, Albemarle Street, London).

The Wisdom of the East Series is a useful venture which deserves encouragement. The get-up and printing and paper are all such as might be expected from the firm of John Murray. The Editors, Messrs. Cranmer-Byng and Kapadia have succeeded in enlisting the active support and co-operation of competent scholars whose names are a sufficient guarantee that the books will be reliable and well-written. Dr. Thomas' *Vedic Hymns* brings together in a handy form all the more important Vedic hymns which shed a flood of light on the social and religious polity of early India. Dr. Burnett has undertaken in his *Hindu Gods and Heroes* a popular study in the history of the religion of India, dealing with the Vedic age, the age of the Brahmanas and the Epics and later. Both these are useful volumes which contain, within a short compass, much that will inspire and elevate. They fully sustain the high reputation of the previous volumes in this series.

**Sind and Its Songs.** By J. P. Gulraj (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1924.

The above is a volume in the well-known "Asian Library" which has already attained considerable popularity. The Sind thinkers and singers have so far been singularly neglected by the English-knowing public, and it is gratifying that Mr. M. M. Gidwani's excellent monograph on Shah Latif should now be

followed by Mr. Gulraj's really illuminating and instructive *Sind and its Sufis*. Lal Shahbaz is known to many outside Sind at least by name; in this volume we have a full account of his philosophy of life; we now learn the thoughts of other remarkable Sufis, Inayat, Shah Latif, and Sachal, some of whose poems have been translated into excellent English. This valuable book is a very welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of a neglected corner of the country's literature and philosophy. It is also a notable addition to the literature of Sufism.

**Amourism.** By R. S. Taki (Karnatak Press, Thakurdwara, Bombay) 1924.

On reading the manuscript of the above book the author's friends were of the opinion that it would be very useful to many people who were disgusted with the woeful results of the misunderstanding between nations and nations, rulers and ruled, masters and servants, kith and kin, and such other dualities they witnessed every day around them. They decided therefore to have the book published, nor can we be sorry for their decision, for in spite of the very unsatisfactory title, the book is a notable one. It is thoughtful and thought-provoking. But we should have preferred it to be more free from the numerous Sanskrit terms which are apt to confuse the reader who is ignorant of Sanskrit. This defect may be removed in a second edition.

**Early History of Vaishnavism in South India.** By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Oxford University Press, Madras) 1924.

Among Indian historians of early India, Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar deservedly holds an honoured position. In the volume before us he has undertaken a task which was first indicated by the publication, some years ago, of *Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religion* by that doyen among Orientalists—happily still with us—Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. Prof. Aiyangar's *History* is a valuable contribution to the subject. He has strengthened his arguments by copious quotations from original sources, and his conclusions are generally well-seasoned and sound. It is a short study dealing excellently with a great subject, but the exposition of the subject is thoroughly sound and interesting.

**A Study in Hindu Social Polity.** By Chandra Chakraberty. (58 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1923.

The above book is divided into seven chapters—

dealing with the Physical Geography of India; Ethnic elements in Hindi nationality; Hindu myths; Hindi languages; Hindi scripts; Caste and Social Organisation. It may be regarded as a helpful supplement to the late Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation in Ancient India*. Several new important data have been included; and a very useful list is appended to show the close connection between Sanskrit and the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Slav and Celtic languages. We would suggest the change of the word "Hindi" as it definitely indicates now the North Indian Vernacular. We hope too that the get up of the book will be improved in a subsequent edition. The book merits appreciation as an excellent, popular study.

**The Hindu Religious Year.** By M. M. Underhill (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta).

*The Religious Life of India* series has received a recent addition in the shape of Mr. Underhill's excellent book on the Hindu Religious Year. There are, at least, two recent books on Hindu festivals,—those by Gnpte and Mukerji—but Mr. Underhill's work is better arranged than the former and fuller than the latter. It deals with Eras and other divisions of time; auspicious and inauspicious seasons; solar and seasonal festivals; lunar and planetary festivals; Vishnu and Siva festivals; and festivals arising from animistic sources. We have no doubt that all Hindus and those non-Hindus who are interested in Hindu observances will welcome this publication, which is equally useful for study and reference.

**Vaisnava Lyrics.** By J. A. Chapman (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London) 1923.

The early Vaishnava Lyrics of Mithila and Bengal have recently attracted considerable attentions, thanks mainly to the publications of Rabindranath Tagore and A. K. Coomaraswamy. Mr. Chapman, the gifted Librarian of the Calcutta Imperial Library, has put together in this slender volume a number of the exquisite poems of Vidyapati, Chandidas, Govindadas and others. The best feature of the present book is the excellent introduction which shows that the writer has a fine appreciation of the Lyrics, indeed he is himself at places inclined to break into lyric. The translations are very free but they fully bring out the fragrant charm of the originals. The printing and format are all that can be desired. Our only grievance is that Mr. Chapman has not given us more



of his beautiful translations. We hope he will add to them in a second edition of the book.

**The Wisdom of the Aryans** by Allan Bennett (Ananda M) (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

This little volume is of interest chiefly because it is written by an English Buddhist who spent 14 years in a Buddhist monastery and imbibed the divine teachings at the fountain-source, so to say. Mr. Bennett does not subscribe to the doctrines for which Buddha lived and died without critical appreciation, but he is fully convinced that the salvation of the world lies in "the direction of that conquest of individualism which constitutes the central feature of the Buddha's teaching." Perhaps the author is too bold in claiming that Buddhism alone is competent to bring about the cure of the present *malaise*. But he has undoubtedly put in a strong plea for the recognition of the essential values in the supreme ethical code of Buddha. The seven lectures included in this volume traverse the important principles of Buddhist teachings and their statement is clearly and lucidly put. Mr. Bennett is very interesting in his exposition of the doctrines of Nirvana and Re-birth. Very instructive and informative the book is well worth a perusal.

**Buddhism in the Modern World** by K. J. Saunders (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1923) 2s.

Mr. Saunders' book is different in conception and design to the volume noticed immediately above. The Christian Missionary in the zeal of his crusade omits to estimate the forces which bind the unchristian to forms of belief which appear, in his opinion, devoid of cognate reasoning. Mr. Saunders is an enthusiastic Christian but he is large-hearted. He believes that the triumph of Christian principles can be secured only through understanding the other man's point of view. He spent over ten years in the Buddhist world and has collected his impressions in this little book. He saw the pagodas and the monks, a Buddhist festival or a funeral—and the theme provided him to construct the moral influences which consciously or unconsciously moulded the conduct. The result is a lively sketch-book, and if the exposition of modern Buddhism is not quite complete or correct or even on few occasions not just, it is full of interesting reading.

## INDIAN HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES.

### THREE LIVES OF SHIVAJI.

1. **The Life of Shivaji Maharaj.** By N. S. Takakhav. (Manoranjan Press, Bombay).

2. **Siva Chhatrapati.** By Surendranath Sen (Calcutta University Press).

3. **Shivaji.** By S. V. Raddi (Vadhaṭkar's Banglow, Thana).

"*Kafir jahannum ba raft*" was, it is said, the exclamation of Aurangzeb when the news was communicated to him that the 'little mountain rat' that had for so many years plagued him was at last dead. He had borne, it seemed, a charmed life. Accidents, that would have been fatal, left him unscathed; disaster and misfortune only made him more resolute and determined. The Mughal Emperor might have had in him a powerful ally; but in his unwisdom he preferred to let him remain a dangerous foe, who gave him no rest and allowed him no peace while he lived. A long-suffering community, groaning under the yoke of a foreign tyranny, hailed him as the saviour of Hindu India, and for a while it appeared as though the dream of a Hindu Empire was at last to be realised. But, as so frequently happens, Shivaji had weak, nerveless successors, bent more on the pleasures of the senses than on the duties of administration, and the dynasty that promised so fair withered and remains now but a name. But the memory of Shivaji and his deeds of glory serves still as an inspiration, and it is in the fitness of things that the modern Indian Renaissance should witness a revival in his honour, and we have now before us three biographies of him, which resemble each other only distantly.

Mr. Takakhav's *Shivaji Maharaj* is an adaptation from the original Marathi work of Mr. K. A. Keluskar. It is a striking tribute to the greatness of Shivaji's life and work; it differs in certain important respects from the conclusions of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*. It gives, for the first time, in English a complete account of the career of Shivaji; it clears Shivaji from the charge of murdering Afzul Khan; it examines the relations between Shivaji and Swami Ramdas; and it gives a new explanation of Shivaji's so-called plundering expeditions. These features of the biography indicate how full of interest it is, and what laborious research must have been necessary for its preparation. A measure of partiality for his hero may surely be excused in a Maratha writer, but on the whole his work is very fair-minded and just. It will be, for the present, the standard biography of Shivaji, in spite of its limitations.

Mr. Surendranath Sen's *Shiva Chhatrapati* is a



translation of *Sabhasad Bakhar*, with extracts from *Chitnis* and *Sivadigvijaya*. It is the first of a series intended for such students of Maratha history as are ignorant of Marathi. Of the importance of the Bakhar chronicles for a study of the rise and growth of Mahratta power there can be no doubt; their historical accuracy is not always unimpeachable. But all interested in this subject will feel deeply grateful to Mr. Sen and the Calcutta University for making their study possible and easy.

*Shivaji* by Mr. Raddi is an attempt "to write the life of the national hero of Maharashtra as to show to the world that he was the real maker of Maharashtra." The author bases his work mainly on the Bakhar of Sabhasad Krishnaji Anant, written in 1694, but he acknowledges his indebtedness also to the works of Kincaid and Sarkar. It is a useful publication, well deserving every encouragement. But it can not be treated in the same category as the works of Mr. Takakhav or Professor Sarkar.

**The Life and Teaching of Tukaram.** By the late J. Nelson Fraser, and the Rev. J. P. Edwards (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras).

In the well-weighed words of the late-lamented Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's foreword, the present book is a valuable addition to the English literature on Tukaram, inasmuch as it goes exhaustively into the life and teachings of the saint and analyses with care the different stages of his religious faith and the spell he has held over the mind and heart of Maharashtra. It is a valuable book, packed with information and teeming with points of great interest. Not only are Tukaram's *Abhangs* translated and analysed but their interpretations are carefully discussed. A full account of his life is given, and the many illustrations add to the usefulness of a very useful volume, which deserves wide circulation.

**Sankaracharya the Great and his Successors in Kanchi.** By N. Venkataraman (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1923.

The recent advent of priests into Indian politics and the incidents at Tarakeshwara are bound to revive an interest in the Mahants and Swamis. The present book by Mr. Venkataraman is therefore doubly interesting; interesting in itself, and interesting because of contemporary events. The first Shankaracharya was not merely a priest: his services to the

cause of Hinduism, both religion and philosophy, were incalculable. He not only put a stop to the proselytising activities of Buddhism, but actually succeeded in exterminating it from the land of its birth. Sankara and Ramanuja are the twin stars of Hindu orthodoxy. Mr. Venkataraman has done well to give us an account in English not only of the great Sankara, but of his successors in Kanchi also. It is a book which should be carefully studied by all interested in Hinduism, and in current religious problems of India.

**Sri Harsha of Kanauj.** By K. M. Panikkar (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay).

Prof. Panikkar is among the more promising scholars of the younger generation. He is a thoughtful writer, and brings much study to bear upon the subject which he discusses. In the present volume he has studied the history of India in the first half of the 7th century A. D. with special reference to the life and work of Sri Harsha of Kanauj. He has divided his monograph into six parts dealing with the Political condition of India in the 6th century; the Political History of the Reign of Harsha; Harsha the King; the Social condition of India in Harsha's time; and Harsha the Poet. There is evidence throughout of considerable research and historic sense. It is a valuable little book which fills a wide gap in Indian historical literature, and it deserves appreciation for the scholarship and research of its author.

**Sher Shah.** By Kalikaranjan Qanungo (Kar, Majumdar & Co., 1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

Mr. Qanungo is a lecturer in History at the Lucknow University. He is one of those Indian historians who have gathered inspiration from the remarkable works of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. Following in his footsteps, he has produced a critical study of the life and reign of Sher Shah, who had almost succeeded in wresting the Indian Empire entirely from the hands of the Mughals. His reign has been neglected because of the contrast with that of Akbar who followed him. But in statecraft and science of Kingship, Sher Shah's achievements were brilliant. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that Mr. Qanungo should have attempted the history of his reign. He has eminently succeeded in reconstructing his life-story on a fresh, original and exhaustive basis, and for a long time to come his work must remain our authority on the subject.

**Mahadji Sindia.** By M. W. Burway (Published by the Author, Special Branch, Foreign Office, Indore).

**Devi Ahilyabai Holkar.** By M. W. Burway.

Mr. Burway is an earnest, unostentatious worker in the cause of Indian history. We have in earlier issues of the *Hindustan Review* referred in terms of appreciation to his *Marathas and Moghals*, and *Life of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao*. He has now followed these up with the biographies of Mahadaji Sindia and Ahilyabai, the greatest of the Sindias and Holkars respectively. As a general and statesman Mahadji can challenge comparison with the greatest of the Western heroes, while Ahilyabai belongs to the small band of heroines whose examples redeem Hindu womanhood from decay and serve as a beacon. Both the biographies are well-written and will amply repay perusal. We wish Mr. Burway all success in his patriotic labours, which deserve appreciation and recognition.

**Hammira.** By Har Bilas Sarda (Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ltd., Ajmer).

Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's name must be familiar to our readers, as we have in the past noticed in our pages several of his important publications. In the present monograph he has written the life of the last great Chauhan ruler. It is an inspiring life which Mr. Sarda describes. The nobility, the faithfulness to his plighted word, the bravery of Hammira have been often sung in Sanskrit and Hindi verse; his is really a household name. Mr. Sarda has done well to familiarise the English-knowing public with the shining achievements and noble character of this mediæval Rajput monarch.

**Schwartz of Tanjore.** By Jesse Page (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London).

The above is a volume of the Ecclesiastic Biographies Series. The author says: "The pages of history praise the great achievements of Clive, Warren Hastings, and Cornwallis as the fathers of our Indian rule, but surely Schwartz is also entitled to a niche of honour as one who laid the foundation of that reign of the Kingdom of God which thousands of faithful missionaries are promoting throughout the Indian Empire to-day." The book is illustrated and well got-up, and it will prove interesting to all who care to know how the early Christian Missionaries worked in this country. Incidentally, Indian life as it was then is also described, and the contrast between that sketched out in the book and that witnessed to-day is remarkably brought into relief.

## ESSAYS.

**Last Essays.** By (the late) Maurice Hewlett (William Heinemann Ltd., London) 1924.

A melancholy interest attaches to the above volume, as it has been published since the premature death of Mr. Hewlett. It is not necessary here to say anything of the high standard of his essays; among contemporary writers his place is high; whether the whirligig of time will preserve that place for him is a question to which for obvious reasons no answer can be given yet. But there is so much of freshness both in Mr. Hewlett's style, and in his treatment of his themes that it will be long before his essays are forgotten. The variety of his interests will be apparent at a glance over some of the titles of his essays selected at random—*The Solitary Reaper*, *The Curtains*, *Suicide of the Novel*, *The Iberian's House*, *Merrie England*, *Conleur de Rose*, *Mr. Pepys his Apple-Cart*, *One of Mr. Lamb's Creditors*. It may truthfully be said that whatever his theme Mr. Hewlett wrote with great skill and charm. There is humour too, plenty of it; but not of the forced, boisterous variety with which we are daily inundated. The last essay concludes with these sentences perhaps the last written by the author, noble in their simplicity and recalling the restraint of the Greeks: "How often has the good soul whose end I am awaiting now stood at her cottage door to mark the lingering of the light? May her passing be as gentle as this day's has been!" Noble words, nobly written are they.

**Essays.** By W. B. Yeats (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924.

When the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded last year to William Butler Yeats, many people asked what he had written, and it is true that he is not in any sense a popular poet, as Kipling or Maschfield or Thomas Hardy or even Æ or some others are. But to the real lover of English poetry, Mr. Yeats' name has long been known and his poems have lingered in the memory for many a day. In his Dedication of this volume of essays he says to Mr. Leunox Robinson:—"My friends and I loved symbols, popular beliefs and old scraps of verse that made Ireland romantic to herself." The same remarks apply to his essays which will not win popularity. Nor need that be regretted; it is at best but a doubtful gain. This collection brings Mr. Yeats' essays down to 1917 and contains also those already published in book form under the titles *The Cutting of an Agate* and *Per Amica Silentia Lunas*. All the pieces bear the impress of original



thinking; they are not like gramophone records; they are "the Master's Voice" itself. Here is a passage from the essay on "Art and Ideas": "We are becoming interested in expression in its first phase of energy, when all the arts play like children about the one chimney and turbulent innocence can yet amuse those brisk and active men who have paid us so little attention of recent years. Shall we be rid of the pride of intellect, of sedentary meditation, of emotion that leaves us when the book is closed or the picture seen no more; and live amid the thoughts that can go with us by steam-boat and railway as once upon horse-back or camel-back, rediscovering, by our re-integration of the mind, our more profound Pre-Raphaelitism, the old abounding, nonchalant reverie?" The book is full of stirring, powerful pieces such as this, and to all that look to literature for more than ephemeral excitement or momentary delight, the *Essays* are bound to make a strong appeal. Yeats is not yet widely-read in India. His *Essays* should help to make him more known.

**Some Modern Authors.** By S. P. B. Mais (Grant Richards Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1923.

Yet another collection of studies of modern authors. Mr. Mais is a prolific writer, and he pays the inevitable price of prolific writing—unequalness. That he is capable of high-class literary effort must be quite clear to all who have read his *English Course for Everybody* and *Oh! to be in England*; but he is not unfrequently slipshod and careless. In the present volume we have a collection of his critical reviews of the works of more than forty authors, including such distinguished names as Galsworthy, Hugh Walpole, Lytton Strachey, Walter Raleigh, Edmund Gosse, Thomas Hardy, Barrie, and such comparatively insignificant ones as Machen, Maugham, McFee, O'Neill, Bramah. But Mr. Mais possesses the gift of making all his subjects interesting, and we have found hardly one dull page in the whole book. He is generally content to let his author speak for himself—which is perhaps after all the most satisfactory form of interpretation. For acquaintance with the leading contemporary writers we know of no book to be placed on the same level with *Some Modern Authors*.

**Essays in European and Oriental Literature.** By Lafcadio Hearn (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) 1923.

The West prides itself on its intellectual balance and reserve; but ever and anon, we find new idols

springing up, and shining awhile, and disappearing like the spangles of a rocket. Cults abound. It is to-day Francis Thompson; then Stephen Phillips; Rupert Brooke and Flecker; now it is Lafcadio Hearn. This is hero-worship with a vengeance. The O of Giatto might have been perfect; not everybody is a Giatto. . . We have before us the *Essays in European and Oriental Literature* believed to have been written by Lafcadio Hearn while on the staff of an American newspaper, *The Times-Democrat*, during 1882-1887. All that we can say is that they are not remarkable in any way and hardly distinguishable from shoals of literary articles in other newspapers. Even assuming that they were all written by Hearn—and this is not quite certain—it is no kindness to his memory to hunt up articles written against time, anonymously, and not intended for publication in this form. We are not blind to the merits of Hearn; we consider his *Interpretations of Literature* to be a great book. But we certainly deprecate the tendency to land to the seventh heaven every scrap or fragment which he wrote for the press. Most of the essays in the present book are slight and commonplace. There is no sparkling wit, no striking freshness of outlook, except when Hearn treats of Japanese literature, and there he is at his best, as in this passage on Japanese Poetry: "And the desire of the Japanese bride for a last look at her husband's face, that she might carry a perfect memory of him into the world of shadows, is surely beautiful as the old Greek Epitaph in which the beloved dead is brought not to quaff the waters of Lethe, lest she forget her love. These little Japanese verses are like new thoughts spoken aloud at long intervals, breaking a happy and dreamful silence between friends—utterances unfinished yet perfect—words which unlock secret chambers of feeling,—tendernesses half evolved, only that they may be in turn dreamfully fondled to fullest development by the fancy which they caressingly create." We wish we had more passages like this, but alas, they are all too few, and the general impression of the book is one of disappointment.

**Aspects of Literature.** By J. Middleton Murry (W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London S. W.) 1923.

"Compulsion," wrote Mr. Middleton Murry in an earlier work, "has produced far more good literary work than the unembarrassed pursuit of an artistic ideal has ever done." If compulsion be the inevitable cause of good literature, and if 'chill penury' does not indeed freeze 'noble rage'; we may be thankful for compulsion. To say that *Aspects of Literature*

contains some excellent essays is only to assert that Mr. Murry's hand has not lost its cunning and that the early promise is being fulfilled. The pieces on "The Function of Criticism," "The Present condition of English Poetry," and "Poetry and Criticism" show what a clear grasp the author has of the principles of literary criticism; while in the essays entitled "The Religion of Rousseau," "The Poetry of Thomas Hardy," "Samuel Butler," we find a new theory of criticism formulated, and a new standard of values suggested. The book provokes thought and is indeed a challenge which may be expressed in the author's own words: "The function of true criticism is to establish a definite hierarchy among the great artists of the past, as well as to test the production of the present; by the combination of these activities it asserts the organic unity of all art. It cannot honestly be said that our present criticism is adequate to either task." Of Mr. Murry's own position in the "definite hierarchy" of critics we are in no doubt: it is a high one amongst contemporary critics. His book deserves attention as a thoughtful contribution to modern criticism.

**Literary Portraits.** By Charles Whibley (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

**Political Portraits.** By Charles Whibley (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

The volume entitled *Literary Portraits* appeared first in 1904 and has now been reprinted with some changes. The subjects dealt with are of varied interest, including as they do Rabelais, Montaigne, the Library of an Old Scholar, Robert Burton, Casanova. These are all subjects at the very mention of which students of literature will smack their lips in anticipation of delicious fare, and they will not be disappointed, for Mr. Whibley wields an exceedingly facile pen, and he possesses also the supreme skill of going straight to the root of the subject.

In the *Political Portraits*, the figure of Disraeli looms large, occupying no fewer than 120 pages of the book. Here Mr. Whibley has "let himself go," and his partisanship has at places got the better of his judgment. He has not one grudging good word to put in for Gladstone. But it must be admitted that there is a subtle charm in his style, which is vivid and picturesque and lucid. Bolingbroke, Castlereagh, Rousseau, Napoleon are the subjects of some of the other sketches. Mr. Whibley has presented to the reader a fine gallery of political portraits, in which the faces are not always attractive, the expression on a few of them being actually repelling, but in all of which there is strength and brilliance and fixity of

purpose. On the whole, his gallery of political portraits is attractive.

**Literature in a Changing Age.** By Professor Ashley H. Thorndike (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1923.

Professor Thorndike's name ought to be familiar to all students of English Literature as the Editor of the excellent "Tudor Shakespeare" and the author of "Shakespeare's Theatre." In the present volume his theme is that literature is a form of human activity that is continuous but ever changing, and he proceeds to consider how it has been changed by the vast developments of industry, democracy and science, what has been the effect of the increase in the reading public and in the production of reading matter, and what the purposes and functions of literature are in the modern civilisation. It is a book to set one thinking and we welcome it as an endeavour to seriously discuss a question of great interest.

**Suggestions.** By E. B. Kellett (Cambridge University Press, 1923) 7s. 6d.

A volume of literary essays of high merit and skilful craftsmanship. *Suggestions* derives its critical inspiration from classical readings. Mr. Kellett has devoted his labours to immortal figures like Shakespeare and Shelley. Exactly half the number of essays contained in this book is devoted to Shakespearean criticism. On this time-worn and venerable topic Mr. Kellett has brought to bear a forceful and active mind with the result that his study is refreshing in outlook and abounding in instructive analyses. The first essay on Shakespeare's Amazons is a delightful piece of work. Two essays are devoted to Shelley as an imaginative poet of rare gifts and as an exponent of a profound philosophy of Love. Macaulay, Dryden and Chaucer occupy Mr. Kellett's attention for a little while and he rounds off his little book with a neat epilogue on the art of the literary detective, i.e., the art of locating the source of inspiration of a writer. No genius is sacrosanct to Mr. Kellett, and Milton comes in for a good of illustrative work. We may adapt the method of the last chapter in *Suggestions* to Mr. Kellett's own work and yet conclude that he has written a well-informed and skilful critique, alike able and instructive.

**Yea and Nay** (Brentano's Limited, London, 1923) 6s.

Last year an admirable series of lectures and counter-lectures was arranged to be delivered at the



London School of Economics in aid of the Hospitals. Many prominent literary men lent their name and voice to the programme. Messrs. Brentano's are to be congratulated for having collected the lecture-notes and presented in *Yea and Nay* a symposium which for brightness, wit and skilful repartee will attract the attention of literary people. We find here Mr. H. G. Wells discoursing on the ideal method of the teaching of history; the whimsical Miss Sitwell, authoritative and doctrinaire, ventilating her notions on modern poetry; Mr. Cochran justifies the commercial theatre and the handsome Miss Rebecca West backs her wits against the graceful apologia of Miss Sheila Kaye Smith—a spectacle only to be compared with G. K. C. roaring at the evils of modern journalism and the mild Mr. McCurdy attempting to soothe the shaken nerves. A delightful book is *Yea and Nay*, a pleasant reading and full of suggestive criticism.

**Windfalls.** By Alpha of the Plough (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

To their admirable "Wayfarers Library" of useful volumes on light literature Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons have added the collection of sketches by this well-known essayist of the *Daily Mail*. These originally appeared in book form in 1920 and delighted numerous admirers of Alpha's literary skill. The neat little essays range over numerous topics and are written with consummate art and delightful lucidity. Alpha's work always provides a pleasant reading and his contributions to the daily press deserved a permanent form. The present collection will while away cheerfully many an idle hour.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY.

**A Short History of the British Commonwealth.** By Ramsay Muir, Vol. II (George Philip & Son, Ltd., London) 1923.

We noticed last year in terms of appreciation Professor Ramsay Muir's first volume of *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*. We welcome now the second and concluding volume. It was an ambitious task which Professor Ramsay Muir set out to perform, and it will be generally conceded that the undertaking has been a successful one. He is the first to write the history of the British Commonwealth on a comprehensive scale; the task demanded that the writer should see things steadily and see them whole; a gift of broad generalisation, a co-ordinating mind, a sense of discrimination, large

powers of interpretation and suggestion were called for, and by a combination of all these, the talented author has produced what may well be called an authoritative and reliable work. That the undertaking was no light one will be seen from the list of the six main heads into which the present volume is divided: The Disruption of the Commonwealth and the Birth of New Forces and Ideas (1760-1793); Revolution and war: the growth of the Second Empire (1789-1815); National and Imperial Reconstruction and the Triumph of Industrialism (1815-1852); The Era of British complacency and the Adolescence of the Daughter Nations (1852-1880); The Age of Imperialism and the Rivalry of World-Powers (1880-1904); An Epilogue: the Ordeal of the Commonwealth (1905-1919). This volume consists of more than 800 pages, and the narrative is always illuminating, always sustained; old, well-known events revive; incidents are presented in fresh lights, and the whole book is of enthralling interest. There are a few minor details where it is possible to differ from the view expressed by the author; to mention one small inaccuracy—"honest John" became Viscount Morley, but not "Sir John Morley," as the index refers to him. But this and other similar minor inaccuracies do not matter much; in a first edition they are perhaps inevitable. We are confident that the specialist as well as the general reader will read the book, and profit by it, and enjoy it, for it is both interesting and instructive.

**Spain Since 1815.** By Marques De Lema (Cambridge University Press) 1923.

His excellency the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered a lecture on Spain at Cambridge in 1921. This is the full text of that lecture. Within about seventy pages the lecturer was able to compress the most salient features of modern Spanish history. It is a subject on which much has not been written in English. The present volume will serve as a useful and helpful *resume* of the modern history of Spain.

**An Outline of Modern History.** By Edward Mead Earle. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1923.

This little book compiled by Mr. Earle, who is a lecturer in History at the Columbia University, is intended to be a companion to Prof. J. H. Hayes' *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*. It is a syllabus which attempts to serve as a guide to the study of modern history, and to furnish to teachers a useful plan for collegiate courses in history, without



infringing upon the individual's ideas of the relative importance of different parts of the work. We have no doubt that the book will serve the purpose for which it has been written. It will be found by students equally useful for study and reference.

**A Survey of Modern History.** By H. W. Hodges (Blackie & Son Limited, 50 Old Bailey, London) 1923.

Mr. Hodges has written a helpful text-book which will be welcomed by all students of Modern History. He is quite right in saying that "modern history has of late been made much faster than it can be written," and that simplification and condensation are for that reason difficult. But the author has succeeded in producing an accurate and trustworthy manual which will be warmly welcomed by all students. An excellent feature of the book is a number of coloured maps showing the political condition of the countries from time to time.

**Modern and Contemporary European Civilisation** By H. G. Plum, G. G. Benjamin, and B. L. Pierce. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.) 1923.

The authors of this book deserve the grateful thanks of all students of history for having produced a volume of surpassing interest, written on entirely fresh and new lines. It is designed to meet the need of an outline of the nineteenth century history that should bear a direct relation to the great war and its outcome. The authors take a synthetic view of history and have attempted so to arrange the materials of their book that students have no difficulty in recognising the factors and motives of the great struggle going back all the way through the nineteenth century. The seven parts into which the book is divided deal with The Treaty of Versailles; The Failure of European Diplomacy; The Near Eastern Question; Nationality and Democracy; Commerce and the World-War; The State and Industrial Democracy; The United States and the War. The utility of the book has been further enhanced by nine maps and twenty-two illustrations, and fairly comprehensive bibliographies at the end of each chapter. It is an excellent conspectus of western civilization as affected by the great war.

**Europe and Beyond.** By J. A. R. Marriott, M.P. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., Essex Street, London) 1923.

Mr. Marriott needs no introduction to students of history and politics. His *Remaking of Modern Europe* and *English Political Institutions* are recognised

authorities, and it is a pleasure to have another book by him. The present volume is a continuation (1870-1920) of his earlier work which came down to 1871. Mr. Marriott insists that the last half-century has not yet fallen into perspective, and that the time for writing its history has not, therefore, yet arrived. But there is evident, all through the present survey, a desire to be fair, to hold the scales even, not to let prejudice triumph, and the result is a volume of supreme interest, and of great value. The bibliographies suffixed to each chapter will be found particularly useful both by teachers and by the general readers. The book thoroughly maintains Mr. Marriott's well-deserved reputation for accuracy of statement and lucidity of style, and can be safely commended to students.

**A Short History of the Near East.** By W. S. Davis (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

"The Near East" has frequently attracted the attention of historians; it is near and remote in aspirations, thoughts and ideals. It has therefore been difficult for writers of "western isles" to fully appreciate its history and the significations thereof. But Professor Davis of the Minneosta University is particularly qualified to be the historian of the Near East as his father was at one time instructor in the American College at Constantinople, and he himself is keenly interested in "the long story of the Levant." He has succeeded therefore in catching and imparting the unique secret of the near eastern problem in this volume which relates succinctly its history from the founding of Constantinople in 330 A. D. to the Græco-Turkish crisis of 1922. A volume covering such a long period naturally falls into three parts—the Christian Constantinople; Early Islam and the Saracenic Kalifates; and the Intrusion of the Turanian Turks into nearer Asia and next into Europe, and then their retreat and practical expulsion from Europe. All these periods are fully dealt with by Prof. Davis in a masterly manner; interest is sustained throughout, and even the reader that has no particular interest in the subject is glad to go through its fascinating pages. Excellent maps, tables and other appurtenances for reference enhance the value of the book both for purposes of study and reference.

**History and Progress.** By Hilda D. Oakeley (George Allen and Unwin Limited, 40 Museum Street, London) 1923.

Professor Oakeley has here collected together a number of essays and addresses which she has written

during the past twenty years. Two or three of these relate to problems suggested by the war; the others deal with such subjects as Philosophy and Education; Poetry and Freedom; The Idea of a general will; Sir Alfred Lyall and Indian Problems. The guiding idea of the book is the search for the true relation between thought and practice. The essays are thoughtful and thought-provoking, though there is at times a tendency to be too sure of the writer's own point of view. On the whole, however, it is a volume which will be read with pleasure and profit by the many who are interested in the momentous problems discussed by the author. The book deserves serious consideration.

**The Greatest Story in the World.** By Horace G. Hutchinson (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1923.

The title of Mr. Hutchinson's book gives no idea at all of its subject, which is really an outline of the most important facts in the history of mankind up to the date of the firm establishment of the Roman Empire and the final destruction of Jerusalem. It is, thus, an attempt to present in a form which will appeal to young readers, the story of the beginnings of Western History. The numerous illustrations make the narrative all the more interesting. We commend the book as a useful and handy manual, containing the results of the latest researches and investigations, and describing the story in a manner which, while attempting to interest the general reader, makes it equally helpful to the professed student of history. *The Greatest Story in the world* is thus a highly instructive sketch of ancient European history.

**Three Centuries of American Democracy.** By William MacDonald (John Lane, the Bodley Head Limited, London) 1923.

Dr. MacDonald wrote some years ago for the *Home University Library* a useful little volume entitled "From Jefferson to Lincoln." By reason of the obvious limitations then imposed, the volume was rather scrappy. The author has now given us, in a book of more than 300 pages, the main facts and the formative influences in the growth of the United States of America as a democratic nation. He has arranged his subject very carefully, dividing it into eleven chapters of almost uniform length. The Centuries of Beginnings; Framing a National Constitution; Democracy and Nationality; The Triumph of Nationality; Politics and the American Mind—are among the more important and interesting of the

chapters. There is a comprehensive bibliography of about ten pages and a full index. Prof. MacDonald is an optimist and he concludes his book on a note almost of triumph: "It is the priceless possession of the American nation that it is still young, that it still has material battles to fight and conquests of mind to gain, and that in a world which has not yet found peace its spirit ranges generous, buoyant, and free." The book is altogether a highly instructive production and is of absorbing interest. It is, to our knowledge, the best short history of the United States of America.

**The Control of American Foreign Relations.** By Quincy Wright, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922).

In the present state of international relations it remains a debateable point whether a super-national authority ought to override the national laws in order to achieve international harmony and uniformity. The emergence of the League of Nations has brought about the importance of the subject to the forefront and it is being felt acutely by all the governments that in their attempt to reconcile the national with international laws several constitutional drawbacks intervene and prevent the carrying out of their honest intentions. *The Control of American Foreign Relations* is a typically American production on the subject in its exhaustive treatment and its ample and lucid illustrations. Prof. Wright wrote the volume originally for a prize essay which he secured. He feels that while the foreign office has its responsibilities defined by international law, its powers are defined by the law of the constitution. There is accordingly a lack of co-ordination between powers and responsibilities as indeed is amply evidenced by the discussions in the American Senate and the Congress over the Versailles Treaty. Prof. Wright has dealt with the subject with industrious scholarship. He consulted all the available documents and references including legal decisions on the subject. The result is a comprehensive and authoritative work. In regard to future lines of development the author is cautious and believes in the gradual expansion of the law of the constitution and its approach towards international sanctions. It is a book of great erudition and industry and useful particularly to the advanced student of constitutional law and history.

**The Ottoman Empire and its successors 1801-1922.** By William Miller, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1923) 12s. 6d.

We welcome the second edition of this well-known work on Turkey. The text has been considerably



enlarged and revised and the chronicle carried forward to the year 1922, thus including a survey of the fateful years of the Armageddon which have meant so much to New Turkey and its long line of Othman rulers. The history of the eclipse of the old Empire and the rise of Young Turkey is still to be impartially written. Mr. Miller's sketch is short and superficial. He is naturally jubilant over the end of the Turkey-in-Europe but he may be pardoned his bias in view of the concise and admirable history he has written of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century.

**The Study of American History.** By (the late) Viscount Bryce, O. M. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) 1923.

By common consent, Lord Bryce was acknowledged to be the most encyclopædic of contemporary scholars. In the modern age of specialisation, a claim such as Bacon's "I take all knowledge as my province" is of course impossible; but within inevitable limits, Lord Bryce may be said to have known most things worth knowing. It was Mr. A. G. Gardiner who once said that, if cast on a desert island, the one companion of his choice would be Lord Bryce, for he would supply both the bread and the butter of conversation. *The Holy Roman Empire, the American Commonwealth, and Modern Democracies*, will remain abiding monuments of an intellect of rare richness and depth, of a political acumen seldom at fault, and of a scholarship that was versatile without being shallow, and attractive without being pedantic. The volume before us contains the full text of the inaugural lecture which Viscount Bryce delivered at the Mansion House with the Earl Balfour in the chair. The Watson Chair was founded by a gift of £20,000 from Sir W. George Watson, to the Anglo-American Society, on the occasion of the return of the Prince of Wales from his American tour. Lord Balfour in introducing Lord Bryce to the audience well remarked that Lord Bryce approached questions dealing with America with the special advantage that he knew the subject not merely from books, not merely from the sources which historians ordinarily drew upon in order to complete their picture of the past: he had in addition to that qualification, which he possessed in the fullest measure, the practical experience which residence in the United States had given him. Of the lecture itself it need only be said that it was worthy of the subject and worthy of the lecturer. It is closely packed with the results of Lord Bryce's keen observation and vast and varied experience; it is a valuable introduction to the study of American history. We commend it alike to students and scholars.

**A Concise History of Europe.** By A. H. Forbes (Herbert Russell, Temple Chambers, London) 1924.

Mr. A. H. Forbes' *Concise History of Europe* is a new edition—revised and enlarged—of the book which appeared first in 1906. The author's aim is to present an account of the main stream of history, of which English history is but a tributary. In a short compass, the book meets a real want and is bound to be of great use to the young student, for whom it mainly caters.

**English History.** By Arthur Hassall (Duckworth & Co., Henrietta Street, London) 1923.

This account of English History from 499 to 1914 is as satisfactory and complete as a booklet of sixty-four pages can be. It is a concise and bold statement of events. It may be of use for handy reference.

#### INDIAN HISTORY.

**The Commentary of Father Monserrate.** Translated by J. S. Hoyland, and S. N. Banerjee (Oxford University Press, Madras) 1923.

A notable book has been rendered available to the student of Indian history. Father Monserrate belonged to the first Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar, and he wrote a Latin Commentary on the Mission. The original was published some years ago in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under the editorship of Father Hosteu. It was realised then by historians how important this commentary was in helping them to understand certain details of Akbar's administration and in presenting an independent narrative of the Moghul Court. Prof. Hoyland of Nagpur and Professor Banerjee of Patiala have rendered a very useful service to history, the former by translating, and the latter by annotating this commentary. It is full of interesting and valuable information and quaint remarks and observations and it will be of great use to future historians of the period. It is replete with intensely interesting details about Akbar.

**A Short History of India.** By E. B. Havell (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Mr. Havell, the distinguished authority on Indian Art, appears in this book in a new role, that of an historian. We have no hesitation in saying that there are few books which, within such a narrow compass, provide so much well arranged information about

India as does Mr. Havell's *History*. It is, as he is careful to impress, not a propaganda volume; he lets facts speak for themselves. We can confidently recommend it as a fair and reliable guide which ought now to replace the worthless stuff on which young boys are fed in schools. It is marked alike with sympathy and knowledge and is thus an almost ideal text-book. Mr. Havell's works on Indian Art and history—for he is the author of a bigger book on Indian history—constitute a notable achievement of which he may well be proud, and India is under obligation to him for his sympathetic interpretation of her past.

**Kings of the East.** By Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mohammad Fasihuddin. (Zulqarnain Press, Budaun) 1923.

As District Officer of Jaunpur Maulvi Fasihuddin had many favourable opportunities of writing the present brochure which is a useful contribution to the literature on that district. The author has shown commendable enthusiasm in following up his earlier volume on the Sharqi Monuments. He has in the book before us given a systematic explanation of the singularities of Jaunpur architecture and a thorough account of the culture of the Sharqi Kings. We are confident the book will be warmly received by the public. It is a useful acquisition to the literature of Indian history, and deserves appreciation.

**The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture.** By Dr. Gilbert Slater (Ernest Benn Limited, 8 Bouverie Street, London) 1924.

Dr. Slater's contribution to Indian history is a very notable contribution. The many-sidedness of a modern scholar's interests cannot be better illustrated than by their works dealing with subjects other than those in which they have specialised. Dr. Gilbert Slater is, as our readers know, an eminent economist, but the book before us shows that his stay in India has not been fruitless in extra-economic directions. *The Dravidian Element* is a very important book. If its conclusions—which are, indeed, startling in their originality and revolutionary in their character—are eventually accepted by the scholars, many of our long-cherished notions and theories will have to be discarded. Dr. Slater's thesis is that the Aryans brought into India little but their language and they merely assimilated the culture which they found here. The spiritual hierarchy, the caste system, the doctrines of Karma and reincarnation—all these, which are believed to be the chief features of Hindu Culture, are maintained by Dr. Slater to be Dravidian in origin

rather than Aryan. In a short notice like this we cannot follow the author through all the details of his argument, nor can we examine it critically. We can only point to his startling theory and await the verdict of competent authorities on it. It will in any event remain an instance of hard thinking, clear analysis and much sound scholarship, which are bound to command a hearing, whatever the verdict on them.

**South India and her Mohammadan Invaders.** By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Oxford University Press) 1923.

**Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.** By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Calcutta University Press) 1923.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a recognised authority on South Indian history. In the first book before us he has investigated the condition of South India on the eve of the Muhammadan invasions—in the form of six lectures delivered to the Madras University. The first of these traces the decadence of the Chola Kingdom; the second deals with the revival of the Pandya power. The first invasions of the Deccan by Alauddin and Malik Kafur form the subject of the third; the others are concerned with the invasions of South India under the Khiljis, the Tughlak invasions, and Muhammadan Kingdoms in the Deccan. There are several helpful appendices, which enhance the value of the book.

In the *Indian Culture*, Professor Aiyangar has collected together his lectures delivered before the Calcutta University. The subjects dealt with are of far reaching importance and include such interesting discussions as Brahmanism in the Tamil land, the School of Bhakti, the history of the Pallavas, Shaivism, the Vijaynagar Empire, and many others equally interesting. Dr. Aiyangar's works deserve to be widely known; they acquaint us with so much fresh material, they are so carefully planned, their arguments are so ably put forward that we have no hesitation in including him in the foremost ranks of Indian historians. The two works under consideration fully sustain the author's deservedly high reputation for scholarship, critical acumen and spirit of research, and deserve warm acknowledgment.

**A History of the Maratha People Vol. II.** By C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis (Oxford University Press) 1923.

The first volume of the new *History of the Maratha People* was noticed in terms of the highest apprecia-



tion in this *Review*. This is the second volume of the *History*, which has now been brought down from the death of Shivaji to the death of Shahu. Of the merits of the *History* it is now needless to say anything; it has already become a classic. The present volume fully upholds the reputation of the earlier one for scholarship, research, and historical accuracy. When completed it will be the one standard history of the Mahrattas in English and will probably supersede Grant-Duff's.

**Panhala.** By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. (Lakshmi Art Printing Works, Byculla, Bombay) 1923.

Rao Bahadur Parasnis is a recognised authority on Maratha history and it is always a pleasure to read his books. He has, in the present beautifully printed and illustrated brochure, given an account of Panhala, the hill fort which has been described as "the most complete both by nature and art" of all the forts in India. The ten fine illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book. The booklet—coming as it does from the pen of the joint author of *A History of the Maratha People* noticed above—may well be regarded as a useful supplement to that very valuable book.

**Letters Written to India During the Indian Mutiny.** By Fred. Roberts (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Lord Roberts died, in old age, after returning from France where he had the supreme satisfaction of seeing his beloved Indian soldiers in action. He never lost his faith in the Indian Army and he was probably the best beloved of Indian Commanders-in-chief. As is well-known he published many years ago a volume entitled *Forty-one Years in India*. In the letters now published we have the opinions, not matured and modified by age and knowledge and experience, but fresh and free, of a young subaltern who brought and won renown during the Sepoy rising of 1857. The letters are marked by a simplicity and straightforwardness which make them eminently readable. They should find numerous readers alike by reason of the fame of the writer and the intrinsic merits of the letters themselves. The maps and portraits enhance the utility of the volume.

#### RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

**Three Criminal Law Reformers.** By C. Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, London) 1923.

Dr. Coleman Phillipson, Professor of Law in the University of Adelaide, is well-known as the author

of a number of important law books, the co-author of that standard biographical work—in the literature of law—called *Great Jurists of the World*, and the editor of Wheaton's *International Law*. His latest contribution to legal literature is *Three Criminal Law Reformers: Beccaria, Bentham and Romilly*. These three names represent the greatest law reformers of modern times, in their assault on the folly, injustice and cruelty of the then existing criminal jurisprudence, in their trenchant criticism of outworn codes, obscurantist traditions, blind superstitions, dogmatic technicalities, oppressive fictions, and useless relics of the past, in their proposal of rational substitutes, in their pointing the way to the light they were intimately united. The epoch dealt with represents in many respects a turning-point in European history, and is of the utmost importance in the development of modern civilization. There is no need to explain the method of arrangement and of exposition adopted in this book. A reference to the analytical contents and a glance at the book itself, will perhaps indicate it satisfactorily. It may, however, be said that the author has brought to bear upon the subject a rich and rare scholarship and a spirit of fairness which are alike praiseworthy. Beccaria's famous work (in Italian) called the *Del Delitto e delle Pene*, issued in 1764, Bentham's numerous works, and Romilly's Speeches in Parliament, are all handled in a masterly way and their effect on modern civilization analysed. The book is thus a notable contribution to the literature of criminal jurisprudence and merits attention.

**The Art of Cross-Examination.** By Francis L. Wellman. Third edition. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1923.

Mr. Francis Wellman is one of the leaders of the New York Bar. But in the course of his extensive practice he managed to write and publish two well-known books on Advocacy, called *The Art of Cross-Examination* and *Day in Court*. The former was first issued in 1903 and at once took its rank as the standard work on the subject. Some years later it passed through a second edition, and now appears for the third time in a thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged form. The success of the two earlier editions and the continued demand for the book have induced the author to prepare the new edition. Mr. Wellman has thoroughly overhauled and enriched his material with many added examples of skill in cross-examination as practised by the leading lawyers of America and Great Britain, including such successful present-day advocates as John Stanchfield, De Lancey



Nicoll, Max Steuer, Samuel Untermyer, Martin Littleton, and Herbert Smyth. The cases and illustrations are all real, and most of them have heretofore been unknown to the profession or the public. In its present form Mr. Wellman's *Art of Cross-Examination* will continue to hold its own against all competitors, as the most comprehensive work on the most important branch of the Art of Advocacy.

**The Law of Benami.** By Radharomon Mookerjee, B.L. Second edition. (R. Cambray & Co., 9 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

On its first appearance, several years back, Mr. Radharomon Mookerjee's *Law of Benami* justly came to be regarded as a most useful work on the subject and the demand for it has naturally persisted in the Indian legal world since that time. We are, therefore, glad that the author has been able to bring out a thoroughly recast and completely revised edition of his work, fully abreast of the latest case-law on the subject it deals with. So far as we are aware, the book under notice is the only one of its class in the domain of Anglo-Indian law. But that is not its only recommendation. Its merits are great as a systematic digest and exposition of the law relating to Benami transactions, and its second edition is well deserving of continued support and appreciation at the hands of the Bench and the Bar alike.

**The Workmen's Compensation Act.** By A. G. Clow, I.C.S. Second edition. (Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1924.

It is but some months back since we noticed in terms of appreciation the first edition of Mr. Clow's *Workmen's Compensation Act*, and we have now before us the second edition—duly enlarged, overhauled and revised. The earlier edition was justly acknowledged as a very useful guide to the new Act; the second which (as noted above) has been judiciously enriched with a large amount of new material, including the rules recently issued by the Government of India, will be found invaluable as a sound exposition of the law on the subject.

**A Digest of Indian Constitutional Law.** By T. C. K. Kurup, M.A., LL.D. Barrister-at-Law. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

Mr. Kurup has projected an ambitious work, called the *Law and History of the Indian Constitution*. By

way of chips from his workshop he has put together "this modest booklet," made up of the notes taken by him for his larger work. Nonetheless his *Digest of Indian Constitutional Law* is a useful compendium of the subject, covering as it does the whole ground from the origin of the East India Company in 1600 down to date.

**The Story of our Inns of Court.** By the Rt. Hon. Sir Plunket Barton, Charles Benham and Francis Watt (G. T. Foulis & Co., Ltd., 91 Great Russell Street, London) 1924.

The Inns of Court in London constitute the most famous legal university in the British Commonwealth and have been the nursery of a large number of men eminent as lawyers, judges, statesmen, politicians, publicists and public men. Many of our leading public men in India have been members of the English Bar—from W. C. Bonnerjee (the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress) to Mr. Gandhi (the President-elect of the forthcoming session at Belgaum next December). In the circumstances the co-operative work put together by Sir Plunket Barton and Messrs. Benham and Watt—called *The Story of our Inns of Court*—is bound to appeal to a large section of the reading public throughout the British Empire. The book is beautifully got up, its format and mechanical execution are excellent; while its letterpress is well-written and the many illustrations with which the text is embellished add materially to its attractions. We can not think of a better gift from one barrister to another than the *Story of our Inns of Court*.

**Famous Crimes and Criminals.** By C. L. McCluer Stevens (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 12s. 6d.

The story of the Old Bailey provides more thrills than many an adventurous exploit which form the *motif* of successful works of fiction. The European Old Baileys have been ransacked by Mr. Stevens for the nerve-gripping tales which form the contents of *Famous Crimes and Criminals*. Human ingenuity displays its most cunning tricks where crime is concerned and the thirty eight tales in this volume relate the inside story of sensational crimes. Intensely thrilling as these life dramas are, point is given to the moral by the many realistic and human touches in the stories. Mr. Stevens has a simple and lucid style and his book deserves to be read by lawyers and students of criminology.

**Unsolved Murder Mysteries.** By Charles H. Pearce (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 16s.

We have on several occasions noticed with appreciation Mr. Pearce's works on biography and legal anecdotes. In the present volume he presents a number of murder cases which have baffled the acutest minds at the Scotland Yard. Mainly English cases are recorded; a few American tragedies are related which possess unusual interest for the detective and the criminal lawyer. This collection of gruesome tales to the annals of criminology deserves the serious attention of the psychologists, for the motives that swayed the criminals remain incomprehensible. Human intelligence confesses defeat, yet the tragedies were the outcome of human passion and devilry. The arrangement of the book is admirable and the treatment lucid and clear. Lawyers and students of psychology should welcome this interesting work.

#### BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

**Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa.** No. 6. Edited by C. W. Cousins, Director of Censuses. (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria; South Africa). 1924.

In noticing the last edition (No. 5) of the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, we commended it as a most valuable compendium of statistical data relating to the South African Commonwealth and as a model book of reference. The new issue (No. 6, dealing mainly with the year 1923) gives, for purposes of collation and comparison, the figures for the years 1910 to 1922. The book supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, native affairs, land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. These are but the major headings—each of them being sub-divided into many minor ones. The contents list condensed above would enable the reader to appreciate better the comprehensive scope of the book, than any description of it. Statistics were defined by an irate politician as “d—d lies,” and so perhaps they are as often as not. But the work of administration in these days of storm and stress cannot be carried on without

the aid of statistics and in its application to the South African Commonwealth, the *Official Year-Book*, issued annually by the Government of that country, is a monument of industry and public spirit. We wish there were an equally instructive and interesting work of reference dealing, every year, with India. The edition under notice is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate chapters are now assigned to the treatment of forests, fisheries, currency, banking and general finance; the chapter on “Native Affairs” has been rewritten and rearranged and various other features of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa* is a work of reference of which the government of that dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

**The Madras Year-Book 1924.** (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras) 1924.

We cordially welcome the second annual edition of the *Madras Year-Book*, which has been edited by the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, C.I.R., I.S.O. The Diwan Bahadur is a distinguished official in the Southern Presidency and is, at present, President of the Provincial Legislative Council. But besides being a very capable administrator, he also justly enjoys the reputation of possessing scholarship of a high order as evidenced by his well-known works on Indian Astronomy. And although the *Madras Year-Book* purports to be nothing more than “an official, commercial and general directory of the Madras presidency,” nevertheless in the hands of its cultured and scholarly editor it has become an exceedingly useful and very valuable book of reference dealing with things South Indian. The work is a bulky volume of 1,271 pages, full of valuable, accurate and up-to-date information about a variety of topics, and containing memoranda and succinctly written notes of permanent value. There is, besides, a map of 21 sections, and a useful name and subject index. All the information found in the ordinary Directory is found in the *Year-Book*, and the Government at work is described in various chapters. The Who's Who is as full as it need be, the alphabetical list of principal residents in Madras ought to be useful, and the data collected under almanac and astronomical phenomena are specially detailed and comprehensive. We congratulate the



Dewan Bahadur who, in addition to the strenuous duties of his office, has found time to edit this meritorious compilation and bring it fully up-to-date. The sections relating to the departmental activities of government, the growth of industries and the workings of provincial finance have been revised and enlarged, and new sections have been added on the output of legislation during the term of the Reformed Legislature, a description of the health resorts and sanatoria of Southern India, analytical statistics of the last general election and accounts of Service Associations. It is thus a most excellent work of reference and should be found invaluable in South India.

**Reader's Digest of Books.** By Hellen Rex Keller. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.I.) 1923.

*The Reader's Digest of Books* hails from America, its author being Instructor in Library Economy at Columbia University. Its object is to sketch the contents of the famous books of all times, all ages and in all civilized languages. It is a typical American work, designed equally for purposes of study and reference. Arranged in alphabetical order, the *Reader's Digest* is a highly useful and comprehensive work summarising concisely the plots of over four hundred of the world's best books. It covers a very wide range. For instance, on page 3 the first book dealt with is "Adam—a dramatic work of the twelfth century by an unknown author," while the last book mentioned on that page is "Admirable Crichton, The," by Sir J. M. Barrie. As a reference book it should prove invaluable, but as stated above it may be utilized equally as a text-book for the study of literature. Though works on Art and Science have found place in it, the vast bulk of the books dealt with belong to that branch of knowledge which may rightly be designated as "the literature of inspiration"—as opposed to "the literature of information." The characterizations are exceedingly well-written. Though a number of purely American works are included—with which we are not familiar—the vast bulk of those dealt with are such as are called classics, and the book as a handy companion will be found a most serviceable introduction to Literature.

**Journalism: A Bibliography.** Compiled by Carl L. Cannon. (The New York Public Library, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

Mr. Carl Cannon's most useful work—called *Journalism: A Bibliography*—is a production on

which we unhesitatingly congratulate the compiler, as also the authorities of the great public library of the commercial capital of America. To begin with, it is a pioneer work in its field, it being (to our knowledge) the first serious bibliography of journalism, in the English language. For all that it is fairly exhaustive—though we gather that it records only those books, pamphlets and periodicals (containing articles on journalism), which are to be found in the New York Public Library. It is, howsoever, so comprehensive that it may be taken to be well-nigh replete with all books and articles in the press, on the subject. Arranged in alphabetical order—for facility of reference—it deals with works on journalism in the widest sense, with all its various aspects and ramifications, and no branch of the subject (howsoever seemingly remote) has been regarded by the compiler as beyond the scope of the book. The result is a marvellously accurate and useful work of reference—well-arranged, systematic, and comprehensive to the point of being almost exhaustive. It should be found indispensable in every journalist's library. If a next edition be called for, it would be well to separate the books from the articles.

**"The Queen" Book of Travel 1924-25.** Edited by M. Hornsby, F.R.G.S. (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4).

*"The Queen" Newspaper Book of Travel 1924-25*—which is now in its seventeenth year of publication—is an admirable compendium of information brought together by Mr. Hornsby, the Travel Editor of that famous journal for women. During the process of annual revision and enlargement, it has been improved from year to year, till at last it has attained a perfection for accuracy and usefulness, which is remarkable and for which it deserves commendation. The scope of the book covers practically the whole of Europe, and parts of America and Africa are also dealt with. The famous cities and towns of each country, as also its health-resorts, spas, and other interesting places, are described (in alphabetical order) and detailed practical information is furnished for the benefit of the serious tourist, health-seeker, sportsman, globe-trotter and others *et hoc genus omne*. No one planning a tour can do without it. Its handy size, neat get-up, seventeen well-drawn maps and eighty-six excellent illustrations, render it a highly useful companion. In the next edition Darlington's guide-books should be included in the otherwise valuable bibliography appended to the book. This is the only criticism we have to offer.

**Pictorial Map of London.** (G. W. Bacon & Co., Ltd., 7-9 Norwich Street, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

The firm of Bacons justly enjoys a high reputation for the production of maps and its *Wembley Exhibition Edition Pictorial Map of London* is a wonderfully good effort in cartography. It shows at a glance the principal places of interest and the shopping centres in London. Furnished with a comprehensive index, a sightseer's guide and a route-map to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, it is a most useful map-guide to the various scenes and sights of the metropolis of the commonwealth.

**The Anglo-American Year-book 1924.** (American Chambers of Commerce, Aldwych House, Aldwych, W. C. 2, London) 1924.

We welcome the thirteenth annual edition, for the current year, of the *Anglo-American Year-book*—the previous issues of which have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The joint editors—Messrs. H. R. Amory and B. M. Gardner—have done their work of selection, omission and alteration judiciously, with the result that this annual publication is now a most useful reference book and deserves wide appreciation, alike for its excellent arrangement and up-to-date information on matters of interest both to the British and the Americans. The information about British trade and commerce—though primarily designed for Americans—will be found no less useful by merchants and tradesmen in India, interested in the subject. Altogether a capital work of reference.

**Cathedrals.** (General Manager, Great Western Railway. Paddington Station, London) 1924.

The General Manager of the Great Western Railway has done well to publish a beautifully illustrated work called *Cathedrals*, giving descriptive sketches, interspersed with historical information, of twenty-two of the great cathedrals of England and Wales, which can be easily visited from stations on the railway he administers. Apart from the well-written letterpress, the superb illustrations make this book something more than a railway guide—a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. The General Manager's venture deserves wide appreciation.

**Philip's British Empire Atlas.** (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

*Philip's British Empire Atlas* is an exceedingly useful reference book in its class and deserves large circulation. It includes thirty-two pages of well-drawn maps and diagrams in colour, accompanied by full descriptive notes and an index of over four thousand names. The letter-press and illustrations are alike commendable and the atlas is a marvel of cheapness and excellence at half a crown.

**The Traveller's Handbook to Palastine, Syria and Mesopotamia (Iraq).** New edition revised by H. C. Luke, M.A. (Thomas Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London) 1924.

In the *Hindustan Review* of January last, in the course of a review of Messrs. Cook's *Handbook of Constantinople and Asia Minor*, we expressed in terms of appreciation our view of the series of guide-books issued by the premier firm catering for the needs and requirements of travellers all the world over—namely, Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd. They have recently issued a new edition of their *Traveller's Handbook for Palestine, Syria and Iraq (Mesopotamia)*. Revised by Mr. Harry Luke—Assistant Governor of Jerusalem—and enriched with an appendix, on the historical interest of the scenes, sights and monuments of Palestine, from the pen of Professor Garstang—Director of British School of Archeology located at Jerusalem and of the department of antiquities in Palestine—the book is compact, accurate, up-to-date and replete with information—practical, descriptive, historical, and archeological. The well-drawn maps showing railways, roads and topographical details enhance the value of the letter-press, and Cook's may safely be declared to be at present the best guide in English to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia or Iraq.

**Guide to Rhodesia.** Second edition. (General Manager of Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Bulways, South Rhodesia, Africa) 1924.

The first edition of *Guide to Rhodesia* was issued in 1914, when Southern Rhodesia was a protectorate of the Crown (under the administration of the British South Africa Company); the second edition, revised and brought up-to-date, appears after it has attained the status of a colony with powers of self-government. The book is a fairly exhaustive sketch of South Rhodesia—its topography, history, climatology, health condition, natural resources, and prospects for investors, farmers, tourists, and sportsmen. It



contains a wealth of information, equally interesting and trustworthy, about the scenes and sights, the social and economic conditions of the latest British colony. The letter-press is well-written, the maps are well-drawn and the very large number of photographic reproductions well-executed. Altogether this *Guide to Rhodesia* is an example of highest skill in bringing together a large mass of information and presenting it in a way which is admirable.

**A Bibliography of Religion: Mainly Avestan and Vedic.** By J. B. Saklatwalla. (Alan Press, Bombay) 1923.

Bibliography as a science or art is yet practically unknown in India, and it is, therefore, that we all the more cordially welcome Mr. J. B. Saklatwalla's very useful work—which presents alphabetically a clear conspectus of literature dealing with Avestan and Vedic studies. It is comprehensive and well-arranged and will be found servicable.

#### FICTION.

**The Temptress.** By Vicente Blasco Ibanez (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

It is not difficult to place a work like *The Temptress* even if the name of its famous author is suppressed. It is a fascinating book, fascinating in the originality of its plot, charming in characterisation, charmingly elusive in the language, which even in translation retains the haunting sense of its startling candour. Ibanez has received the highest meed for his beautiful works. His story of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is known all the world over. In *The Temptress* he presents a characteristic study of the vampire type of woman. The type is known in every land, and Ibanez with the sure touch of a master has delineated just those traits of such a life as are common knowledge. The vampire is usually charming in body, engaging in manners and with an obstinate will gains her object against all obstacles. Elena, of *The Temptress* occupies the stage throughout the narrative. We condemn her; we begin to hate her after some time and yet we are unable to get away from her: this is the charm of the vampire. The plot of Ibanez's story is laid in the virgin lands of Patagonia where struggle against nature is severe enough to keep men away from petty tyrannies and trifling conflict of passions. Into the desert lands sweeps in Elena and amongst the rugged men of Patagonian wilds she casts an evil charm with such effect that in the end she

leaves behind a "legend of how a woman had come to that desert community from the old world, a woman who, beautiful and possessed of a fatal charm, had brought ruin and death to all those who had fallen under her spell." *The Temptress* is a delightful novel with a purpose which never intrudes. Ibanez has shown here what he can do with a study on modern problems. Altogether a capital work of fiction with interest sustained to the very end.

**Two Women: Clare Margaret.** By Two Anonymous Writers (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Messrs. Philpot offered in 1923 £250 Advance royalties for the best true autobiographical life-story. This is the winning book and contains a study of the life of two young women from points of views which can hardly be called normal. Indeed the publishers themselves define Clare and Margaret as the sub-normal and the super-normal woman. We admit that the sketches are very cleverly written and reveal the souls of two contrasted types of women. But are these life-stories true and from life? If so the world must be full of strange incidents and stranger characters. Wilbur, half man half beast; Margie, the devotee at the shrine of passion; Clare, the cool-headed and reasoning maid ending up in sentimental impulse; Mrs. Graham, the inexplicable:—all these characters move and give life to the interesting pages of this book. We wish these authors were to write up a comment on modern life as it is. Clare's tale is full of adventurous turns which keep our attention rivetted to the heroine's personal career. Margaret is a study in eroticism; yet it ruthlessly tears the veil from the heart of a maid and reveals it cleft by contrary instincts no doubt, but governed by the larger, all-embracing entity which is commonly known as passion. Cleverly written studies, powerful and interesting.

**Silbermann.** By Jacques de Lacretelle (Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1923) 6s.

An English version of the famous book which won the *Prix Femina-Vie Heureuse*, translated by Brian Lunn. M. Lacretelle has suddenly leaped into well-deserved fame by his first well-known book. It is a powerful psychological study in racial conflict. Three little school boys, a Jew, a Catholic and a Protestant, each one highly sensitive and intellectual, determine in their school life the course of the bigger racial question. It is essentially a drama of conscience, as the publishers claim, and the drama is very powerfully unfolded. The hatred of the Jews forms the daily psychology of the average Christian in the West, and this much maligned race has developed an almost



uncanny sensitiveness. M. Lacroette deserves congratulations for this highly penetrative study, without heat or anger, unprejudiced and impartial, and yet making a powerful appeal for toleration which is an attribute of the gods.

**Deirdre.** By James Stephens (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

In this beautiful tale Mr. Stephens has presented to us an episode of an old Irish tale of Kings. Dierdre, the Troubler, was born in a night of destiny. The King Conachur told of the prophetic evil which the young babe was to bring in the world sought to keep her closely watched until she grew up. Lust overcame discretion and passion and sons of Uisneac wrought the destruction of the great kingdom. Irishmen will love the old Irish atmosphere which the author has successfully preserved in his narrative. The conflict of primal passions is finely expressed in Mr. Stephens' best style. It is a very readable tale and Irish legendary heroism sustains interest in the narrative.

**The Rescue.** By Joseph Conrad (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

This fine old romance of the Southern seas by that master of the craft, Joseph Conrad, whose loss the literary world mourns to-day, has been printed in the popular "Wayfarers Library". This tale of the sea will carry now its indelible charm and its inscrutable message to thousands of households and boys who love the sea will feel eternally grateful to Conrad for having depicted in Capt. Lingard the man after their own heart. The old sea dog, Jorgenson, is a characteristic picture. *The Rescue* deserves to be widely read for its bold action, its love of the deep seas, its powerful appeal and heroic exploits. Now that it is available in a cheap edition we hope more people will get acquainted with Conrad, and *The Rescue* will not be a bad introduction.

**Never the Twain shall meet.** By Peter B. Kyne (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Kyne has skilfully planned the contents of this tale of the Polynesian Seas. European traders have for centuries traded in these islands and human passions have proved too overwhelming for racial insularity. Half breeds are usually looked down upon with contumely, but they have no control over their births, nor over the choice of parents. It appeared but unreasonable that the sins of the fathers should be visited

upon the children. Yet such fate was in store for Tamea, the fairest flower that grew in Riva. Her fault was her birth. When Love was given to her she possessed not the power to retain her hold: the racial differences count for more than love or passion—this is the burden of Mr. Kyne's tale. We remain unconvinced, for the author has failed to advance any cogent reasons for incompatibility. However the plot is well conceived and neatly executed. The narrative has charm and certain dignity about it, and despite its tragic ending the story is not depressing.

**East and West: The Confessions of a Princess.** By—? Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., 1924) 7s. 6d.

This is supposed to represent the history of the Irish girl who married a Burmese Prince. Point is given to the tale by the evident desire to paint the moral, yet we are not quite sure if it has the desired effect. Mindoon, the Prince from Burma, has no illusions about him; he is frankly oriental in his habits and ideas. He makes no secret of his belief in the right of man to love more than one woman at a time. The Irish girl on the other hand is brought up to observe the gospel of monogamy, and yet breaks her conjugal vows at the first temptation. Where does the blame rest? And the cruel part of it was the confession made by the princess's mother that Mindoon was her lover before he became her daughter's husband! Perhaps the nasty feeling left behind such revelations should not blind us to the *motif* of the story, which is well told and with a purpose.

**Estelle.** By Max and Alex Fischer (A. M. Philpot Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

A collection of short stories from the pen of two famous French authors. The stories sparkle with bright wit and humour and are touched by that delightful irony which is the soul of short stories. The French have undoubtedly perfected the art of short story writing and in Fischers we find a clever and skilful representation. The cryptic statement of expenses headed "Estelle" is eloquent, and sums up the plots of over 90% of the modern works of fiction. *Estelle* forms a pleasant reading.

**The Call of the Canyon.** By Zane Grey (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Zane Grey has achieved an almost uncanny success with his novels of the pioneer country. If it is not Arizona, it is some corner of the wild West where the

scene of his absorbing tale is usually laid. In the *Call of the Canyon* the scene shifts a little, but the pioneering and the wild, piercing breeze is still there. His plots are cleverly designed and in this the latest story the author has put in his best work. The tale grips you from the first and keeps you enthralled until the very last page. Carley Burch is a very loveable personality, with all her human weaknesses and her struggles to win through to perfect love.

**Lossie of the Mill.** By R. Everett-Green (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924).

This is very pretty tale of love and adventure. Mr. Everett-Green has not attempted to depart from the orthodox type of the story which is laid in an industrial town. The son of the boss falls in love with a mill-hand who has had a good breeding but through reduced circumstances is forced to work in the mill. The author has followed the conventional route in the matter of impediments to the course of their love. The strange apparition however causes a tremor as you read the story. *Lossie* is a pleasant tale with plenty of incidents and thrills.

**Silver Star-Dust.** By Cecil Adair (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

This is the love story of Cosmo and Estelle, both children of the stars, whose first encounter was under the star-light and their contact ever after was infused with that tenderness which sensitive souls only can inspire. Cecil Adair has written innumerable novels, but in *Silver Star-Dust* he has framed a story without much plot or incident. It is a rhapsody of love and keeps the readers' interest by the many-sided facets of love's anguish, its struggles and final triumph.

**The Golden Temptress.** By Headon Hill (Herbert Jenkins Ltd., London, 1924) 3s. 6d.

A story full of thrills and hair-breadth escapes. A millionaire is pursued by a desperate gang; through the agency and active help of a beautiful foster-daughter who has been imposed upon the old man the conspirators hope to bring about the old Man's death through fright. He employs an adventurous young man on his last beans for protection, and from this moment the tale runs on with thrilling rapidity. It is well written and cleverly planned. A story full of absorbing interest and a pleasing end.

**Innocence.** By Cecil H. Bullivant (Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

**Ragged Romance.** By A. Safroni-Middleton (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Both pleasing stories, but entirely different in design and conception. *Innocence* is the tale of the artists' studio and the love of an innocent model who believed trustingly and found out too late that love could be mistaken for passion. The ending is happy as through the vale of tears and sufferings Loraine attains to the love of a strong and good man. The tale is well told in a pleasing style and the narrative never lags.

*Ragged Romance* is a wonderful romance, tragic no doubt, but tragedy of a great type. The author, a musician and a violinist of no mean achievement was lured by the call of the mysterious Pacific islands. His travels and studies have built this beautiful tale of a Maori maiden and the fierce charm of the land of San Flowers. The narration is charming, clothed in a poetic language. Mr. Middleton met R. L. Stevenson during his sojourns in Samoa and has introduced him as a character in this book, giving a very vivid picture of the famous author.

**Sentimental Education.** By Gustave Flaubert (Brentano's Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

All lovers of French literature and of Flaubert in particular will extend a hearty welcome to this admirable translation which the publishers have issued in their "World Fiction Library". The 'story of a young man' will always carry a special charm which the genius of Flaubert invested in the tale; and it is sure of commanding an audience among any country and at all times.

**The House in Charles Street** Anonymous (Brentano's London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

A tale of the war time and the intriguing question of the German spies in England. An American girl views the struggle with a detachment not possible for a combatant, and with all her sympathies for the Allies she is helpful in laying bare many a plot wherewith information leaked out.

**Beckoning Trails.** By Clarence R. Mulford (Hedder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

An absorbing tale of the pioneering community and Red Indians, well executed and planned. The characters are powerfully drawn.



**The Justice of the Duke.** By Rafael Sabatani (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 3s. 6d.

A historical romance of old Italy and the magnificence of the Dukes Cesaire Borgia. An interesting romance.

**Cambria's Fair Daughter.** By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 3s. 6d.

A charming love tale, very enjoyable reading and a novel of great power and interest.

**Bleke The Butler.** By William Le Queux (Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., London, 1924).

Another thrilling book of adventures from the pen of the most prolific writer of the day. Bleke reveals the family secrets in an inimitable manner. His life story is of thrilling interest.

#### STANDARD FICTION.

How many people read standard fiction in preference to what is called current fiction? And this not because the former is easier of access. We have, from time to time, brought to the notice of our readers the various series of cheap reprints of British and continental fiction and need not re-enumerate them here. But we may draw attention to the excellent translations of Tolstoy's works into English that are being rendered accessible in the famous "World's Classics" series (issued by the Oxford University Press) which we have already characterized in terms of appreciation, on several occasions. These are by Mr. Aylmer Maude—one of the great authorities on Tolstoy—and may be justly regarded as the standard translations of that famous Russian novelist. No less than eight great works of Tolstoy (including fiction, short story, plays, essays and letters) have already appeared in English, in this series, in eleven volumes, and a ninth one (in the twelfth volume in this collection) is soon to follow. Amongst the fiction already available are three of Tolstoy's masterpieces—*Resurrection*, in one volume, *Anna Karenina* in two volumes, and *War and Peace* in three. We hope the "World's Classics" will have soon offered us a complete English translation of the works of Tolstoy.

Many of the masterpieces in fiction of the same author are also to be had in very good English versions in Messrs. Thomas Nelson and Sons' reprints of standard works—a series which we have repeatedly commended to our readers, alike for its excellence and cheapness. The latest additions to Messrs. Nelson's

series are Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, in two volumes, and Alexandre Dumas' *The Queen's Necklace*, Sir Walter Scott's *The Pirate* and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*. The convenient size of the books in both these series, their neat printing, their mechanical execution, and their cheap price, render them most attractive and should secure for them a very large circulation in circles where good literature is appreciated.

#### RECENT ANTHOLOGIES.

**The Golden Book of Modern English Poetry 1870-1920.** Selected and arranged by Thomas Caldwell, with an Introduction by Lord Dunsany. Second, revised edition. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1923.

**An Anthology of English Verse.** Edited by John Drinkwater. (William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 48 Pall Mall, London, W.) 1924.

**A Book of Verse for Boys.** Edited (with occasional notes) by C. H. Warren (Grant Richards Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924.

**A Whiff of Old Times.** Collected by John Wishart (John Wright & Sons, Ltd., Bristol, England) 1924.

**Thoughts of the Great.** First series. Collected by G. S. Arundale (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1924.

We are living in an age of compilation—anthologies, selections, collections, reprints *et hoc genus omne*. But that is because knowledge is now sought to be taken in tabloids and it is useless to grumble against Fate. Of the five anthologies noted above, the three topmost ones are collections of verse and the last two of prose and verse. Mr. Caldwell's *Golden Book of Modern English Poetry* is—in its revised form—the best collection of English verse written during the last half a century and may justly claim to be representative of all that is finest and most inspiring in contemporary English poetry. It has already taken its rank amongst the standard anthologies of English poetical literature. Mr. John Drinkwater's collection—*An Anthology of English Verse*—covers the whole field of English poetry from Chaucer downwards. Selected by one of the foremost men of letters, the collection is judiciously made and offers infinite riches within a small compass. It deserves a large circulation. Mr. Henry Warren's *A Book of Verse for Boys* is an anthology of poems that those for whom it is intended may reasonably be expected to appreciate. Modern poetry has been largely drawn upon and the collection should appeal to boys. Dr. Wishart's *A Whiff of Old Times* comprises one hundred extracts

from scientific literature (prior to 1850) put together mainly for the benefit of medical practitioners. But there is much in the collection to appeal to the general reader. Mr. Arundale's *Thoughts of the Great* (first series) covers a much larger ground—the extracts ranging from the works of authors of all ages and countries. They are truly representative of some of the best and greatest thought and the collection is inspiring to a degree. We earnestly hope Mr. Arundale will be encouraged to issue a second series of his *Thoughts of the Great*, for which, he says, he has got ample materials in his note-book.

### REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

**The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius: In the translation of William Adlington.** Edited by F. J. Harvey Darton (The Navarre Society, Ltd., London) 1924.

**Sir Richard Fanshawe's Translation of the Fourth Book of Virgil's Aeneid.** Edited by A. L. Irvine. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) 1924.

**Goethe's Faust.** (First part). Translated by John Todhunter. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) 1924.

**Rabindranath Tagore's The Curse at Farewell.** Translated by Edward Thompson. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39–41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1924.

**Selections from Borrow.** Edited by H. S. Milford. (Oxford University Press Depot, 1 Garstin Place, Calcutta) 1924.

**Adventures in Criticism.** By Sir A. Quiller-Couch. (Cambridge University Press Depot, Amen Corner, London) 1924.

**The Martyrdom of Man.** By (the late) Winwood Reade. (Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London) 1924.

**Buddhist Psychology.** By Mrs. Rhys Davids. Second edition, with supplementary chapters. (Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

**The Philosophy of the Upanishads.** By S. Radhakrishnan. (George Allen & Unwin, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1924.

*The Golden Ass of Lucius Apuleius* is a well-known Latin classic and its translation into English by Adlington, issued in 1566, is itself justly regarded as a classic in Elizabethan literature. We, therefore, welcome the elegant and well-got-up edition of it edited, for the Navarre Society, by Mr. F. J. Harvey Darton, with an excellent Introduction and with illustrations and decorations by Mr. Philip Hagreen. It

should find a place in the library of a man of letters. The next book in our list is also a classic—both in its original and translation. Sir Richard Fanshawe was Milton's successor as "Latin Secretary" and his rendering of the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* appeared in 1648. Curiously it has not been reprinted since the seventeenth century. The work of one who was both a scholar and a poet, it fully deserved a reprint, and its text now rendered available by Mr. A. L. Irvine, elucidated by the editor's critical remarks, should secure for it a wide appreciation. Of the two other translations in our list, one is that of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* and the other of a work of Tagore's. The late Dr. Todhunter is already well-known as a translator from the German through his graceful renderings of the lyrics of Heine. In the present volume, which will rank as the best modern translation of Goethe's masterpiece, the felicity of his earlier achievement is repeated. It is a verse translation, retaining the metres of the original, and uniting a scholarly fidelity with a distinction of phrasing which brings us a step nearer perfection. An illuminating Introduction from the pen of Professor J. G. Robertson enhances the value and usefulness of Dr. Todhunter's translation. Rabindranath Tagore's dramatic poem called *The Curse at Farewell* is well rendered into English by Mr. Edward Thompson, lecturer in Bengalee in the University of Oxford. Mr. Thompson's Introduction gives much useful information about the works of Tagore.

The next batch of books in our list are reprints of standard works—either in whole or in part. As a sample of the latter class we have the *Selections from Borrow*, judiciously put together with notes by Mr. H. S. Milford as a volume of the "Clarendon Series of English Literature". Its usefulness is appreciably increased by the reprint of three essays on Borrow written by Richard Ford, Leslie Stephen and George Saintsbury. There can be no better introductory textbook to the study of Borrow than Mr. Milford's well-chosen selection. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Adventures in Criticism* is a reprint, in a choice pocket edition, of a collection of essays originally published in 1896. A few omissions and alterations have been made, but the text is substantially that of the eighteen-nineties or thereabouts and naturally possesses the buoyancy of youth. The volume is published in the new handy series of Sir Arthur's works, in which the reprints are very welcome. The late Mr. Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man* is a classic in the historical literature of the Victorian era. Readers of Mr. H. G. Wells's famous historical masterpiece—*The Outline of History*—will recall his testimony to Reade's book. He says:—"Remarkably few sketches of universal history



by one single author have been written. One book that has influenced me very strongly is Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man*. This 'dates' as people say, now-a-days, and it has a fine gloom of its own; but it is still an extraordinarily inspiring presentation of human history as one consistent process." We agree, and the reprint, in handy size, enriched with an illuminative introduction by Mr. F. Legge is thus doubly welcome. It deserves a very wide appreciation by English-knowing Indians. The last two books in our list deal with Buddhism and Hinduism. Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* (first issued in 1914) is justly regarded as a standard work on the subject. The second edition, which has just seen the light, has four supplementary chapters and an epilogue, which are very important and increase substantially the value of the book. In its present form Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* will continue to be the sole standard treatise on the subject it deals with. Professor Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of the Upanishads* is a verbatim reprint from his *Indian Philosophy* of the chapters dealing with the Upanishads. The reprint should cater for the needs of students of the earliest philosophy of India.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS. LITERATURE.

*The Voice of Ireland* (John Heywood, Ltd., Manchester) is a bulky, weighty, composite work—edited by Mr. William Fitz-gerald and contributed by the foremost leaders of Irish public opinion, both at home and abroad. It is a survey of the Irish race and nation from all angles and is intended as a memorial of "freedom's day" marked by the establishment of the Irish Free State. Except for its being inconvenient to handle owing to its big size and heavy weight (it is many pounds), it is a splendid example of collaborative work. The writers are eminent men in various spheres of activities and many walks of life and several of them have taken an active and prominent part in the settlement of the Irish problem. The letter-press coming from the pen of such qualified writers—mostly experts and specialists—is consequently trustworthy and instructive, and the value of the text is substantially increased by reason of the many excellent reproductions of photographs with which the book is embellished. Thus Mr. Fitz-gerald's compilation is a notable instance of co-operative work of high order and great merit and should command a large circulation amongst admirers of "Ould Ireland" and her children.

Mr. Eric Parker—"Shooting editor of *The Field*," a description which will startle the average Indian editor—has written a very good book called *Elements of Shooting* (The Field Press, Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4). In its scope and treatment this book differs from other books on shooting. The author writes as an older companion might talk to a young shot or a beginner, not only of the actual practice of shooting, but of the habits and natural history of the game birds and beasts of Great Britain. Distinguishing features of the book are the coloured illustrations reproduced from the author's sketches, which are designed to show the beginner what he would naturally learn on the grouse moor or the stables, e.g., how to tell young and old grouse in August, the difference between cock and hen partridges, and so on. In its practical advice, and with its original method of illustration, the book is typically the gift of experience to the tyro. On the whole, a capital work.

*The London of Charles Dickens* by Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) will appeal not only to the lover of Dickens, but also to the admirer of London. The author who has written about a dozen good books about the topography and various aspects of London, published some time back the *London of Thackeray*, which justly received wide appreciation. So in his *London of Charles Dickens*, he has presented an account of the haunts of his characters and the topographical setting of his novels. Needless to say, the task undertaken by Mr. Chancellor is exceedingly well performed and the book affords most interesting reading and makes a useful companion to the novels of Dickens. The twenty-one very excellent photographic reproductions enhance the attractions of his very good book.

*Women Peace-Makers*. By Hebe Spaul (George Harrap & Co., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) is a work of much interest at the present time. This little book gives an account of seven women who have done valuable work for the *League of Nations*—Proken Forchhammer—Dame Rachael Crowdy—Proken Jeppe—Fru Kjelsberg—Madame Curie—Mrs. Coombe Tennant and Dame Edith Lyttelton. The sketches are well-written and the portraits reproduced from photographs add to the interest of the book; which should appeal alike to the social reformer and the believer in peace-making.



**Social Life in Ancient Egypt** from the pen of that great Egyptologist, Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie (Constable & Co., Ltd., London) is a most excellent exposition of the social condition of the ancient Egyptian based on the latest researches. It deals with the frame-work of society, administration, rights and wrongs, private life, supplies and commerce and constructions and defence. Thus within the compass of some two hundred pages, Dr. Petrie covers a large ground and his little book is replete with sound and trustworthy information on a subject of very great interest. We are glad to learn that the book under notice is to be followed by another by the same author called *Religious Life in Egypt*. We look forward with interest to its publication.

American Journalism in its methods and principles has become so divergent from British that a text-book of the subject—called **The Principles of Journalism**—by Mr. Casper Yost should be welcomed (D. Appleton & Co., New York and London). This book, written by one of the leaders of American journalism, purposes to explain those fundamental principles which underlie the practice of the highest type of modern American journalism. Mr. Yost carefully examines the standards by which his profession should be governed, and its aims and ideals. From his own mature experience and his conception of general experience he assembles material from which to derive concrete expression of the primary principles of the profession. He first discusses the origins and purposes of the newspaper, then defines the characteristics of a successful one, investigates the news element and its handling, describes the editorial expression of a newspaper's personality and the responsibility and policy of the editors. The "Freedom of the Press" occupies a chapter. The final chapter deals with the ethics of journalism. Thus in this book are formulated and defined the fundamental principles of journalism. The work is the result of the author's conviction that there is a growing need for such a statement and definition. Journalism has taken its place among the great professions and there has come the realization that there is a call for a larger consideration of journalism as a whole, for thought about it as a profession, for understanding of what are the standards by which it should be governed, of what are its obligations in relation to the public, and what its aims and ideals. This book brings such understanding, in so far as American Journalism is concerned. It deserves careful consideration by Journalists in other countries, who may desire to grasp the essential principles of Journalism as it obtains in the United States.

**The World's Living Religions.** By Dr. R. E. Hume (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, U. S. A.) is a volume of Messrs. Scribner's "Life and Religion" series and it purports to be an historical sketch of the subject. The book aims to lay a foundation on the basis of which a thoughtful reader can reach a real understanding of the essential differences between the extant religions of the world and an adequate knowledge of their origin, literature, history, and values. Dr. Hume has thoroughly mastered the subject, and sought to write dispassionately and with a discerning appreciation of each religion. He has stated clearly the essential facts about each, basing these statements in every case upon the original declarations in its sacred scriptures. He has aimed also to formulate the elements of strength and of weakness in each religion, not excepting Christianity, in such a way that an adherent of the faith thus described would admit its fairness. This is a unique and interesting feature of the book. The author has spared no pains to present in this volume not only the basic facts but also conclusions which grow out of a rich and varied experience interpreted with the aid of unflagging research and painstaking study and teaching. It is not too much to say that the result is a volume of unusual range and value, and it deserves a wide appreciation alike for the catholicity of its author's views, his impartiality in dealing with controversial topics and his rich and rare scholarship. It is about the best text-book of Comparative Religion.

The twenty-third volume of "The Pocket University" (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, U. S. A.) is called **The Guide to Reading**. It includes three instructive essays: on "Books for Study and Reading" by Dr. Lyman Abbott, "The Purpose of Reading" by Mr. John Macy—author of *Guide to Reading*—and "How to get the Best out of Books"—by Mr. Richard Le Gallienne. These are followed by "The Daily Guide to Reading" by Asa Don Dickinson, which is the especial feature of this course of studies. The books suggested are both British and American. On the whole this *Guide to Reading* is both instructive and stimulating, and makes a useful manual.

Dr. Richard Moulton—who has just passed away—was the greatest exponent of studying the Bible as literature first and foremost, quite irrespective of its theological value. In pursuance of this object he issued in twenty-one separate volumes the text of the Bible arranged on the plan advocated by him called the "Modern Reader's Bible" and the entire text is now also available in one volume. This he followed up by the publication of his **How to Read the Bible**

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(The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) which offers within a short compass what he called "the Bible at a single view" as a conspectus of literature. The book is highly instructive and should appeal both to the student of comparative literature and the general reader.

"The Harrap Library"—issued by Messrs. George Harrap & Co. of Parker Street, Kingsway, London—is a series which deserves large circulation. Besides containing many choice reprints of the classics, it comprises some excellent anthologies. Those issued so far are the *Poetry of Earth*, *Golden Book of English Sonnets*, *Essays of To-day*, *Short Stories of To-day* and the latest called *One-Act Plays of To-day*. The last, selected by Mr. J. W. Marriott, which claims to be the first anthology of its kind, consists of eleven short plays by eminent modern British and Irish playwrights—ten of which are in prose. The collection includes plays ranging from light comedy to fantasy and from farce to tragedy. Mr. Marriott's anthology of contemporary one-act plays is useful and interesting.

Professor H. Stanley Jevons has issued (through Mr. Ram Narain Lal of Katra, Allahabad) his book called *The Student's Friend*, which is full of instructive advice on studying carefully with a view to passing examinations not only with credit but with advantage to the examinees. The author insists that "it is in no sense a guide to cramming." We endorse this claim. It deals lucidly and systematically with the various topics with which an examinee is concerned and imparts to him sound and wholesome advice which he would do well to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest.

The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd. (Bangalore) are responsible for *Mysore Illustrated*, which comprises a series of excellent and well-executed photographic reproductions of the views of the scenes and sights in the Mysore State. The architectural Glories of Mysore deserve to be better known—His Highness the Maharaja's new palace is the greatest and most successful effort of Modern Indian art—and this compilation will tend to do so, as it itself is an artistic production.

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